

MANAVAKALPA-SŪTRA;

BEING A PORTION OF THIS ANCIENT WORK ON VAIDIK RITES,

EDITED WITH

THE COMMENTARY OF KUMÁRILA-SWÁMIN.

A FAC-SIMILE OF THE MS. No. 17 IN THE LIBRARY OF HER MAJESTY'S HOME GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

WITH A PREFACE

BY

THEODOR GOLDSTÜCKER.

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TO

RUDOLF VIRCHOW,

THE GREAT DISCOVERER AND DEFENDER OF SCIENTIFIC TRUTH,

THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED

AS A TESTIMONY OF RESPECT AND ADMIRATION,

BY HIS AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

THEODOR GOLDSTÜCKER.

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ERRATA.

IN THE PREFACE:

FOR	READ
Page 15, line 1 of note 12,	Prātisākyā,
P. 21, l. 13,	<i>Pārśvāyāititibhūm</i> ,
P. 36, l. 16, before "da-kāra,"	insert "śha-kāra, P. on VII. 4, 46."
P. 61, l. 6 of note 62,	क् ।
P. 100, l. 4 of note 114,	(Kār. l. a. b.)
P. 105, l. 14 of note 120,	इन्द्रस्वामिचोरपीति
P. 112, l. 14 of note 130,	निदिशो
P. 210, l. 11,	Dakṣaṇyana,
P. 227, l. 14,	avetābhi—
P. 229, l. 10 of note 266,	वाः पूषा
P. 252, l. 11, 12,	not to understand the Veda such as it was current, ing of the Veda which was current.

IN THE FAC-SIMILE:

[In several copies only some of the following errors will be met with.]

FOR	READ
P. 9 a, l. 5,	खच
P. 16 b, l. 9,	वेति
P. 26 a, l. 7,	खात्
P. 27 a, l. 6,	सीर्षे
P. 28 b, l. 1,	युवाति
P. 39 a, l. 8,	स्त्राणं (i.e. खाणं)

FOR

P. 47 b, l. 4,	द्रार्धवांसं
P. 47 b, between l. 4 and 5,	प
P. 48 b, l. 10,	खाकाः
P. 51 b, l. 7,	निष्माति
P. 57 b, l. 6 (last word),	ब्राह्म
P. 59 a, l. 5,	खापन
P. 61 b, l. 1,	गुरुं
P. 74 b, l. 3 (last word),	चमि
P. 75 a, l. 4,	तत्तात्सवा
P. 78 b, l. 6 (last syllable),	च
P. 79 a, l. 10,	क्षिताभंसं
P. 89 a, l. 8,	वर्तत
P. 94 b, l. 10,	अपात्वादित
P. 97 b, l. 5,	निब
P. 98 a, l. 2,	धार्मुकेष
P. 98 b, l. 4 (last word),	गार्ध
P. 103 a, l. 1,	खचर्षत्सावै
P. 103 b, l. 9 (last syllable),	न
P. 104 b, l. 5 (last syllable),	रा
P. 106 a, l. 3,	देव
P. 114 b, l. 1,	क्रौंच
P. 114 b, l. 3,	मरुता
P. 117 b, l. 8,	परपीन

READ

द्रार्धवांसं	
खाकाः	
निष्माति	
ब्राह्म	
खापन	
गुरुं	
चमि	
तत्तात्सवाः	
च	
क्षिताभंसं	(The Anuvāra is in the MS., but a stroke is drawn through it.)
वर्तत	
अपात्वादिति	
निब	
धार्मुकेष	
गार्ध	
खचर्षत्सावै	(but the last letter is not distinct in the MS.)
न	
रा	
देव	
क्रौंच	
मरुता	
परपीन	

PREFACE.

WHEN collecting materials for a History of the *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy, I happened to find in the Library of the East India House a Manuscript (No. 17), formerly belonging to the collection of Mr. Colebrooke, which bore on its outer page the remark: “**अदिकुमारवैष्णव २२००**,” (*i.e.*, “the number, of 32 syllables, in this commentary of Kumāra on the *Rigveda* is 2,200”), and ended on leaf 120 with these words: “**संक्षेपम् २२०० ॥ ३ ॥ कुमारवैष्णव समाप्तम् ॥**” (*i.e.*, “the number, of 32 syllables, in the book is 2,200; end of the Commentary of Kumāra”). The remark of the title, which differs in its handwriting from the rest of the book, seems to have been made by a Hindu, who, with much exactness, counted the number of the syllables for the copying of which he had to pay his scribe; but it certainly did not come from one conversant with Sanskrit literature. Nor can a better opinion be entertained of the Shaikh who

finished copying this volume—“*Samwat 1643* (or 1586 after Christ), when the sun was progressing south of the equator, in the autumn season, during the light fortnight of the month *Kārtika* (October-November), in the city of Benares, for the perusal of *Devayika* (*Devakiya?*), the son of *Jāni* and *Mahidhara*”—or of the writer of his Manuscript,—since the Shaikh professes to have copied the latter with the utmost accuracy, faults and all;—for neither were the contents of this volume a commentary on the *Rigveda*, nor would a learned man have mis-spelt several words, and very common ones, too, of his own composition, and, above all, the name of one of the most celebrated authors of India. In short, the Manuscript in question contained no other matter than a portion of the *Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras*, together with a commentary of *Kumārila-Swāmin*, the great *Mīmāṃsā* authority.

A discovery of this ritual work, which had thus remained latent under a wrong designation, would at all times have been welcome to those engaged in the study of Vaidik literature; it gained in interest from the facts that a doubt had been raised, I do not know on what grounds, whether a copy of it had survived, and that a commentary of Kumārila on these Sūtras, had, so far as my knowledge goes, never yet been spoken of in any European or Sanskrit book.

It was but natural, under these circumstances, that I should think of making the knowledge I had obtained generally available, by editing this manuscript; but, to my utter disappointment, I soon perceived, after having examined it in detail, that it belonged to that class of written books, the contents of which may be partially made out and partially guessed, but which are so hopelessly incorrect that a seeming restoration of their text would require a greater amount of conjecture than could be permitted to an editor, or might be consistent with the respect due to the author of the work itself.

When, therefore, another copy of the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras with the Commentary of Kumārila was not to be procured, and when I began to surmise that the volume in the possession of the East India House was a unique copy of this rare work, I resolved, with the consent of Professor Wilson, to have a facsimile of it lithographed and printed. This resolution was strengthened by the consideration that even a correct text of these Sūtras would be serviceable only to the few scholars who are familiar with this branch of the oldest Sanskrit literature, and that they would be able, by the aid they might get from other existing Sūtras on the Vaidik ritual, and the Mīmāṃsā works, to turn to account even this incorrect manuscript, in spite of the many doubts it leaves. It was strengthened, too, by the conviction I entertain, that unique manuscripts, or those which are rarely met with,—every existing copy of which consequently possesses a literary value much exceeding that of ordinary manuscripts,—ought to be saved from possible casualties by mechanical contrivances, the most practical of which, as

answering the requirements of the case and entailing the least expense, seems to be that which has been used in the production of the present fac-simile.

I must, however, confess that after several disappointments in trying to secure the necessary aid, I should probably have been compelled to abandon my plan, had I not been able to avail myself of the assistance of a talented young lady, Miss Amelia Rattenbury, who, while devoting herself to the study of Sanskrit, came to my rescue, and, with much patience and skill, accomplished the tracing of the original.

Her work may, indeed, in some parts, be still open to criticism, so far as the exact thickness of the letters on a few pages is concerned, or if some shortcomings, especially those which are noticed in the Errata, be too much insisted upon; but I must in fairness state that several omissions of Anuswáras or strokes, as pointed out in the Errata, are not her fault, but the result of accidents which occurred in transferring the fac-simile to stone; and such defects could not, it would seem, have been wholly

avoided, notwithstanding the careful attention which was paid to the work by the lithographic printers, Messrs. Standidge and Co., and, I may add, in spite of the great trouble I took myself in revising the proofs on the stones, and in thus combining the work of a Sanskritist with that of an apprentice in lithography. Several sheets which failed to show distinctly some Anuswáras or parts of the letters themselves, though transferred to the stone and originally visible there, I cancelled at once; but this expeditious process became, by frequent repetition, so little convenient, that I had to submit at last, though reluctantly, to a list of Errata which, however small, seems to be at variance with the notion of a fac-simile.

On the whole, however, and after this censure, the severity of which, I trust, no one will see occasion to increase, I must express my belief, that the text which is laid before the reader is, when amended by the aid of the Errata list, not merely a thoroughly correct representation of the contents of the special manuscript from which it is copied, but, at the

same time, a good specimen of a fac-simile of a Sanskrit manuscript.¹

Of the work itself I have but little to say, for the Sanskrit scholars who will take an interest in it are well acquainted with the general characteristics of those ritual books which bear the name of Kalpa-Sûtras, and they know, too, that the Mánava-Kalpa-Sûtras teach the ceremonial connected with the old recension

¹ It is necessary to observe that the original, in its actual bound condition, measures 9½ inches in length and 3½ inches in breadth, with the exception of fol. 62 which is 4 inches broad. The surplus of margin in the fac-simile belongs, therefore, to the latter. The binder, in reducing the leaves of the original to the size stated, has in various instances encroached upon the writing, and cut away either portions of letters or even whole letters; which circumstance will account for the defects in the marginal additions of, especially, fol. 1, 3 a, b, 5 b, 11 a, 12 a, 13 a, 14 a, 25 a, 26 a, 32 b, 33 a, 34 a, 48 a, b, 50 b, 52 a, 53 a, 54 a, 58 a, 60 a, 61 a, 62 a, 66 b, 68 a, 70 b, 74 b, 80 b, 81 a, 86 b, 89 b, 107 b, 108 b, 113 a. Another destructive animal, the white ant, has also added to the work of devastation in the interior of the MS., but much more rarely; on the margin of fol. 16 a two strokes (=) indicate the eaten portion. Towards the end of the MS., especially from fol. 90 upwards, the

of the Yajurveda, the Taittiriya-Sāṃhitā. The portion of these Sûtras contained in the present fac-simile comprises the first four books of the whole work: the first or *Yājñamāna* book, in two chapters (from fol. 1 to 54 a, and 54 a to 55 b); the second on the *Agnýādhāna* (from fol. 55 b to 84 b); the third on the *Agnihotra* (from fol. 84 b to 106 a); and the fourth on the

original has the appearance of having been smeared or powdered over; and this carelessness, caused no doubt by putting the leaves together before the writing was dry, has produced in several instances the errors of the fac-simile, especially as it became sometimes difficult or even impossible to tell whether a dot represented an original *anuroda* or a smear. I have to mention, besides, that the leaves of the original are bound so as to read downwards, and that the same arrangement has been preserved in the present work in order not to allow it to deviate from the appearance of its modern prototype. There is good reason, however, to suppose that the ancient Hindus had the leaves of their MSS. arranged so as to read in the reverse or upward direction. For one liberty which has been taken in the fac-simile, I am personally answerable. The remark on the outside page, mentioned above, with its mis-spelling of the name of Kumārila and its literary error, will not be found in this volume; its place is filled by the likeness of the god of literary accuracy who is invoked in the commencement of the work.

Vaidik literature, had met among the MSS. of the East India House, which he consulted for his labour, one (No. 599) which bore at its end the intimation of being a part of the *Mánava-Sútras*; and when he showed me the MS., I saw at once that it

ब्राह्मि, ब्राह्मणि, ब्रह्मिष्ठ, ब्रह्मिहोचरवर्षी, ब्रह्म, ब्रह्म, ब्रह्मत्व, ब्रह्मकपाल, ब्राह्म्य, ब्राह्मदुष्ट, ब्राह्मिषा, ब्राह्मनीयायि, ब्राह्मितायि, रक्षा, रक्ष, रक्षत्व, रक्षाकपाल, ब्रह्मिष्ठ, उत्तरवेदि (उत्तरवेदि), उक्तायि, उपभूत (उपभूत), उपल, उपलुख, ऊर्षी, एककपाल, ओदन, ओषधि, कपाल (कष्टा, एक, दश, नव, पञ्च, षट्, सप्त), कर्षू, कांक्ष, काष्ठ, कुष्ठ, कुली, कृष्णाजिन, सौम, खनिज, खादिर, खलेवासी, नारैपलायि, मुग्गुशु, गोपीर, नोमय, यावन्, पुत, समू, चर, चरखासी, चर्मन्, चालाक, वायमक, वरत्रव, मुह (जीहव), तच्छुल, तिब, गुष, दक्षिणा, दक्षिणानार, दक्षिणायि, दक्षिणापात्र, दक्ष, दधि, दर्भ, दर्भपिङ्गुल, दर्भेरज्जु, दर्भी, दशकपाल, दिव्यवाह (दिलीही), दुषद, द्रव्य, धाव, चिच्छ, ध्रुवा (धौव), नवकपाल, नवनीत, पञ्चकपाल, परिधि, पञ्चशाखा, पवित्र, पशु, पशुपुरोवाश, पात्र (पात्री), पिङ्गुल (दर्भ), पिच्छ, यूतीक, पुषुयावन, प्रवीता, प्रहर, प्राचीनावीत, बर्हिस्, नलि, ब्रह्मोदन (ब्राह्मीदक्षिण), भक्त, मद्रुच, भक्षन्, मधुपर्क, मन्त्र, महाहविस्, मांस, माष, मुत्र, मुत्रर, मुत्रक, मूत्र, मुन, मुदङ्ग, मेवी, नीज, चक्षायश्चिद्य,

was written by the same writer who had copied the original of the present fac-simile, in a similar, though smaller and less elegant, handwriting, and immediately after he had copied the first four books. For he states himself in his closing words

यद्योपवीत (०तिर), यव, यवानु, यान्यागुवाक्षा, यूप, योक्त, रज्जु, रवं, सेधा, सेप, सोमन्, वत्सं, वस्त्र, वामदेव, वारवनीय, वेदि (उत्तरवेदि, वेदिनी), वेहत्, ग्रीहि, शकट, शतमान, शतायुध, शमी (शमीशाखा), शर, शराव, शाखा, शाखायि, मुत्त, मूर्ध, रमन्तु, श्रामाव, श्रेणी, षट्कपाल, सप्तकपाल, समिष्टयजुस्, संमार, साम्राज, सोम, सन्वयजुस्, सुन् (सीच), सुव, स्म, इविधान, हविस्, हिरण्य; for the time of sacrificial acts, asterisms, etc.: अनुमती, समावासा, उपसत्काव, छत्तिका, क्षेपी, दक्षिणाकाव, खावापुचिची, पुनर्वसु, प्रातर्, फाल्गुनी, मुवस्, मू, माघादिन, मार्गशीर्ष, मुग्निरस्, राचि, वर्षा (वर्षिक), रेवती, रोहिणी, वसन्त, वैशाखी, जुष्ट, शरद्, शिबिर, मुनासीर, संवत्सर, सबःकाव, सायन्, सूर्योदय, स्तर्, स्तर्न, हिमन्त; for priests, sacrificer, etc.: ऋधु (आधर्व), आपीम, आधागर्लिक्, उवागु, छलिक्, चमसाधु, पत्नी, पुरोहित, प्रतिप्रक्षानु, ब्रह्मन् (ब्रह्मन्), यवमान (यवमान), यज्ञपति, यदु, होनु (होच); for divisions (and their derivatives): ऋचि, ऋचि-

that he finished copying "the fifth part of the Agnishtoma book of the Mánava-Sûtra, Samvat 1643 (or 1586 after Christ), when the sun was progressing north of the equator, in the winter season, during the light fortnight of the month Pausa (December-January), on the fifteenth lunar day, in the city of Benares"; and the next syllable, immediately succeeded by a blank in the MS., makes it probable that he wrote this portion, too, for the perusal of the son of Mahidhara. His conscience, however, seems to have been more sensitive regarding the accuracy with which he had performed his task, at the end of the Agnishtoma portion, than it was before, since he makes a very touching appeal to the indulgence of the reader, and

मीय, ऋषीन्द्र (एन्द्राणि), अदिति, अर्षावन्तु, अयोवन्तु (अयोवन्तीय), आयेन्द्र, अयिद, अदित, अश्विन, ऐन्द्र, ऐन्द्रावी, ऐन्द्र, ऐन्द्राय, नन्वेव, तगुनपाद्, अयमय, देव, देवता, पूषन्, ऋषदेव, ऋषदेवत, गृहसति, मरुत (मारुत), महेन्द्र, मीवावच, मीवावच, रचस, रद्ध, वरुच (वारुच), वायु, विशदेवाः (विशदेव), विश्व, विशानर, सुर्व (सीर्व), सोम, सीमपीण्ड, सीर्वेवाच, हिरण्यवर्ध.

is even modest enough to count himself amongst the scribes of limited intellect.³

The contents of this latter manuscript, viz., the description of the Agnishtoma rites in five Adhyāyas,⁴ now, too, explain the meaning of the concluding words of our MS. (fol. 120 b):

³ I subjoin a literal copy of the last page (37) of this MS. with *all the faults*, which will give some idea of the unhappy fate of these Mánava-Sûtras in the hands of their ignorant transcriber: आदृश्यं पुस्तकं दृष्ट्वा । तादृशे विवितं मया ॥ यदि मुञ्चमनुर्वा मम दोषो न दीयते ॥ १ ॥ अदृष्टमावाहनि विधमादा । यद्वैरीनं विवितं मयाच । तत्सर्वमाहैः परिशोधनीयं कोप न कुयोक्तुं लेखकः ॥ २ ॥ यास्तुको पि यो यत्ता जायायास्त्रिवारदः । मुञ्चते विवमानो पि किं पुनः स्वल्पमुच्यते ॥ सोऽस्त्रि ॥ संवत् १६४३ वर्षे यावे प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायणे हेमन्त ऋतौ महामानवकाप्रदः ॥ पीचमाले मुञ्चयते १५ मासो तिथौ खवेर काश्रिवाक्यं मोहघातीय ॥ या विवितं ॥ लेखकाठकयोः मुमं भवतु । मानवयूषस्य अयिष्टो- मास्त्रस्य पंचमभानस्य पुस्तकमलेखि ॥ श्रीः ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ यमसाधर्ववः । होता १ ब्रह्म २ उद्गाता ३ यजमानः । ४ प्रश्नास्त्रिः । ५ ब्राह्मणार्द्धदेवि ६ पोता ७ वेष्ट । ८ आभी- षतः । ९ अह्नावाकः । १० एते दश यमसाधर्ववः ; and after this last piece of scholar- ship is added in a different hand: "स्वपुस्तकं । सीमयूचं ॥ यथाः ५" (1).

⁴ Whether the work which is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. at

प्रागख्योऽयं संग्रहः (which ought to be प्राख्योऽयं*), for they clearly point to a continuation, treating on the Soma rites, which continuation is given in the MS. 599, so far as the text of the Sūtras goes, though this MS. does not contain any further commentary of Kumārīla.

The text of the first four books of the Sūtras in our MS. is, unhappily, only fragmentary. Sometimes, but rarely, a Sūtra is given in full before the gloss of Kumārīla; for the most part, however, the copy of the text, as is the case with many manuscripts of Commentaries on Sūtras, starts from the assumption that the reader possesses a MS. which contains the words of the Sūtra, and refers to them by merely giving the first and the last word of the sentence which is the subject of the commentary. Now and then, it is true, some further words of the Sūtra emerge from

Benares, p. 118, under the title सोमसूत्रविधानम् (No. 2503) be the same as the Agniṣṭoma portion of the Mānava-Sūtras, I have had no means of ascertaining. The same Catalogue records the existence of the मानवसूत्रम् (p. 78, No. 761), but without naming the Commentary of Kumārīla.

the gloss of Kumārīla, but, though it is possible to understand the purport of his comment, it would be a fruitless task to try to construe from it the full detail of the text, since much of the latter is left unnoticed, as requiring, apparently, no gloss.

The interest connected with the present volume centres, therefore, chiefly in the commentary of Kumārīla, and in the fact itself that it is this great Mīmāṃsā writer who composed a commentary on the Mānava-Sūtras of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā. For, since in Sanskrit literature, commentaries on works which involve scientific convictions or religious belief were, as a rule, written by those alone who shared in these convictions or meant to defend this belief, it is a matter of significance that this celebrated representative of the Mīmāṃsā doctrine, who lived before Śaṅkara, the commentator of the Vedānta-Sūtras,⁵ should have attached his remarks to a Sūtra belonging to the Black-Yajus School.

⁵ Compare the Preface to the first edition of Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary, p. xviii seqq.

That this circumstance cannot be accidental is rendered probable by collateral facts. Kumārila quotes on two occasions (fol. 14 a and 85 b) the opinion of Śabara-Swāmin on passages in the Sūtras, and as it is not the commentary of this author on the Jaiminī-Sūtras to which he refers, his quotation can only imply that Śabara had composed, besides, a gloss either on the Mānava-, or on other Sūtras of the same school. Śabara, however, is, like Kumārila whom he preceded, one of the principal authorities of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy.⁶ Mādhava also, the commentator on the Vedas, who may be considered as the last writer of eminence on the Mīmāṃsā, composed or indited a commentary on another Sūtra work of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, the Sūtra of Baudhāyana. Of commentators on other

⁶ I may mention, on this occasion, other quotations made by Kumārila. He speaks several times of other Sākhās, without, however, specifying them (fol. 9 b, 17 a, 33 a, 36 b, 41 b, etc. etc.), once even of a Krūrāsākhā, (fol. 50 a); of older teachers (Pūrvasākhāyās, fol. 43 b—44 a, 83 a, Viddhāsākhāyā, 119 a), of the Vārha Sūtras (fol. 75 a, 93 b, 120 b), the Bhāṣyakāra, who is probably the same as Śabara (fol. 115 a), the Brāhmaṇabhāṣyakāra (fol. 60 b, 63 a, 75 b), the Ṛgīyabhāṣyakāra (fol. 60 a), the

Sūtras of the Black-Yajur-veda I do not speak, since they have not attained a prominent rank among the Mīmāṃsists. But it ought not to be left unnoticed, on the other hand, that neither the Kalpa works connected with the R̥gveda, nor those belonging to the Sāma-, or White-Yajur-veda, had commentators who, at the same time, wrote Mīmāṃsā works.

It would seem, therefore, and I shall have to advert to this point in detail in a more appropriate place, that the Kalpa-Sūtras of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā represented or countenanced, more than other Kalpa-Sūtras, the tenets and decisions of the Mīmāṃsā philosophers.

This intimate connection between the two will enable us, then, not merely to remove all doubt, if any exist, as to the identity

Hātibhāṣyakṛit (fol. 75 b); he names the Bahvrichās (20 a, 23 b); the Yajurveda (fol. 9 a and b), and Yajurvedika (fol. 12 b, 67 a), the Kāthaka (fol. 9 a, 98 b), the Taittirīyaka (fol. 60 a, 61 b, 66 b), a Brāhmaṇa (fol. 114 b); and the Sāmaveda (fol. 9 b); Manu is usually called by him Sūtrakāra or Sūtrakṛit (e.g. fol. 43 b, 71 b, 75 b, etc., 29 a, 32 a, 35 b, etc.); other authors of Sūtras, Sūtrakārās or Sūtrakṛitas (fol. 38 a, 77 b).

of the author of the present commentary with the author of the Vārtikas on the Jaimini-Sūtras,—even if this identity were not proved by the peculiar style of Kumārila's composition, by his writing alternately in prose and śloka, by his pithy remarks, and his strong expressions; but it will throw light, too, on the nature of the commentary itself.

It is not a commentary in the ordinary sense, merely explaining obsolete or difficult words, and giving the meaning of the sentences; it is often nothing else than a regular discussion and refutation of divergent opinions which were probably expressed in other Kalpa works. And the constant use it makes of current Mīmāṃsā terms, in their Mīmāṃsā sense, such as *apūrva*, *parā-nāpūrva*, *ūha*, *bādha*, to which may be added also, *vidhi*, *anuvāda*, *arthavāda*, *puruṣārtha*, *kratvartha*, *bheda* (*mantrabheda*, *vākya-bheda*), on account of the frequent application these latter words find in the Mīmāṃsā writings,—impresses on the discussions of Kumārila the full stamp of a Mīmāṃsā reasoning.

There is one fact which deserves special mention, though

it has only an indirect bearing on the present work. In the Sūtras, I. 3, 10-12, Jaimini treats of the question whether the Kalpa works have the same authority as the Veda or not; in other terms, whether they must be ascribed to divine or to human authorship, and decides in favour of the latter alternative. Kumārila, in his Vārtikas on this chapter, gives instances of the works of several authors which would fall under this category; he names, in the course of his discussion, the Sūtras of Baudhāyana, Varāha, Māsaka, Āśwalāyana, Vajjavāpa, Brāhmyāna, Lātyāyana, Kātyāyana, and Āpastamba; but though his “*et cetera*” imply that he did not intend to give a complete list, it is certainly remarkable that he should not have named the Mānava-Sūtras, which he has commented upon, more especially as he makes reference to the Dharmasāstra of Manu.

Śabara, also, his predecessor, who mentions, in his Bhāṣya on the same Sūtras of Jaimini, the Māsaka-, Hāstika-, and Kaundinya-Kalpa-Sūtra, does not speak of the Mānava. And, to conclude, the same omission strikes us in the Jaiminiya-nyāya-mālā-vistara of

Mádhava, who names the Baudháyana-, Ápastamba-, Áśwaláyana-, and Kátyáyana-Kalpa-Sútras, but makes no allusion to our work.

It may be, and it even is probable, that Kumárá wrote his gloss on the Mánava-Kalpa-Sútra after he had finished his Várttikas on the Sútras of Jaimini. But this circumstance alone cannot account for the omission of this Kalpa work from his Várttikas, nor does it offer any explanation of the general silence in regard to it of the other renowned writers on the Mímánsá philosophy.

I believe that the reason for this silence must be sought for in the decision of Jaimini, and in the legendary character of Manu, the reputed author of our Kalpa work. At the time of Śábara, Manu was no doubt already viewed by his countrymen in the same light in which he appears in the Dharmasástra that bears his name but professes distinctly not to be the immediate work of Manu himself, and, consequently, could be safely alluded to. This mythical character, however, of Manu results from the legends connected with a personage of

this name in the Śatapathabráhmana and the Rigveda itself. To prove, therefore, on the one hand, that the Kalpa-Sútras are human work, and to hold before the reader's eye the name of an individual who, if less than a god, was, at all events, believed to be more than a man, would have been a proceeding which might either have shaken the conviction which it was intended to produce, or tinged the doctrine of the propounders with a hue of heresy which certainly neither Śábara, nor Kumárá, nor Mádhava meant to impart to his commentary. Probably, therefore, it appeared safer to evade this awkward illustration of the human character of a Sútrakára, and to be satisfied with instances of a more tangible and less delicate kind.

From our point of view, however, and I conclude from the point of view of the Mímánsists themselves, there is no reason to doubt that a Manu, the author of the present Sútras, was as much a real personage as Baudháyana and the other Sútrakáras who were never raised to a superhuman dignity. I can no more

see a valid argument for doubting the existence of this Manu, because his name would mean, etymologically, "a thinking being, a man," and because mythology has lent this character to the father of the human race, also called Manu, than there would be for doubting the real existence of the Bráhma caste, merely because they ascribe their bodily origin to the Creator of the World. And as to the name of Manu (man) itself, it does not seem more striking or even more strange than other proper names in the Vaidik time; than, for instance, the proper names Prána, *life*; Eka, *one*; Itará, or Anyatará, *either of two*; Panchan, *five*; Saptan, *seven*; Ashtan, *eight*; Śīras, *head*; Loman, *hair*; Vindu, *drop*, etc.

To assign a date to the Mánava-Kalpa-Sútras, even approximately, is a task I am incapable of performing; though, judging from the contents of this work, it may seem plausible to assert that they are more recent than the Sútras of Baudháyana and older than those of Ápastamba. But I have not any means of ascertaining when these latter works were composed.

It may not, however, be superfluous to add that they were either younger than Páṇini or, at least, not so much preceding his time as to be ranked by him amongst the old Kalpa works. For in an important Súra of his grammar he states that the names of old Kalpa works are formed with the affix *in*, and it follows therefore that none of the works of this kind, which are likely to be still in existence, and amongst them the Mánava-Kalpa-Sútras, are, from Páṇini's point of view, old Kalpa works.⁷ And when I express the opinion that there is no tenable ground for assigning to Páṇini so recent a date as that which has been given to him, viz., the middle of the fourth century before Christ, but that there is on the contrary a presumption that he preceded the time of the founder of the Buddhistic creed,—I have advanced as much,

⁷ Páṇini, iv. 3, 105. This Súra is comprised under the head rule iv. 3, 101, which extends as far as 111. In the gloss on some of these Sútras the Kásiká, the Siddhānt, and the Calcutta Paṇḍits who composed or compiled the printed commentary, have introduced the word *अधीवर्तते* in addition to *प्राचीनम्*. I hold, arbitrarily,—since it is neither indicated by the head rule, nor met with in the Mahábháshya.

or as little, as, I believe, can be safely advanced on the date of the present Kalpa work.

After the foregoing lines, were written I received Professor Max Müller's "*History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, so far as it illustrates the primitive religion of the Brahmins* (1859)."⁸ To acknowledge the merits of this work, which shows the great importance of the religious development of India; to acknowledge the light it throws on the obscurest parts of Hindu literature, and the comprehensive learning it has brought to bear on many an intricate topic connected with the rise and progress of Hindu grammar, law, and theology, must be the first and not the least gratifying feeling of every one interested in Sanskrit, and more especially in Vaidik philology. The greater, however, this new claim of the editor of the Rîgvêda to our gratitude, the more does his work impose on us the duty of examining, among the topics of which it treats, those which seem to require additional

evidence before they can be considered as having attained a definite settlement. I take advantage of this opportunity, therefore, to re-open the discussion on two points, which seem to me to fall under this predicament, especially as they concern every work of the Vaidik literature, and equally bear on the present ritual book. I mean the question of the introduction of writing into India,⁹ and the general question of the chronology of Vaidik works.⁹

Müller's view on the first of these questions is contained in the following words (p. 524): "If writing came in towards the

⁸ Müller's History, p. 497—524. This chapter is reprinted in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. ii. 1859), with the following note which became my first inducement to treat the matter on this occasion: "This paper is an extract from a work now in the press on the history of ancient Sanskrit literature. Professor Müller has sent it for the Society's Journal in the hope of eliciting some fresh information from European or native scholars in India on the interesting questions which it discusses."

⁹ The same, pp. 244, 313, 435, 572.

latter-half of the Sâtra period,¹⁰ it would no doubt be applied at the same time to reducing the hymns and Brâhmanas to a written form. Previously to that time, however, we are bound to maintain that the collection of the hymns, and the immense mass of the Brâhmaṇa literature, were preserved by means of oral tradition only;" and (p. 507): "But there are stronger arguments than these (viz., the arguments alleged by him, pp. 497-507), to prove that, before the time of Pânini, and before the first spreading of Buddhism in India, writing for literary purposes was absolutely unknown. If writing had been known to Pânini, some of his grammatical terms would surely point to the graphical appearance of words. I maintain that there is not a single word in Pânini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing etc."

Müller maintains, therefore, that not merely *before* the time of Pânini, but to Pânini himself, writing was unknown; and as

¹⁰ This period extends, according to his views, from 600 to 200 B.C. (p. 244).

according to his view, "Pânini lived in the middle of the fourth century B.C." (pp. 245, 301 ff.),¹¹ it would follow that, according to him, India was not yet in possession of the most useful of arts at the time when Plato died and Aristotle flourished.

I must confess that I could not, and cannot, look upon this assertion otherwise than as a splendid paradox, which, it is true, makes up for its want of power of convincing by the ingenuity of the defence with which it is supported, and the interest which may be derived from the extraneous matter it has brought to its aid; and, had I happened to read this chapter before the rest, I should probably have thought that the idea of conceiving India without read and ink until, or after, Pânini's death, did not originate with Müller before the close of his learned work, and then only that he might crown, as it were, its merits by some extraordinary feat. But though justice requires me to admit that such is not the case, —that, on the contrary, the same opinion pervades the earlier por-

¹¹ This date will be the subject of ulterior remarks.

tions of his book,"¹² I must still say that it does not seem to have taken root in his mind with that strong conviction which produces an impression on others, for it appears psychologically doubtful that an author, having that conviction, could even metaphorically speak of the "prayer-book" of the Hotris (pp. 187, 473), or say that Kātyāyana, whom he defines as "the contemporary of Pāṇini" (p. 138, and elsewhere), "*writes* in the Bhāṣya" (p. 138), "*wrote* the Vārtikas" (p. 148), "*writes* in prose" (p. 229), or that he could call the Sūtrakāras "*writers* of Sūtras" (p. 215).

No one, I believe, will easily imagine a civilized people who at the time of the Mantras (the period prior to that of the Sūtras

and Brāhmanas), were such as to possess "arts, sciences, institutes, and vices of civilized life, golden ornaments, coats of mail, weapons of offence, the use of precious metals, of musical instruments, the fabrication of cars, and the employment of the needle the knowledge of drugs and antidotes, the practice of medicine, and computation of the divisions of time to a minute extent, including repeated allusions to the seventh season or intercalary month" . . . and again, "laws of property,"¹³ "laws of inheritance, and of simple contract, or buying and selling,"¹⁴—having a civilization which Professor Wilson characterizes in the preface to his excellent Translation of the R̥gveda (vol. ii, p. xvii), as "differing little, if at all, from that in which they were found by the Greeks at Alexander's invasion,"—no one, I believe, will easily imagine a people in such a state of civilization unacquainted with the art of writing, though no mention of this art

¹² See Wilson's Translation of the R̥gveda, vol. ii, p. xvi.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* vol. iii, p. xvii.

¹³ *E.g.* p. 137, "the rules of the Prātiśākyas were not intended for written literature;" p. 200, note, "the question whether the Hindus possessed a knowledge of the art of writing during the Sūtra period, will have to be discussed hereafter;" p. 362, "if we remember that in these old times literary works did not exist in writing" [to 'remember' this on p. 362 is difficult, since the theory is propounded p. 497—524]; p. 311, "in India, where before the time of Pāṇini we have no evidence of any written literature, etc."

be made in the hymns to the gods. And is it really plausible that even 600 or 700 years later, the greatest grammarian of India composed a most artificial and most scientific system of grammar, utterly ignorant of the simplest tool which might have assisted him in his work? Should it be possible to realize an advanced stage of social development without a knowledge of writing, then it is needless, of course, to refer to the arts, sciences, measures, and coins mentioned in the Sûtras of Pânini; yet I will advert, within the limits of these preliminary remarks, to one fact, at least, which it may be as well not to overlook.

We know from Herodotus that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, subdued the Hindus;¹⁵ and we have inscriptions of this king himself which tell us that amongst the nations subdued by him were the Gadara and Hidhu or the Gandhâras, and the peoples living on the banks of the Indus.¹⁶ Could Pânini, therefore, who was

¹⁵ iv. 44: *μετὰ δὲ τούτους περιλάσαντας Ἰνδοὺς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρείος*, etc.

¹⁶ Compare Lassen's Ind. Alterth. i. 422; ii. 112, 113, and the quotations given there.

a native of Gandhâra, had he lived after Darius, as Müller supposes to be the case, have remained ignorant of the fact that writing was known in Persia? And if not, would he not, in composing his work, have profited by this knowledge, provided, of course, that he was not acquainted previously with this art, independently of his acquaintance with the Persian alphabet? This question is answered, however, I believe, by a word which is the subject of one of his special rules (IV. 1, 49), the word *yavanâni*, explained by Kátyâyana and Patanjali as meaning the "*writing* of the Yavanas." Both Weber and Müller mention this word, the former as meaning "the writing of the Greeks or Semites (Ind. St. I. p. 144), or, as he later opines, of the Greeks alone (IV. 89); the latter (p. 521) "a variety of the Semitic alphabet, which, previous to Alexander, and previous to Pânini, became the type of the Indian alphabet." It would seem to me, that it denotes the writing of the Persians, and probably the cuneiform writing which was known already, before the time of Darius, and is peculiar enough in its appearance, and different enough from the alphabet of the

Hindus, to explain the fact that its name called for the formation of a separate word.

While I intend to address myself now to the special arguments offered by Müller, for the theory that writing was unknown to Pāṇini, I find myself, as it were, arrested by his own words; for, after having proposed his reasons in support of this theory (from page 497 to page 520), he makes the following remark on the word *lipikara*, "a writer or engraver," which I quote in full:—"This last word *lipikara* is an important word, for it is the only word in the Sūtras of Pāṇini which can be legitimately adduced to prove that Pāṇini was acquainted with the art of writing. He teaches the formation of this word, iii. 2, 21." Whether it is the only word which can be legitimately adduced for such a proof, I shall have to examine. But even on the supposition that it is, I must really question the purport of the whole discussion, if Müller himself admits that Pāṇini would have pointed to this word *lipikara* had it been his task to defend himself against the imputation of being ignorant of the art of writing.

For it becomes obviously immaterial whether the word *lipikara* occurs once or a hundred times in the Sūtras,—whether another similar word be discoverable in his Grammar or not; one word is clearly sufficient to establish the fact, and to remove all doubt. This admission of Müller, which upsets all he has tried to impress upon our minds, is doubtless very creditable to his candour; for it shows his wish to elicit the truth, and fully confirms our faith in what he says at the end of his essay: "It is possible I may have overlooked some words in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, which would prove the existence of written books previous to Pāṇini. If so, it is not from any wish to suppress them." But since he has not even tried to invalidate by a single word the conclusion which necessarily follows from this admission, it would be like carrying owls to Athens if I endeavoured to prove what is sufficiently proved already by himself.

Nevertheless, I will do so; not only out of respect for his labour, but because the observations I am going to make may tend to show that there is much more evidence in Pāṇini than

this solitary word for the assumption that he was not merely conversant with writing, but that his Grammar could not even have been composed as it is now, without the application to it of written letters and signs.

The chief argument of Müller is a negative one: the absence of words which mean book, ink, paper, and the like. Thus he says of the Vaidik hymns (p. 497): "Where writing is known, it is almost impossible to compose a thousand hymns without bringing in some such words as, writing, reading, paper, or pen. Yet there is not one single allusion in these hymns to anything connected with writing;" or (p. 512) "If we take the ordinary modern words for book, paper, ink, writing, etc., not one of them has yet been discovered in any Sanskrit work of genuine antiquity." ¹⁷ I do not think that such an argument, in its generality, can ever be held to be a conclusive proof. It is not the purpose of the Vaidik hymns to tell us that pen and

ink were known to the Āryas; it becomes, therefore, entirely a matter of chance whether so prosaic an object be mentioned in them or not,—whether the poets borrow their figures from paper and book, or from the life of the elements. The very instances Müller has adduced from the Psalms will probably leave in every one's mind the impression that these songs might easily have existed, without any damage to their reputation, even if they had not contained the three verses which bespeak the scholarship of their authors; and the book of Job too, if it had not that literary longing which is contained in Müller's *happy quotation*: "Oh that my words were now written! oh, that they were printed in a book!" But what applies to poetical songs, avails with still greater force in a grammatical work. Pāṇini's object is to record such phenomena of the language as are of interest from a *grammatical* point of view. Sometimes the words which belong to his province, will be at the same time also of historical and antiquarian interest; but it does not follow at all, that because a word of the latter category is omitted in his rules, it is absent

¹⁷ Not even *lipi* ?

from the language also ; the extreme conclusion would be that it is a word of no grammatical interest ; and this conclusion itself, to be correct, would imply that Pāṇini was a perfect author, and did not omit any word or words which ought to have been noticed by him on grammatical grounds. ✓

"There is no word," says Müller, "for book, paper, ink, writing, etc., in any Sanskrit work of genuine antiquity" (p. 512). Of *lipi*, "to write," I need say no more, since it is the base of *lipi*. I agree with him that the verbs *adhi* or *vach* (in the caus.) which are used in the sense "to read," contain no proof of their applying to a written work, since the former means literally "to go over mentally, to acquire," and the latter "to cause to speak." I am equally willing to admit that the divisions of literary works which are frequently met with, such as *anuvākas*, *prāśnas*, *maṇḍalās*, *paṭhas*, *vargas*, *sūktas*, etc., cannot be compared with such words as "*volumen*, a volume, *liber*, i. e. the inner bark

of a tree ; or *βιβλος*, i. e. *βύβλος*, the inner bark of the papyrus ; or *book*, i. e., beech-wood" (p. 515). But I cannot admit that there is no word of genuine antiquity meaning book, or division of book, which cannot be compared with those latter words of the cognate languages. One word is indeed supplied by Müller himself, at the end of his essay ; it undoes, as it were, all that precedes on this subject, in the same way as *lipikara* undid his arguments against Pāṇini's acquaintance with writing.

After the words I have quoted above, "if so, it is not from any wish to suppress them," he continues (523): "I believe, indeed, that the Brāhmaṇas were preserved by oral tradition only, but I should feel inclined to claim an acquaintance with the art of writing for the authors of the Sūtras. And there is one word which seems to strengthen such a supposition. We find that several of the Sūtras are divided into chapters, called *pāṭalas*. This is a word never used for the subdivision of the Brāhmaṇas. Its meaning is a covering, the surrounding skin or membrane ; it is also used for a tree. If so, it would seem

¹⁸ Thus Pāṇini himself says, V. 2, 84, ओचिर्वरहद्वो रुचिरेति.

to be almost synonymous with *liber* and *βιβλος*, and it would mean *book*, after meaning originally a sheet of paper made of the surrounding bark of trees." But he seems to have entirely overlooked—no doubt on account of its common occurrence—the word *kāṇḍa*, which is the name of a division of the Taittirīya-Sāṃhitā and -Brāhmaṇas, not to speak of the frequent application it has found at a later period in denoting chapters of ritual books, or ritual books themselves, such as *kāmyeshīti-kāṇḍa*, *kānyapaśu-kāṇḍa*, *pauroḷśika-kāṇḍa*, *agneya-kāṇḍa*, *hautra-kāṇḍa*, *adhvaryu-kāṇḍa*, *yajamāna-kāṇḍa*, *sattra-kāṇḍa*, etc. And *kāṇḍa*, before meaning *book*, means "the part of the trunk of a tree whence the branches proceed,—a stalk or stem;"—it is, therefore, a fair representative of our word *book*. But, if such is the original purport of *paṭala*, and of the more frequent *kāṇḍa*, I cannot conceive on what grounds Müller founds his doubt (p. 513) of *patra* meaning the leaf of a book, in works of genuine antiquity, since *patra* means, originally, the leaf of a tree, and since palm-leaves, even now, bespeak the

use which has been made of them for literary purposes. For, though Urvāśi writes her amatory letter on a "birch-leaf,"—which, then, is called, not merely *patra*, but *bhūrja-patira*,—it does not follow that ordinary letters of literary works must also have been engraved on what was probably a rarer material than the leaf of a palm-tree or of a lotus.

Besides *kāṇḍa* and *paṭala*, there are, however, two other important words, in the sense of work, which could not but attract the attention of Professor Müller—the words *sūtra* and *grantha*. The former, which means, literally, "string," has become, according to him (p. 512), the well-known name of an extensive class of works, by assuming the figurative sense, "strings of rules." The latter, he says (p. 522), "is derived from a root *grath*, which means *nectere*, *serere*. *Grantha*, therefore, like the later *sandarbhā*, would simply mean a composition. It corresponds etymologically with the Latin *textus*. Thus it is used by the commentator to Nir. i. 20., where he says that former teachers handed

down the hymns, *granthato 'rthataścha*,¹⁹ 'according to their text, and according to their meaning.' In the later literature of India, *grantha* was used for a volume, and, in *granthakuṭi*, a library, we see clearly that it has that meaning. But in the early literature *grantha* does not mean *pustaka*, or book; it means simply a composition, as opposed to a traditional work."

That "sūtra" may have assumed the sense of "string of rules," before it became the name of a book, is possible; but that it must have gone through *this* metaphorical process, and no other,—as the certainty with which Müller explains the term would imply,—²⁰ is not corroborated by any proof he has given; nor is it even plausible. Before, however, I give my own opinion on this word, it will be necessary, first, to ascertain whether the word *sūtra*,—

¹⁹ Similarly, *c. g.*, Kullūka or Maun, VII. 43, चिदिमीमर्षतो सञ्चतञ्चायसित्. See also, "Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts," vol. ii. p. 175.

²⁰ "We meet with *Brāhmaṇas*, the sayings of Brahman; with *Sūtras*, i. e., the strings of rules." (p. 512.)

which is used in the singular both as a name for a whole collection of rules, and as a name for a single *sūtra*,—denoted, originally, the latter, and then became the designation of the former, or *vice versa*. Thus, the Kāśikāvṛtti calls Pāṇini's Sūtra, V. 4, 151, *gaṇa-sūtram*, and speaks of the *five Sūtras*, I. 3, 72—76, *swarīṭānīti* *pañchabliṣ sūtrair ātmanepadam*, etc. *evam pañchasūtrīyām udāhāryam*; and Patanjali says, in the introduction to Pāṇini, *Sūtrāni chāpyadhīyāna ishyate vuyāk.rana iti*, "he who studies the *Sūtras* is termed a grammarian." But if we examine the use which Pāṇini himself makes of this word, we find that he always uses *sūtra* as a term for the whole collection of rules, and not as an expression for a single Sūtra: IV. 2, 65, "Sūtrāch cha kopadhāt;" IV. 3, 110, "Pārāśaryaiśśiṭhīyām bhikṣunaṭasūtrayoh" (where the dual shows that the analysis requires *bhikṣusūtre* and *naṭasūtre*). In his Rules, IV. 2, 60, and V. 1. 58, the number of the word is less clear, since it is part of a compound; yet the instances of Patanjali to the Vārtikas, and some explanations of the Kāśikā (*c. g. Kālpasūtram adhīte, Kālpā-*

sūtrah, and *ashṭāv adhyāyāḥ parimāṇam asya sūtrasya ashṭakam pāṇinīyam*) leave little doubt that it is likewise to be taken there as a singular. In a similar manner it is used in Patanjali's comment on II. 3, 66, v. 2, "*Śobhanā khalu pāṇineḥ sūtrasya kṛtiḥ*."²¹ It

²¹ In the Sūtra VIII. 3, 90, and the Gaṇa to V. 4, 29, its sense is the literal one; it is mentioned, too, as a masc. and neuter in the Gaṇa to II. 4, 31.—It is necessary for me to observe, that in the quotations from Pāṇini I always distinguish between the text of the Sūtras, the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana,—and those alone can be held to be Kātyāyana's Vārtikas which appear in the Mahābhāṣya,—Patanjali's Commentary, the Vārtikas found in the Kāśikā and in the Siddhāntakaumudī, and these latter works. The importance of this distinction requires no remark, since all conclusions must become unsafe if the observations or instances of one writer are given as evidence for or against another, especially before it has been decided whether, for instance, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana were contemporaries or not. I regret that Professor Müller has paid little attention to this circumstance, for he has frequently confounded the Commentaries, even the latest, with the text of the Sūtras of Pāṇini; and the very circumstance that he has sometimes pointed out the commentary as distinct from the text, and *vice versa*, creates still more confusion where he has omitted to do so. Thus, he quotes correctly (p. 44, note 2), "VIII. 3, 95 (*text*)," or, "IV. 1, 176 (*text*)" or, (p. 45, in the same note), "IV. 3, 98 (*text*);" and I admit that an *attentive* reader

would seem, therefore, since no higher authority than Pāṇini can be quoted, that *sūtra*,—when used in the sense of a single rule,—is will conclude that the quotations not marked "*text*" are taken from the commentary; yet, "VI. 3, 75," is not commentary but text. And what does the word "*commentary*" mean? Patanjali, Kāśikā, Siddh.-k., or the Calcutta Paṇḍits? Again, when he says (p. 69, n. 1): "It is remarkable that, in Pāṇini also, the word *śloka* is always used in opposition to Vedic literature," not one of his quotations given to prove this important point, viz., IV. 2, 66; "IV. 3, 102, 1;" IV. 3, 107; "II. 4, 21," belongs to Pāṇini, but the two former to Patanjali; and the two latter to the Kāśikā. On p. 347, n., the Saulabhāni Brāhmaṇai are attributed by him to Pāṇini himself, but Pāṇini says nothing about them. The instances to the quotations, of page 361, n. 3, ("IV. 3, 101; IV. 2, 64"), and those to n. 4. (IV. 3, 108), belong to the Kāśikā,—none to Pāṇini. Nearly all the instances referred to, p. 364, n. 3, belong to Patanjali; and p. 369, n., where "*com.*" and "*text*" are contradistinguished, "VI. 2, 10" is not Pāṇini. P. 370, n. 10, "IV. 3, 104," ought to have been marked "*com.*," and a similar confusion exists, pp. 362, 371, 521, 522, etc.; while, on the other hand, the *commentary* is correctly quoted in most of the instances of p. 184, 185, 193, 252, 330, 339, 353, 357, though without any mention whether the commentary of Patanjali, or of the Kāśikā, etc., be meant. The *text* is marked correctly, pp. 125, n. 2; 340, 368, n. 1 (IV. 3, 128), 5; 369, n. 1, 3; 371, n. 2, 6; 372, n. 2, 8; 373, n. 3; and the *gaṇas* correctly, p. 369, n. 6; 370, n. 7, 8, 9, 10; 372, n. 8; 373, n. 8. I do not altogether think that this want of accuracy,

pars pro toto, and that its original sense is that of a whole collection

in a writer like Professor Müller, is entirely the result of oversight; it seems to me, on the contrary, that the reason for it lies in the words of his note to p. 46 :—"It was impossible to teach or to use Pāṇini's Sūtras without examples, which necessarily formed part of the traditional grammatical literature long before the great Commentary was written, and are, therefore, of a much higher historical value than is commonly supposed. The coincidences between the examples used in the Prātiśākhya and in Pāṇini, show that these examples were by no means selected at random, but that they had long formed part of the traditional teaching." This coincidence, to be of that value which is described in the words quoted, would require first the proof that the Prātiśākhya, viz. the existing ones of Saunaka and Kātyāyana, are *older* than Pāṇini; otherwise, it ceases to be of any consequence, as regards Pāṇini. As to his statement in general, however, I must observe, that it can surely not be received as authoritative in the absence of all proof. I must myself, on the contrary, quite deny to its admissibility. The coincidences, in the first place, between the instances of the existing Prātiśākhya and those in the Commentaries of Pāṇini, considering the great bulk of the latter, are perfectly trifling. Again, as to the other instances, about 2000 Sūtras of Pāṇini are not criticised by Kātyāyana, nor commented upon by Pāṇini; with regard to the instances, therefore, in this considerable number of rules, our oldest authority is nearly always the Kāśikā, the infallibility of which Commentary I have had, sometimes, reason to doubt. Scarcely any instance of this category can be traced to the Prāti-

of rules.²² If such be the case the question arises, whether it is

śākhya, and, unless it can be proved by Müller that these instances belong to *antiquity*, I do not consider it at all safe to found any conclusions on them, as regards *antiquity*. But on no account can it be consistent with critical research to use even the instances of Pāṇini as evidence for or against the Vārtikas, and much less for or against the Sūtras of Pāṇini, since Kātyāyana *never* gives *instances*, but, like Pāṇini himself, either lays down a general rule, or specifies the words which are the subject of his rule.

²² Compare also the following passage of the Mahābhāṣya (ed. Ballantyne, p. 68).

Pāṇinī : अथ आकरल्लिख्य शब्दस्य कः पदार्थः । मुबल ॥ Kātyāyana : सूत्रे आकरले यवर्चो ऽनुपपन्नः ॥ Pāṇinī : सूत्रे आकरले यवर्चो नोपपद्यते आकरल्लिख्यं यवर्चो ऽनुपपन्नः । यस्मात् सूत्रं स्यात् । Kātyāyana : सूत्रे आकरले किं तदन्वत्सुवाङ्माकारल्लिख्यं । यस्मात् सूत्रं स्यात् । सामान्यविशेषशब्दतया साध्यामपि शब्दाध्यामाङ्माङ्माः प्रतिपादनाद्विनाशितिरिवाभावः । सामान्यविशेषशब्दतया तु द्वयोः प्रयोक्तो न विरुध्यते । यदा लघ्याध्यामेकदेशः सूत्रशब्देनोच्यते तदा यवर्चो ऽनुपपद्यते । Nagvibh ननु सूत्रसमुदायस्य आकरल्लिख्यं सूत्रमनुपपद्यते अत आह । साध्यामिति । सूत्रपदेनावष्टाधाखिव यदोच्यते तदापीत्येते ऽव प्रयोक्तः स न सिद्धेदिल्लिख्यः । ननु किमुच्यते यवर्चो ऽनुपपन्न इति पदोच्यतया सहप्रयोक्तो ऽपि न स्यादत आह । सामान्यविशेषेति । सूत्रं सामान्यं आकरल्लिख्यं विशेषः । सूत्रशब्देनाष्टाधाखिव । तदेकदेशे तु योग्यत्ववहार एव योग्ये योग्ये उपपत्तिरत इत्यादौ । यदा त्विति । सूत्राखि

the figure implied by Müller's rendering "strings of rules" that has led to the word *sūtra* being used in the sense of "book," or not. As, I believe, I am able to show that Pāṇini was perfectly well acquainted with the art of writing, and that written books had even existed long before his time, my own opinion is, that the name for book was, as in the case of *patāla* and *kāṇḍa*, borrowed rather from a material fact than from the metaphorical idea of the logical connection of rules. And here I appeal to evidence, and to the admission which will be made to me that there are peculiarities and habits in the life of nations, which may be supposed to have existed at the earliest times such as we see them now. Everyone who has studied Sanskrit MSS. in the libraries of London and Paris, will have found that the oldest specimens of these MSS. are written on palm-leaves, which are pierced in the middle, and kept together by means of a "string." The natural-

वाच्यधीवान् एति भाषि वक्ष्यमाणत्वादिति भावः । वस्तुत एवदेशस्य सूत्रत्वे ऽपि तस्यापि
साध्यात्यन्तरया वा बाधरज्ज्वालात्वाच्चर्चोपपत्तिरिति तत्त्वम्.

ness of the material of these MSS., and the primitive manner in which they are bound,—if we can use the term "binding," for a parcel of leaves, covered on both sides with oblong pieces of wood, and kept together by a *string* which runs through the middle,—bespeak, in my opinion, the habits of high antiquity, religiously preserved up to a recent date by a nation which, beyond all other nations, is wont to cherish its antiquity, and to defend it, even in practical life, against the intrusions of modern arts. The MSS. I have seen are certainly not more than a few centuries old, as may be easily inferred from the fragility of the material of which they are composed; but I hold them to be genuine specimens of the manner in which books were formed at the earliest periods of the civilization of India. No one, however, ought, I should conceive, to be less surprised at seeing the word "string" becoming the name of "book," than a German who would call his own book "*Band*," translating, as it were, literally, the Sanskrit *sūtra*, and having recourse to the same figure of speech.

Since I contrast, in these remarks, opinion with opinion,—not

claiming any greater value for mine than that which may be permitted to the impressions and views of the individual mind,—I will not conceal that I hold the very nature of the works called “Sūtra,” to have arisen from, and depended on, the material which was kept together by the “string.” I cannot consider it plausible that these works,—“written, as they are, in the most artificial, elaborate, and enigmatical form,”—which have been so well defined and described in Müller’s work (p. 71, ff.),—in which, to use his words, “shortness is the great object of this style of composition,”—should have been composed merely for the sake of being easily committed to memory. “To introduce and to maintain such a species of literature,” argues Müller (p. 74), “was only possible with the Indian system of education, which consisted in little else except implanting these Sūtras and other works into the tender memory of children, and afterwards explaining them by commentaries and glosses.” But, though I do not dispute that these Sūtras were learnt, and are learnt, by heart up to this day, this circumstance alone does not explain why the matter thus to be

inculcated must have been written in such a manner “that an author rejoiceth in the economizing of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son,” why, “every doctrine thus propounded, whether grammar, metre, law, or philosophy,” must have become “reduced to a mere skeleton.” Müller himself says (p. 501),—and I fully concur with him,—that “we can form no opinion of the powers of memory in a state of society so different from ours as the Indian Parishads are from our universities. Feats of memory, such as we hear of now and then, show that our notions of the limits of that faculty are quite arbitrary.” And, as he himself produces proof that the three Vedas and their Brāhmanas *were* learnt by heart, it does not appear at all likely that the peculiar enigmatical form of this Sūtra literature was invented simply to suit the convenience of a memory the capacities of which must have been extraordinary.

The reason which accounts for this form is, in my opinion, of a far more prosaic kind. I hold that it is the awkwardness, the fragility, and, in some parts of India, perhaps the scarcity of

proper natural leaves, which imposed upon an author the happy restraint of "economizing half a short vowel;" that the scantiness of the writing material compelled authors to be very concise, and betrayed them, as a consequence, into becoming obscure.

Vaidik hymns and sacrificial Bráhmaṇas stand, clearly, under a different predicament to works on grammar or philosophy. A god cannot be invited with *anubandhas* to partake of the sacrificial meal, nor the religious feelings of a nation be roused with hard and unintelligible phraseology; but the purpose of a grammar may be attained, if there be need to save space, by an artificial method; and a philosophical doctrine may be propounded in riddles, as we can testify in our own days. I draw here, of course, a line between genuine and artificial Sūtras, —the former, in my opinion, a creation of material necessity; the latter, a mere imitation when this necessity had ceased. The Sūtras of Páṇini, in their dignified brevity, and the Sūtras of the Buddhists, in their tedious prolixity, are, probably, the two.

opposite poles;²³ but it requires, I conceive, no great effort to see that there is a gap, even between Páṇini and the Yoga-Sūtras, nay, between him and the Mīmāṃsā- and Vedānta-Sūtras as well as the Nyāya-Sūtras and the Sāṅkhya-Pravachana.

Turning now to the second word I have mentioned above, with the word Sūtra, I will say at once, that *grantha* likewise appears to me to have become the name of a book, not on account of the connection which exists between the different parts of a literary composition, but on account of the connection of the leaves which form its bulk. Professor Weber, who makes Páṇini live

²³ The lamented Burnouf has given a description of these Sūtras, in his invaluable work on the "Buddhisme Indien," p. 36, ff. He particularly points out,—and the fact is important,—that amongst these caricatures of the Bráhmaṇic Sūtras, there are several which have the enigmatic brevity of the latter; he distinguishes, therefore, between Sūtras which may be attributed to Śákyamuni, and Sūtras which belong to subsequent periods. See "Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien," p. 104, ff.

about 140 years after Christ,²⁴ but who, nevertheless, is favourable to the view I take of Pāṇini's acquaintance with writing, says, in the "Indische Studien," vol. iv. p. 89, that "the word *grantha*, which is several times used by Pāṇini, refers, according to its etymology, decidedly to written texts;" yet he informs us (p. 436), that "the word *grantha* is referred by Böhlingk-Roth to the *composition*." Whether the latter remark is made "*pūjārtham*," or whether this author,—according to his habit of leaving the reader to make his own choice amongst a variety of conflicting opinions,—intended to establish a *vibhāṣā*,²⁵ or whether he has altered his original view, is more than I can decide, since he has neither supported his first opinion with any explanatory remark, nor expressed adhesion or dissent when he concluded his fourth volume of the "Indische Studien."²⁶

²⁴ "Akademische Vorlesungen über Indische Literaturgeschichte," p. 200, 202.

²⁵ Such is really the case in the, "Indische Literaturgeschichte," p. 183, note.

²⁶ Should I have overlooked any observation of his on this word, it would be quite

That *grantha*, according to its etymology, *may* mean "a literary composition," and that it has been used in that sense, is undeniable; yet I contend that it did not bear this metaphorical sense before it was used in the literal meaning of "a series of leaves;" or, in other words, before it designated a written book. Previously to supporting this opinion with other arguments than those which are implied in my remarks on *sūtra*, I consider it necessary to remove the suspicion which has been thrown by Müller on this legitimate word. He quotes the four Sūtras in Pāṇini where it occurs,²⁷ but remarks in the note of p. 45, "The word *grantha*, used in the Sūtra (IV. 3, 87), is always somewhat suspicious."

unintentional, since I have been guided in my quotations by the excellent indices he has appended to his volumes. All I mean to convey is, that the only justification he gives for the sense, "written work," of *grantha*, viz., the etymology of the word, does not appear to be a sufficient one, since Müller is certainly right when he remarks (p. 522), that *grantha*, *nectāre*, *serere*, might be taken also in a figurative sense.

²⁷ Compare also, IV. 3, 101, v. 2; 105, v. 2; the *Kāśikā* on V. 1, 10, v. 1: पीरवेवो यन्तः ; on IV. 2, 62: ब्राह्मणसदृशो यन्त्रो ऽनुब्राह्मणम् ; on IV. 2, 63: वसन्तसहचरितो

The reason for this sweeping doubt is contained, I suppose, in the words which immediately follow : "That some of the Sūtras which now form part of Pāṇini's Grammar, did not proceed from him, is

यन्मो वसन्त रबुचते : on III. 1, 89, v. 1 (a Vārtika of the Bhāradwājīyas, according to Patanjali) : **यन्वते यन्वः** ; on VII. 3, 4 : **स्वरमधिष्ठाय हतो यन्वः सीवरो यन्वः** :—Of one of the Sūtras he quotes, viz. I. 3, 75, Müller observes, (p. 522) that it is used there "so as to apply to the *Veda*." This remark concerns the commentator, but not Pāṇini, who, as he correctly states, a few lines afterwards, uses *grantha* as "opposed to a traditional work." I do not believe that the commentator is absolutely wrong, as will appear from my subsequent remarks ; but I think that he might have chosen a better instance. By commentary, however, I do not understand Patanjali's Bhāṣya, which has no remark on this Sūtra, nor the Kāśikā, which has the counter-instance, **उच्यते चिकित्सां विवः** ; the first trace of this instance I find in the Siddh.-k. (fol. 167 a.),—uncorrected in the Praudhamanoramā,—whence it has crept into more recent books, e. g., the abridged Commentary of Nāgōji on Pāṇini's Sūtras. This instance, one of many, will corroborate my statement in note 21, that the compilation of the Calcutta Pañḍits,—however meritorious, and superior to its mutilated and unauthorized reprint,—so far from admitting of being identified with Pāṇini himself, ought not to be used as evidence for or against Pāṇini, without a knowledge of the source whence it has derived its instances.

I feel grieved that I cannot leave this note without destroying one of the most

acknowledged by Kaiyyāta (*cf.* IV. 3. 131, 132) ; and in the first note of p. 361, where he writes, "Pān., IV. 3, 116, हतो यन्वे ।" That Kaiyyāta says that this Sūtra does not belong to Pāṇini." That there are *three*, perhaps *four* Sūtras in Pāṇini's Grammar, which

poetical illusions of Professor Weber, connected with this word *grantha*. From the stream of imaginary narrative which meanders through the desert of his "Literaturgeschichte," emerges, *à propos* of the Rāmāyana (p. 182), the remark, that this masterpiece of Hindu poetry was probably preceded by some other epic works. To prove that which cannot be proved without a knowledge of the date of the Rāmāyana, which we have not,—and without a knowledge of those epic poems, which likewise we have not,—but which is plausible enough without any proof, he quotes Pāṇini's Sūtra, IV. 3, 88, which treats on the titles of some *granthas*. Among these *granthas* (which are, to his imagination, epic poems), is one called *Śiśukrandiya*, which therefore is, to him, a forerunner of the Rāmāyana. The same ingenious conjecture occurs in his "Indische Studien," vol. i. p. 155, where he grows somewhat indignant at Wilson, who, in his Dictionary, renders this term "a work treating of infantine or juvenile grievances," for he adorns Wilson, for this rendering, with a query and note of admiration ("Wilson dict. ? !"). Now, whether *śiśukrandiya* ought to have been, by right, the title of an epic poem (in the same manner as we learn, from another work what the words in the Vedas *ought* to have meant, if they had profited by the last results of Sanskrit

probably did not belong to his work originally, I will concede;²⁸ but amongst these three or four Sūtras out of 3996, there is no

and comparative philology), I am unable to say. Nevertheless, I believe that Wilson is right; for the *Kārikā* explains this word, शिशूनां क्रन्दं शिशुकन्दं तमधिष्ठत् इतो यन्मः शिशुकन्दीयः, and the *Viṅaratan-mahodadhi* has even an additional remark: शिशूनां नावाशिषां क्रन्दस्मधिष्ठत् इतो यन्मः शिशुकन्दीयः। वाचस्पत्यः. — It is, in other terms, “a book for children, written with reference to their cries,”—a kind of nursery-book for naughty babies.

²⁸ Dr. Otto Boehlingk was the first who drew attention to this fact, in the volume which he has annexed to his garbled and unauthorized reprint of the meritorious labour of the Calcutta editors of Pāṇini. In a note of p. xx. of his Preface, he enumerates *several* Sūtras, which, according to him, “were originally Vārttikas, and only at a later time became embodied into the text of Pāṇini;” viz., “IV. 1, 166, 167; IV. 3, 132; V. 1, 36; VI. 1, 62, 100, 136.” It certainly raises a strong doubt as to the authenticity of a Sūtra, if it occurs also as a Vārttika of Kātyāyana; but I hold the indispensable conditions for confirming such a doubt to be—1. that the Vārttika must really belong to Kātyāyana; 2. that the wording of the Vārttika must be *identical* with that of the doubted Sūtra; and 3. that both must have the *same tendency*. In the first place, however, we are entitled to consider as Vārttikas of Kātyāyana only such as occur in, and,—what is invariably then the case,—are commented upon by, the Bhāṣya of Patañjali. Vārttikas found in the Kāśikā or Siddhāntakaumudī, but not in the Bhāṣya,

Sūtra containing the word *grantha*; for I believe Müller was mistaken when he says that Kaiyaṭa acknowledges that the

may be, and *evidently* are in many instances, the critical additions of later times. They afford no basis for doubting the genuineness of a Sūtra in Pāṇini; nor is a mere remark of Kaiyaṭa, the commentator of Patañjali, that “some” consider a Sūtra as having been a Vārttika, sufficient to cancel the Sūtra from amongst the original rules. Secondly, if a Vārttika is not worded in the same manner as the Sūtra,—excepting, of course, the usual addition of Kātyāyana, इति वक्तव्यम्,—the mere similarity of both is no sufficient ground for doubting the originality of the Sūtra; for the difference in the wording of the Vārttika may have, as it *very frequently* has, the mere object of criticizing the manner in which Pāṇini delivered his rule. Lastly, if the Vārttika and Sūtra are identical in words, but not in tendency, there is not the slightest ground for doubting the authenticity of the Sūtra, though Kaiyaṭa may historically record that “some” have preferred to “throw it among the Vārttikas.” In applying these tests to the enumeration given by Dr. Boehlingk, we find, that IV. 1, 166 does *not* occur literally in the Vārttika 3 of IV. 1, 163; for, though the Calcutta editors write वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम्, and append their mark, that it occurs in the Siddh.-k. (the printed edition of this work contains on p. 65a, line 1, the words वृद्धस्य च पूजायामिति वाच्यम्).—the wording of this Vārttika, in the Bhāṣya is (MS., E.I.H., 330), वृद्धस्य च पूजायां युवसंज्ञा वक्तव्यम् (probably युवसंज्ञेति वक्तव्यम्); but even if the additional words belong, as is possible, not to the Vārttika, but to the Bhāṣya, it is clear

Sūtra IV. 3, 116 did not belong to Pāṇini. I have not been able to discover anywhere, in the Mahābhāṣya, either by the aid of my memory or my indices, that Kaiyaṣa expresses any opinion

that the tendency of the Vārttika and that of the Sūtra are not identical; for, in the Vārttika, the rule is *absolute*, while in the Sūtra, IV. 1, 166, it is *optional*, through the *assessments* of the preceding वा of IV. 1, 165. Therefore, Patanjali comments on the Vārttika in question, तत्त्ववत्तो नास्तीत्यथाः । तत्त्ववत्तो वात्स्यायनाः without the option recorded by the Kāśikā on IV. 1, 166, in the instances, तत्त्ववाग्याथीयोपो भागी वा । वात्स्यायनो वात्सी वा । दाचायनो दाचिर्वा—A similar negative conclusion applies to IV. 1, 167. The Vārttika mentioned by the Calcutta editors, to IV. 1, 162, does not occur in the Bhāṣya; it is not identical, even in the Siddh.-k., with the Sūtra, IV. 1, 167; it has not the same tendency as the Sūtra, the latter being optional, the former absolute. There is no ground, consequently, for doubting that the “some” of Kaiyaṣa, who maintain the antiquity of the Sūtra, are correct.—IV. 3, 132, is suspicious, for it occurs as a Vārttika in the Bhāṣya to IV. 3, 131, and fulfils the three above-named conditions; equally so V. 1, 36, which is a Vārttika to V. 1, 35, and VI. 1, 62, which occurs as a Vārttika to VI. 1, 61. On the other hand, VI. 1, 100, need not be rejected absolutely, for its wording is not identical with that of the Vārttika of VI. 1. 99; nor is it clear that both coincide in tendency. VI. 1, 99, restricts the rule to the condition of the word इति following a combination like पट्यदत्तः VI. 1, 100, exempts a similar combination, if ending in वाच from this condition (comp. V. 4, 57);

whatever on this Sūtra; but even should the mistake be mine, there would be little importance in the mere doubt of Kaiyaṣa, since Patañjali, when commenting on the Vārttikas to IV. 3, 105,

it would seem, therefore, that the Vārtika to VI. 1, 99, maintains the condition, but corrects the option वा, by the word विनाम्. I must admit, however, that Patanjali gives the instance पट्टप्राप्ति, which would countenance the probability of this Sūtra, also, not being an original one. Lastly, the Sūtra VI. 1, 136, चक्षुःसखवादि ऽपि neither occurs as a Vārtika in the Bhāṣya, nor even as a Vārtika in the Kāśikā or the Siddh.-k.; nor has its original existence, in fact, been doubted by anybody except Dr. Boehlingk, who writes in his so-called Commentary (p. 256), "This Sūtra has been interpolated at a later time; it owes its origin to the following two Vārtikas to the preceding Sūtra, चक्षुःवाच उपसंख्यानम् ॥ १ ॥ चक्षुःसखवादि च ॥ २ ॥ Compare Siddh.-k. p. 144a;" where, however, the reader will not find anything relating to the subject, while, on p. 145a, he will discover the Sūtra, IV. 1, 136, such as it is in the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini. That both Vārtikas are a criticism of Kātyāyana, who clearly disapproved of the condensed wording of the Sūtra 136, did not even occur to the mind of Dr. Boehlingk; but, considering the condition of his knowledge of Pāṇini, as displayed in this "Commentary," and even in his very last work, I cannot but express the belief, that his "αὐτὸς ἔφα" to strike out a Sūtra of Pāṇini, goes for very little indeed,—especially as it touches upon the sphere of reasoning.

distinctly quotes twice the Sūtra IV. 3, 116, which is a positive proof that it existed at his time, and was genuine enough.²⁸

I will now give an instance from the Mahābhārata, which, in my belief, would be perfectly unintelligible, if *grantha* were taken only in the sense of "composition," and not also in that of "written book," or "volume." I am met here, however, with an objection; viz., that I ought first to show that the Mahābhārata possesses the qualification which Müller has appended to his quoted remark, or, in other words, that it is a work of "the early literature," since he says that "*grantha* does not mean *pustaka*, or book, in 'the

early literature,' " while he admits that it has that sense in the later literature. Both Müller and Weber agree that there was a Mahābhārata at the time of Āśwalāyana, since they quote a passage from his Gṛhya-Sūtra, where the name occurs (Müller, p. 42; Weber, "Literaturgeschichte," p. 56), and neither denies that a work prior to Āśwalāyana would have a claim to be called a work of the earlier literature. Both scholars however question,—and very rightly too,—the claim of the *present* Mahābhārata, to having been *that* Mahābhārata which is quoted by Āśwalāyana. It is, of course, impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the Mahābhārata, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to everyone who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature. To do justice to a subject of this kind, I should have not merely to enter into details which would be here out of place, but to discuss the prior important question, as to how far the printed text in which this colossal

²⁸ There is no Bhāṣya on IV. 3, 116, and, therefore, no commentary of Kaiyaṣa on this Sūtra. On the Vārtika 2, to IV. 3, 105, कृते यन्ने मषिकादियो ऽह् which is a criticism on Pāṇini IV. 3, 116, on account of the addition, मषिकादियो ऽह्, and, therefore, a proof that the latter Sūtra was originally existing, Patanjali says: कृते यन्ने इत्यत्र (i. e., IV. 3, 116) मषिकादियो ऽह् यत्तत्र: । मषिकाभिः कृते माषिकम्; and on a third Vārtika योनविभासिह् which is not printed in the Calcutta edition, he observes, योनविभासः कुरिष्यते । कृते यन्ने (IV. 3, 116) ततः सञ्चारो (IV. 3, 117) च कृत एवेति सिद्धे सञ्चारिहेतुं प्रलयो भवति.

epos is generally known to us, may be relied upon ; and I should feel all the more bound to do so, as my collations of considerable portions of this text with the best MSS., in this country and abroad, fully convince me that it is neither advisable to make a translation of the Mahābhārata,—a labour which, if done once, should be done once for all,—nor to found a detailed criticism of the several portions of this work, on the printed text, however much I admire the industry, patience, and scholarship, of those who have accomplished the task of laying before us a first edition of this enormous work. Without their labours, it would have been still more difficult than it now is, to perceive the defects of the MSS.; but this tribute, which I gladly pay to their merits, does not dispense with my expressing the conviction, derived from my own labours, that no conclusion founded on special passages of the present text, is safe, before the differences of the MSS.—sometimes great—are thoroughly sifted and discussed with the help of the Commentaries.³⁰

³⁰ Weber ("Indische Studien," I. p. 148) and Müller (pp. 44, 45, note) give a

In proceeding now to give an instance which I hold to belong to the early (though not the earliest) portions of the Mahā-

valuable synopsis of the leading characters of the Mahābhārata, as they occur in the text and the commentaries of Pāṇini. This synopsis, I conceive, must convince even the most sceptic, that Pāṇini cannot have ignored the renown of these personages, nor consequently, it is probable, the real or poetical events on which this renown was founded. It forms the subject-matter of the Mahābhārata. Some stress has been laid by both scholars on the circumstance, that the name Pāṇḍu or Pāṇḍava does not occur in the Grammar of Pāṇini (Weber, "Indische Studien," p. 148; Müller, p. 44); but, since both have constructed their list as well from the Gāṇas and commentaries as from the Sūtras, it will not be amiss to add, that *Pāṇḍava* occurs in Kālyāṇa's gloss on Patañjali to IV. 1, 168, v. 4, and in the Kāśikā on IV. 1, 171, when the observation of the former implies, what I pointed at in a former remark, that the word Pāṇḍu does not occur in the Vārtika, as the name of Yudhiṣṭhira's father, because the word Pāṇḍava is too common a derivation to require a grammatical rule; Vārtika, पाण्डोर्वाङ् यत्नवः.—Patañjali, पाण्डवः—Kālyāṇa, पाण्डोरिति । बाह्वादिप्रभृति (IV. 1, 96, etc.) चेत्तर्ह्यनं कीदृशे गोत्रमाव रति (words of Patañjali on a previous Vārtika) दध्नामुचिदि-रादिषुः पाण्डोरयहाहाचिवः । पाण्डव एवेव अवति.—Kāśikā on the same Vārtika (differently worded; quoted in the Calcutta edition, under the Śloka IV. 1, 168, in the MSS. under IV. 1, 171), पाण्डवः । दध्नात्पाण्डव एव. The word पाण्डवेय occurs in the Kāśikā on the Gāṇa IV. 1, 123.

bhārata, I must submit, therefore, to having its validity acknowledged or rejected, according to the value the reader may attach to my opinion. Not to be misunderstood, however, I will add that I consider it as posterior to Pāṇini. But, as the date I shall assign hereafter to this grammarian will be older than the date originated by Dr. Boehtlingk, the passage in question will still be entitled to rank among the earlier literature. In the *Sāntiparvan* of the Mahābhārata we read : "Vasishtha spoke (to Janaka) 'The doctrines of the Vedas and the (philosophical) Śāstras which thou hast uttered, are rightly uttered by thee, but thou understandest them not; for the text (*grantha*) of the Vedas

and Śāstras is possessed by thee, yet, king, thou dost not know the real sense of the text (*grantha*) according to its truth; for he who is merely bent upon possessing the text (*grantha*) of the Veda and Śāstra, but does not understand the real sense of the text, his possession of them is an idle one; he carries *the weight of the book (grantha)* who does not know the sense of it; but he who knows the real sense of the text (*grantha*), his is not an idle acquisition of the text." In this instance, *grantha* is used in its double sense, composition or text, and *book*; for there can be no doubt that in the passage, "*Bhāraṃ sa vahaṭe tasya granthasya*," "he carries the weight of the *grantha*," the last word can only refer to the material bulk of the book.

I will conclude my observations on this word with a remark on the phrase, "*granthato 'rthataścha*," which must undoubtedly be rendered in the sense proposed by Müller, "according to the text and according to the meaning." An analogous contrast, exactly in the same sense, is that of *kāṇḍa* and *padārtha*, which is of fre-

व. १३३—१३४३ (the corrections are founded on the com. and MSS.): चदेत्तदुक्तं भवता वेदोक्तविद्येयम् । एवमेतच्च वित्तं मुकति (for विततिगु) तच्च भवत् । धादेति हि तच्च यन्म उभयोर्वेदशास्त्रयोः । न च यन्मस्य तत्त्वो यथावत् (for यथा न त्) परिहर । यो हि वेदे च शास्त्रे च यन्मधारयत्यतः । न च यन्मार्थ-तत्त्वस्यैव तत्त्वारव्यं युष्मा । भारं स वहति तस्य यन्मकार्यं न वेति चः । यस्य यन्मा-वेत्यन्मो वाक्य यन्मावलो युष्मा ।

quent occurrence in Mīmāṃsā writers.²² That, in the latter case, the meaning “text” is a secondary one of *kāṇḍa*, no one will dispute, since there is nothing in this word which points to “composition.” It must be allowable therefore to conceive, that its synonyme *grantha* may, through the same mental process as *kāṇḍa*, have assumed the secondary meaning of “text.”

There is another important word which Müller will not admit as evidence of Pāṇini’s having had a knowledge of writing,—for it is used by this grammarian,—the word *varna*. But the only reason he gives for invalidating its testimony is, that this word which, etymologically and otherwise, really means “colour,”—when having the sense of letter “does not mean colour in the sense of a painted letter, but the colouring or modulation of the voice” (p. 507). In the absence of any proof for this assertion, he adds, in a note: “Aristotle, Probl. x. 39 : τὰ δὲ γράμματα πᾶσι εἰσι τῆς

φωνῆς.” In this respect he coincides, for once, with Weber, not merely in the point at issue, but also in the remarkable brevity of his argument. For all that Weber says on the subject (“Indische Studien,” iv. 109) is: “The name *varna* is probably (*wohl*) to be understood of the ‘colouring,’ specializing (*specialisierend*) of the sound; compare *rakṭa*, which is employed in the Rikprātiśākhya in the sense of ‘nasalised’ (*nasalirt*). With *writing* it has nothing to do.” Now, I confess, that I always become somewhat suspicious when I meet with a definition which prefers the language of similes to plain prose. How, I must ask, for instance, does the figure of colouring apply to the notion of specialising? It is striking, moreover, that Weber, who starts with a *probability*, in two lines reaches a positive certainty, founded only on the analogy of *rakṭa*. And, in turning again to Müller’s words, I must, in the first place, ask, what does an analogy taken from Aristotle prove for the Sanskrit word? But, supposing it could prove anything, would it not be more plausible to make use of it in favour of the contrary conclusion to that which Müller

²² E.g. in Mādāhara’s Jaiminiya-ayāya-māla-vistara, where वाङ्मनसमय is contrasted with पदवाङ्मनसमय, for instance, V. 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, etc. etc.

has drawn ? Aristotle speaks of *γράφματα*, which word applies originally to none but *written* signs ; and if *he* may apply *γράφματα* to the voice, might not the same liberty be claimed for a Sanskrit word meaning a written letter ? Again, the notion of “ colouring,” itself supposes necessarily a condition which may be called indifferent or colourless : green, blue, red, are colours, because there is an indifferent condition, called white. A coloured sound is not intelligible, except on the supposition that there is also an indifferent or uncoloured sound. Hence we speak, for instance, in modern terminology, of *i*, *u*, *r*, *e*, *o*, etc., as coloured vowels, because we contrast them with the fundamental uncoloured vowel *a*. But I shall show that *varṇa* is applied indifferently to all vowels, inclusive of *a*.

I do not dispute that *varṇa* is used like *γράφματα*, “ letter,” also for the spoken letter,²² but I hold that there is strong

evidence to prove that its *original* sense is that of *written* letter, as arising naturally from its primitive sense “ colour,” and that the appearance of this word in Pāṇini or other authors, may serve as one of many arguments that they practised the art of writing. To make good this statement I must advert to another word which may also mean letter, and in this sense is always the latter part of a compound, the former of which is the letter itself designated by it, viz., the word *kāra* ; e. g. *a-kāra*, the letter *a* ; *i-kāra*, the letter *i*, etc. It corresponds with *varṇa*, in the synonymous expressions, *a-varṇa*, *i-varṇa*, etc. Kātyāyana looks upon it in the light of an affix, probably on account of its being always compounded with the letter itself ; and Kaiyyāṭa enlarges upon the expression *varṇa*, in saying that this word means, in the Vārttika quoted, “ that which expresses a *varṇa* or adequately realizes a *varṇa* (*i. e.*, is the adequate value of a *varṇa*).” He, therefore, like Kātyāyana, contrasts the purport of *kāra* and *varṇa*, though *a-kāra* and *a-varṇa*, *i-kāra* and *i-varṇa*, may appear to be,—and we shall see

²² Thus Nagojibhaṭṭa explains, in the commencement of the *Vivarṇa*, **वादो वर्णः** ; or Kaiyyāṭa says : **वाच्यवर्णो ये वर्णाः** etc.

from what reason,—convertible terms.³⁴ To understand, however, this contrast, and the use of two other terms which I shall have to name, I will first give instances from Pāṇini, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, and the Bhāṣya, which will illustrate the manner in which these grammarians have used both terms.

We find : *a-kāra*, Śivas. 1, v. 1 (omitted in the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini); II. 4, 30, v. 4.; IV. 4, 128, v. 2; III. 3, 108, v. 3, P.;—*ā-kāra*, Śivas. 1, v. 1 (om. Calc. ed.); I. 1, v. 4; I. 1, 56, v. 11; III.

³⁴ Vārttika 3, III. 3, 108 : वर्षोत्कारः वर्षोत्कारप्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः । अकार हकारः; Kāiyyaṣa—वर्षोदिति वर्षोवाचिनो वर्षोत्कारादित्यर्थः । चउत्तपह्वात्कचित् भवति । अस्मिन् अस्मादिति (VII. 4, 32) यथा तथा क्त्वित्त्वैवमुदयागुकराद्वि ह्यकार इति. To remove the apparent strangeness of the manner in which I have rendered अनुकरस्व which usually means “imitating, doing in conformity with,” I sub-join two other instances from Kāiyyaṣa, where the same word is also used by him in the sense of “adequate, or real value.” Kātyāyana having given this derivation of अकार, “अन्नोतिवा यतो ऽचरस्,” and Patanjali having added अन्नोतिवा पुनर्यमीवादिक्ः सरप्रत्ययः, Kāiyyaṣa observes अन्नोतिवेति । सरप्रत्ययस्यानुवचनोपेक्षते ऽनुकरस्व सर इति etc. ; or सर्वेषामकाराणां यत्सामान्यं तदनुकरप्रत्ययमाकारः.

1, 8, P.; VI. 1, 87, kār. 2, P.;—*i-kāra*, III. 3, 108, v. 3, P.; IV. 4, 128, v. 2;—*i-kāra*, VII. 1, 39, v. 3; VIII. 2, 15, v. 1, P.;—*u-kāra*, VI. 1, 185, par. 1, P.;—*ri-kāra*, P. on Śivas. 2 and Vārtt. (om. in the Calc. ed.); I. 1, 9, v. 2; VI. 1, 101, v. 1, P.; VIII. 4, 1, v. 1; *ri-kāra*, VI. 1, 87, v. 1 (om. Calc. ed.);—*lṛi-kāra*, P. on Śivas. 2; Śivas. 4, v. 5, (om. Calc. ed.); I. 1, 9, v. 2; VI. 1, 101, v. 2, P.;—*e-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 3 (om. Calc. ed.), IV. 3, 23, v. 6;—*o-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 3 (om. Calc. ed.); V. 3, 72, v. 1; VII. 2, 1, v. 1, 2, 3; VIII. 3, 20, v. 1;—*au-kāra*, VIII. 2, 89, P.;—*ka-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 4, 5 (om. Calc. ed.); VII. 3, 44, v. 1, P.;—*ṅa-kāra*, I. 3, 12, v. 1, P.;—*cha-kāra*, P. on III. 1, 8;—*jha-kāra* and *ña-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 8 (om. Calc. ed.);—*ṇa-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 6 (om. Calc. ed.); VI. 1, 1, v. 10; VI. 4, 120, v. 1; VIII. 3, 55, v. 1, P.;—*ta-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 4 (om. Calc. ed.); VII. 2, 48, v. 1;—*da-kāra* and *pa-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 4;—*dha-kāra*, VIII. 3, 78, v. 1, P. and v. 3;—*na-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 2;—*bha-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 8 (om. Calc. ed.); V. 3, 72, v. 1;

—*ma-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 7 ;—*ya-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 6 ;—*la-kāra*, I. 3, 3, v. 2 ;—*va-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 5 ;—*śa-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 5 ;—*sha-kāra*, VI. 1, 1, v. 10 ;—*sa-kāra*, V. 3, 72, v. 1 ;—*ha-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 5 (all these Vārtt. to the Śivas. om. in the Calc. ed.).

On the other hand: *a-varṇa*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 1 (om. Calc. ed.); IV. 1, 1, v. 3 ; VI. 3, 97, v. (not of K., but mentioned in P.); VIII. 3, 64, v. 3 ; VII. 1, 82, v. 2 ; and in the *Sūtras*: VI. 1, 182 ; VI. 2, 90 ; VI. 3, 112 ;—*i-varṇa*, P. on a Vārtt. to the Śivas. 1 and 3 (om. Calc. ed.); VII. 2, 10. P.; VIII. 2, 106, v. 1. P.; Sūtra VII. 4, 53 ; *u-varṇa*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 1. (om. Calc. ed.); V. 3, 83, v. 5, and Kār. 1 ; VII. 2, 10. P.; VIII. 2, 106, v. 1. P.;—*varṇa y* (or *y-varṇa*) Sūtra VII. 4, 53.³³

³³ The instances quoted are restricted, as I have stated, to the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, as they occur in the Bhāṣhya of Patanjali, and to the latter, (marked P.) Some of the above-named Vārttikas are marked in the Calcutta edition, “Kāsī,” or “Siddh.-k.,” but they occur, too, in the Bhāṣhya. These instances might have been multiplied, and had it been necessary to add quotations from the Kāsīkā, Siddh.-k.,

The foregoing combinations of a letter of the alphabet with *kāra* and *varṇa* are, I believe, all that occur in the grammarians named, and they show at once, that *kāra* enters into composition with all vowels and all consonants, provided the latter are followed by the letter *u*—(for it may be assumed without risk that the absence of some combinations, such as *kha-kāra*, *gha-kāra*, etc.,

or the words of the Calcutta editors: f. i. by *ṛ-kāra*, VI. 1, 91, Kāsīkā ; Kalyāṇa on Śivas. 5 ;—*ṣha-kāra*, VIII. 3, 7, Kāsīkā ; VIII. 3, 34, Kāsīkā ; VIII. 4, 54, Kāsīkā ;—*ḍha-kāra*, VIII. 3, 55, Kāsīkā ;—*tha-kāra*, I. 2, 23, Kāsīkā ; VIII. 3, 7, Kāsīkā ; VIII. 3, 34, Kāsīkā ;—*na-kāra*, VIII. 2, 16, Kāsīkā ;—*pha-kāra*, I. 2, 23, Kāsīkā ; VIII. 4, 54, Kāsīkā ;—*ja-kāra*, I. 3, 8, Kāsīkā ;—or *ṛi-carṇa*, I. 1, 9, v. 1, Siddh.-k. ; V. 3, 83, v. 5, Kāsīkā (thus quoted in the Calcutta edition, but not met with in the MS. 2441 of the E.I.H.) ; VIII. 4, 1, v. 1, Kāsīkā and Siddh.-k. ;—*ṛi-carṇa*, I. 1, 9, v. 1, Siddh.-k. The very unusual *ra-kāra* in the Commentary to VIII. 2, 15 (it occurs chiefly in mystical, not in grammatical, works ; e.g. in the dialogue between Umā and Śiva of the Rudrāyāmalatantra), I must leave to the responsibility of the Calcutta editors ; for the Bhāṣhya on the Vārttika does not speak of the letter *ra*, and the Kāsīkā and Siddh.-k. have, instead of *raḍrāṇatāt*, the usual *rephāṇatāt*. I have omitted, of course, to quote passages of the *Sūtras*, etc., where *varṇa* or *kāra* have other meanings than “letter.”

is merely a matter of chance, not of necessity; compare the additional instances of the note 35)—while *varṇa* is joined merely to vowels and to such consonants as are *without a vowel sound*²⁸ (*cf.* Sūtra, VII. 4, 53).

This circumstance is significant, but at once intelligible, if we draw a distinction between a spoken sound and a written letter. To sound a consonant (*k*, *t*, *p*, etc.) we must combine it with a vowel; in writing, we may omit that vowel, and should omit it, unless it have its own peculiar value: the spoken *k* has a different value to the written *ka*, which means *k* and *a*. Unless, therefore, Pāṇini intended, for instance, to give a rule on *y* and *a*, he could not employ a term *ya*, which merely refers to the spoken sound *y*; or, if he did so, he would have had to give a special rule to the effect that the sound *a* in this combination is mute or insignificant, as he has given various rules to a similar

²⁸ Pāṇini never uses *varṇa* of a consonant followed by the vowel *a*; but the late Kāśikā writes *सुम हलितावर्ण*, or *सवगुण्ड हलितावर्ण*, if the MSS. are to be trusted.

effect when he employs for his technical purposes *anubandhas* or letters without significance. Now, such a rule on the suppression of vowels which appear in his grammar, but are not to be sounded when the word with which they are combined becomes a spoken word, is given by him (I. 3, 2), but for a distinct and special purpose, and not with the intent of *general* application; a vowel, such as it is treated in this rule, is (and ought to have been always edited with the appropriate sign) *anunāsika*. Therefore, when Pāṇini gives a rule in which the vowel *a* is appended to a consonant, but valueless,—though the absence of its value would not follow from the rule quoted (I. 3, 2) or otherwise,—the commentators notice such an exceptional case as worthy of a special remark, and defend it in their fashion if they deem it advisable.²⁷ In other words, expressions like *a-kāra*, *i-kāra*, *u-kāra*, etc., and *a-varṇa*, *i-varṇa*, *u-varṇa*, etc., are

²⁷ The Kāśikā, e.g., observes on the Śivasūtra चञ्च, — इकारादिष्वकार उच्चारणार्थं नानुबन्धः । खकारे लकारो ऽनुनासिक हस्तिः प्रतिपाद्यते; or the Sūtra VII. 1, 25 चट्टु where the first च is mute, is excused by Kāśikāyana in this way: चिह्नं लघुनासिकोपधात्.

equivalent, because the value of a *spoken vowel* coincides with that of the *written vowel-sign*; they admit of a doubt whether *kára* or *varṇa*, or both or neither, apply to a written sign; but when we see that *sa-kára*, *bha-kára*, *ṇa-kára*, *sha-kára*, *ta-kára*, etc., are portions of rules, in which not *sa*, *bha*, *ṇa*, *sha*, *ta*, etc., but *s*, *bh*, *n*, *śh*, *t*, etc., are meant, we perceive at once that *kára* must apply to the uttered sound. On the other hand, when Pāṇini speaks (VII. 4, 53) of two *varṇas*, *yí*, i.e. of a *varṇa y* and of a *varṇa i*, we must conclude that *varṇa* did not apply to the spoken sound, but to the written sign, since the value *y* without a vowel would be unpronounceable.

I will give some additional proof for this conclusion on the meaning of both these words. In the foregoing remarks I rendered *kára* in combination with *i*, *u*, *ea*, etc. "letter," since we use this word in its double acceptation, uttered sound and written sign. If *kára*, however, is the uttered sound, it will be a synonyme of *śabda*, and we find it therefore, e.g. in the comment of the Kāśikā, used as a convertible term with *śabda*.²⁸ This is never the case with *varṇa*.

²⁸ Pāṇini (VIII. 2, 37) uses the expression स्योः, which is rendered by the Kāśikā

Since an uttered sound may comprise more than one letter, we find *kára*, as Kaiyaṭa already remarks (compare note 34), equally applied to complicated sounds, e.g. *eva-kára* (III. 4, 67, v. 3 and 6; I. 4, 8, Kās.; VI. 2, 80 P.); and Pāṇini, who never uses it for expressing a simple letter-sound (because his terms are such as apply to a written book), applies it to the sound *vashat* in *vashat-kára* (I. 2, 35). *Varṇa* is never used in a similar manner.

In this respect *kára* coincides with the term *karana*, which occurs in combinations quite analogous, e.g. *iti-karana*, I. 1, 44, v. 1, P.; IV. 2, 21, v. 2, P.; *duk-karana*, VII. 1, 25, v. 3; *chit-karana*, VII. 1, 25, v. 4; 3, 118, v. 6; *chit-karana*, III. 1, 8, v. 4, P.; or even combined with *kára*, as *evakára-karana*, VI. 2, 80, Kās., etc. *Varṇa*, on the contrary, is used by Kātyāyana and Pa-

सकारे च. The word *सुद्ध* is used in a similar manner, e.g., in these combinations: तिपुद्ध, VI. 2, 81, Kāśikā (ति being there the last syllable of *यिति*); तुपुद्ध, VI. 2, 50, Kāśikā (तु being affix); सुपुद्ध, VII. 1, 25, v. 4, P. (सुद्ध being the ending of pronouns in the neuter); सुपुद्ध, VII. 1, 30, v. 1, P. (सुद्ध being the declension ending).

tanjali in the same manner as in Pāṇini's Sūtra which speaks of the *varṇa y*, viz., of *unutterable consonantal sounds*, which therefore must have been written signs. Thus, a discussion is raised by Kātyāyana on the Sūtra VI. 4, 49, which treats of the elision of *ya*, in reference to the question whether *ya* is to be dropped or merely *y*; and on this occasion, he calls the former *sanghāta*, "combination," (viz., of *y* and *a*), and the latter *varṇa*. In a Vārtika to VII. 3, 50, a similar discussion is started on *ha*; again, *ha* is called there *sanghāta*, and the unpronounceable *th*, *varṇa*. The same term *sanghāta* is applied to *ka* in a Vārtika to VII. 3, 44, and *varṇa* to the vowelless *k*.

The same sense of *varṇa* is conveyed by a definition of Patanjali concerning the term *upadeśa*, which literally means demonstration, and then assumes the special sense of grammatical mode of denoting, or of grammatical appearance, and of the book in which such grammatical denotations occur: ²⁸ it means, for instance, the

²⁸ Patanjali on the Sūtra I. 3, 2: किं पुनरुपदेशम् । शास्त्रम् । A Vārtika on I. 3, 3: सिद्धं तु अवसितांशत्वात्; on which Patanjali comments: सिद्धमेतत् । कश्चम् ।

grammatical appearance of the radicals in the Dhātupāṭha, or the Dhātupāṭha itself; and, in like manner, the grammatical appearance of the letters in the Śivasūtras, "the root of Pāṇini's Grammar."

अवसितांशत्वात् । अवसितांशो ह्यसिद्धो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् (Kātyāyana, says Patanjali, ought rather to have said अव . . . भवति; these latter words of Patanjali have been mistaken by the Calcutta editors for the Vārtika itself; and they of course again make their appearance in the reprint of Dr. Boehlingk, who besides, and for the sake of greater clearness, adds: "Ein Vārtika," and prints •वेत्, as if he had looked into the Mahābhāṣya and amended the "Vārtika" from the original work.—Patanjali then continues:) किं पुनरुपदेशः । धातुप्रतिपदिकप्रत्ययविधातावसादेषाः.—On account of the double sense of *upadeśa*, "book, etc." and "grammatical appearance," Patanjali raises this question when speaking of the Sūtra VI. 1, 45: कश्चमिदं विज्ञायते । एष उपदेश इति । आहोस्विदेवं यदुपदेश इति, when Kātyāyana is still more explicit: कश्चमिति । यदोपदेशश्चदेव कारवाधनेन शास्त्रमुच्यते तदा विशेषानुपादानादिव नास्ति तदन्वविधिरित्ययं पक्षो भवति एष उपदेश इति । यदा तु कर्मसाधन उपदेशश्च उपदिशमानार्थवाची यच्चैवं च सप्तमी तदोपदेशस्यैवाविशेषात्तदन्वविधावित्थं पक्षो भवति एवम् यदुपदेश इति.—A similar question of Patanjali occurs in his com. on VI. 1, 186: यदुपदेशादिति कश्चमिदं विज्ञायते । क्वारो य उपदेश इति । आहोस्विदकारानं यदुपदेश इति.

mar," as Nagojibhatta calls them. For when Kātyāyana, in several introductory Vārtikas, enlarges on the purpose of the letters, as they occur in the Śivasūtras, Patanjali asks :⁴⁰ "Now, what is *upa-dśa*, or technical denotation? Pronunciation. How is that? The radical *dś*, 'to show,' (whence *upa-dśa* is derived) implies the act of pronouncing; for, after having pronounced the *varṇas*, one may say, 'these *varṇas* are *upadiśā*, or technically denoted.' " Patanjali distinguishes, therefore, between *varṇas* and *upadiśā-varṇas*; only the latter are, according to him, the pronounceable *varṇas*; and it would have been useless for him to draw this distinction, if *varṇa* itself originally signified the spoken letter.

What the *simple* consonantal sound is to the pronounceable consonant, the *simple* vowel is, in some measure, to the diphthong or combined vowel sound. It is, perhaps, on this ground that, while we find a general name for vowel-letters, viz., *svara-varṇa*

⁴⁰ Patanjali on the Introduction: **यच्च क उपदेशः । उच्चारणम् । कुत एतत् । दिशि-उच्चारणमिदं । उच्चार्य हि यर्वाणाम् । अयदिशा रुने यर्वा रति ।**

(IV. 1, 3, v. 7), the compounds *e-varṇa*, *o-varṇa*, *ai-varṇa*, *au-varṇa*, neither occur in Pāṇini nor Kātyāyana, for *e* is *a* and *i*, *o* = *a* and *u*, *ai* = *a* and *e*, *au* = *a* and *o*. Their general name is, in "older grammars," *sandhy-akṣhara*; and in Kātyāyana and Patanjali, for *e* and *o*, *prāśishā-varṇa*, for *ai* and *au*, *samāhāra-varṇa*.⁴¹ The Kāśikā, it is true, speaks of these vowels simply as *varṇas*; ⁴² but, in the first place, it does not form a compound *e-varṇa*, etc., like *i-varṇa*, etc.; and, secondly, however great the value of this commentary, it cannot always be considered as fulfilling the conditions of critical accuracy, and cannot therefore be quoted as evidence against Pāṇini or Kātyāyana. But even if there were in Pāṇini's Grammar such compounds as *e-varṇa*, *o-varṇa*, their occurrence

⁴¹ Kaiyaṣa to Patanjali on Śivas. 3 and 4 : **संयचरादीन्वर्णेषु पूर्वोच्चार्यसंज्ञा-** Whether this term "older teachers" applies to the present Prātiśākhya where the same term occurs, or not, will be included in the subsequent discussion on the relation of these works to Pāṇini's grammar.—Patanjali on the same Śivas. : **इमादिवी समाहारवर्णौ** the same on I. 1, 9 : **(ए ओ) प्रशिष्टवर्णवैती**.

⁴² Kāśikā on the Śivas. 3 : **ए ओ इति यर्वा**; on Śivas. 4 : **ए ओ इति यर्वा**.

would not invalidate the conclusion that *varṇa* represents the written sign, since it is the combination of *varṇa* with a consonant that alone can enable us to decide the question at issue. And that there are other values in Pāṇini which could not have been spoken, though they are an essential portion of his Grammar, will be seen afterwards.

How far *varṇa* coincides, and is synonymous with *akṣhara*, "syllable," or not, is obvious: it coincides with the latter term when it means vowel, otherwise not.⁴³ The distinction between these terms may therefore be comprised in the following definition: *kāra* denotes the pronounceable sound, which *must* always be one syllable, but may also consist of more than one syllable; if denoting one syllable, it may mean a simple vowel (*a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṛī, ṛī, ṛī, ṛī, ṛī*), or a complex vowel (*e, o, ai, au*), or a simple consonant made pronounceable by a vowel (usually the vowel

a); *kāra* denotes more especially the pronounceable sound represented either by more than one syllable or by one syllable containing more than one consonant. *Varṇa*, on the contrary, implies merely the simple letter,—among vowels, especially the simple vowel; among consonants, merely the *single consonant, not accompanied with a vowel sign*. Lastly, *akṣhara* means "syllable" in our sense of the word, and may sometimes therefore coincide in value with *kāra*, or *varṇa*, in the same way that *kāra* and *varṇa* are apparently convertible terms when they are the latter parts of compounds, the former of which are *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṛī, ṛī, ṛī*.

I have, in the foregoing observations, purposely abstained from alluding to the use which has been made of these terms in the existing Prātiśākhya of Śaunaka and Kātyāyana; in the first place, because it was my object to show their meaning in Pāṇini's work, as well as in those old Commentaries which have strictly adhered to his terminology, and because it would have been an uncritical proceeding to confound the meaning or bearing of these terms in works belonging to a different class of Hindu litera-

⁴³ Kalyāṇa on VIII. 2, 89 : *अक्षरस्य*; the same on the Introduction to the Śivas. : *अक्षरं अक्षरसहितो ऽक्षः*; *यथा च यवानह इति यवानहमिति*.

ture ;⁴⁴ secondly, because the date of these works, themselves,—or, at least, their relative position towards Pāṇini,—will have to be ascertained, before any conclusion can be drawn from a difference which may have existed between them in the use of these terms. Though I shall recur to this point, I may now state my belief, that even if grammatical works older than Pāṇini had used *varṇa* in the general sense of *akṣhara*, such a circumstance would not disprove the fact that *varṇa* might have meant a written sign even before Pāṇini's time. There is, for instance, an introductory Vārtika

⁴⁴ This confusion, unhappily, does not seldom occur in the definition of words, as found in our dictionaries; thus, *वर्ण* is used by Yāska in the general sense "reduplicated," and as applied to a *dhātū*, or radical portion of the verb (Nir. IV. 23: *एरि एतीतिष्वुहो ऽव्ययः*; or IV. 25: *एरिवाजुतिरव्ययः*); in Pāṇini, however, it means the first two syllables of a reduplicated *ang* or base (VI. 1, 5); *व्यय* means *reduplication*, in the *Nirukṭis* (V. 12), on the form *व्ययस्*, *आदिवाग्यसि*—*पदिसिर्वागमादौ सव्ययसकर्म*; in Pāṇini it means the first *syllable* of reduplication (VI. 1, 4). To philosophical terms this remark applies in a still stronger sense; they have been generally dealt with as if the same term, *ए-इ*, *अनस्*, *आद्यन्*, *मुनि*, etc., had the same sense in all the philosophical systems, which is not the case.

of Kātyāyana which countenances the assumption that *varṇa* had such a sense in some older grammarian; but the very manner in which it is brought before the reader shows that Kātyāyana contrasts the use of this word in Pāṇini with that in his predecessor, and confirms, therefore, the definition I have given before. At the same time, it leaves the question undecided whether *varṇa* was, or was not, a written letter in this older work. The Vārtika I am alluding to occurs at the end of the general introduction, and refers to the following Vaidik passage mentioned in the beginning of the introduction: "Whoever establishes this speech according to its words, its accent, and its syllables, he is fit to institute or to perform sacrificial work; and that it is a duty to study grammar, follows from the words 'let us be fit to institute, or to perform sacrificial work.'"⁴⁵ The Vārtika then says: "*akṣhara*, you must

⁴⁵ Patanjali: *यो वा एमां पदयः स्वरयो ऽव्ययो वाचं विदधाति स आलिङ्गीनो भवति । आलिङ्गीनाः स्वामिवचोचं वाक्यस्य*; Kaiyaṣa: *अलिङ्गमहेतीत्यालिङ्गीनो व्यवसानः* (Pāṇini, V. 1, 71) । *अलिङ्गमहेतीति वाक्यो ऽवालिङ्गीकः* (ib. Vārtika).

know, means *na kshara*, i. e., not perishable," and continues, "or *akshara* comes from *as*, 'to pervade,' with the affix *sara* (*Kaiyya*: 'because it pervades the sense')," and concludes, "or they call *varṇa* so in the Sūtra of a former (grammarian)" [*Patanjali*: i. e. "or in the Sūtra of a former (grammarian) *varṇa* has the name *akshara*." *Kaiyya*: "For it is said in another grammar, that the *varṇas* are *aksharas*." *Nagojibhaṭṭa*: "In a similar manner the term *aksharasamānamāya* means a multitude of *varṇas*, as seen in the Vedas"].⁴⁶

Before I proceed to give other evidence as to Pāṇini's knowledge of writing, I will draw attention to two words which have here a claim to notice; and first to the word *úrdhwa*. It is used

* *Kātyāyana*: *अक्षरं न चरं विधातुं । चरतिर्वा सरो ऽक्षरम् । चरं वाचः पूर्वसूत्रे ।*
Patanjali (on the latter): *अथवा पूर्वसूत्रे चरं वाचरिति संज्ञा निबन्धे; Kātyāyana*
 पूर्वसूत्रं इति । वाचरवाचरं चरं वाचरादिति वचनात्; *Nagojibhaṭṭa*
 पूर्वसूत्रस्यैव वहीतस्य इति भावः । एवं वाचरसमावाय एवञ्च नुतिस्मो
 चरं चरं वाचत एवञ्च तात्पर्यम्.

adverbially in the sense of "after;" for instance, in *Manu*, ix. 77, *úrdhwaṃ samvatsarāt*, "after a year," or, *Chhândogya-Upanishad*: *tata úrdhwaṃ vatsahyāmi*, "after that I shall say." But *úrdhwa* means, originally, "upwards, above, high, or (in combination with an ablative) higher." It is possible to conceive progress as an act of rising, when the sense "after" would follow from this latter acceptance. But it is more probable that the metaphorical sense of the word was first applied to passages in books,—where it is frequently used in this way,—before it became a more general one; and, if so, the figure would naturally follow from the description I have given of a Hindu book; for the beginning of a Sanskrit MS.,—as may still be seen in some of the oldest specimens,—was at the bottom of the pile of leaves which constitute its bulk. What is "above," in a Hindu book, is, therefore, "after;" while, with us, the term "above" denotes the opposite sense, from the circumstance of the progress of our books being a descending one. And this assumption is corroborated by a second synonymous word, viz.: *udaya*, which also means, originally, "going upwards," and

then, "after, following," and which, moreover, is never used in this sense, except of passages in books. It occurs frequently thus in the *Prātiśākhya*s; but, for the reasons stated before, I content myself with quoting, for its occurrence in Pāṇini, the *Sūtra* VIII. 4, 67.^a

"If writing," says Müller, "had been known to Pāṇini, some of his grammatical terms would surely point to the graphical appearance of words. I maintain that there is not a single word in Pāṇini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing" (p. 507).

As Weber, in his "Indische Studien" (vol. iv. p. 89), had already mentioned two grammatical terms of "Pāṇini," viz., *swaritet* and *udāttet*, which he considers as "founded on graphical

appearance," I cannot suppose that Müller has overlooked the remark of this scholar, but must assume that he has silently rejected it, either on account of its incorrectness or its inconclusiveness. It is true, that the latter term does not occur at all in the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini, nor the former, such as it is given by Weber; but, in the first place, there can be no doubt that, in the *Sūtra* I. 3, 72, *swaritanīyas* must be analysed *swaritetas* and *nīyas* (comp. the commentaries), and on the other hand, Müller can neither have ignored that Pāṇini's expression, *anudātāṅgīyas* (I. 3, 12), is equivalent to *anudāttetas* and *ṅgīyas*, nor that the term *anudāttet* distinctly occurs in the rules III. 2, 149 and VI. 1, 186. His absolute silence on this point was probably, therefore, not caused by Weber's partial inaccuracy, but by the reference the latter gives when naming these terms,—the reference to Dr. Boehtlingk's "Comment" on the *Sūtra* I. 3, 11. For it must be readily admitted that the gloss of this writer is quite enough to raise the strongest apprehensions as to the sanity of Pāṇini, provided that it does not induce the reader to arrive at a peculiar view of the

^a For the same reasons I do not avail myself of the word *वर्णित* "above," though it occurs in the same sense, "after," e.g., in *Kātyāyana's Prātiśākhya*, I. 33. (The word *वर्णित* is used in the sense "before," e.g., in *Uvāṇa's* com. on this *Prātiśākhya*, I. 85; *वर्णित*, in the sense "after," e.g., in the introduction of the *Jaiminiya-niyāya-mālika-vistara*).

fitness of Pāṇini's "editor" himself to compose a comment on this great grammarian.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ I subjoin a literal copy of this gloss, which but poorly illustrates the character of the second volume of Dr. Boehdligk's "edition" of Pāṇini. It runs thus:—"Wo der Circumflex gestanden hat, will ich nicht entscheiden; wenn zu *Pāṇini's Zeiten* die Accente in der gewöhnlichen Schrift nicht gebraucht wurden, konnte der Circumflex über einen beliebigen Buchstaben des *adhikāra* gesetzt werden, ohne Verwirrung hervorzubringen. Die Handschriften unseres Grammatikers, die ich verglichen habe, sind alle aus der neuesten Zeit und bezeichnen diesen Accent ebenso wenig wie die nasalen Vocale im *spadeya*. Wenn ich 2 *vārtikas* zu unserer Regel recht verstehe, so wurde bei einem *adhikāra* ein Buchstabe angefügt (der vielleicht der Träger des Circumflex war) und zwar so oft als der *adhikāra* in der Folge ergänzt werden musste; konnte er nicht so weit ergänzt werden, dann musste man ihn die fehlenden Male bei den vorhergehenden (?) Regeln ergänzen. Hier die beiden *vārtika's* selbst: यावत्तिष्ठो ऽनुवृत्तते तावतो योवावधिकारो ऽनुवर्तते इति वक्तव्यं ॥ १ ॥ मूयसि प्रागभुत इति वक्तव्यं ॥ २ ॥" Translation: "Where the circumflex [*sic.*, this rendering of *swarita*] shows that the writer has no idea of the nature of this accent] was placed, I will not decide (*sic.*); if, at the time of Pāṇini, accents were not used in common writing, the circumflex could be put over any letter of an *adhikāra* without causing confusion. The MSS. of our grammarian which I have compared (*sic.*) are all of the most recent date, and mark this accent as little

I must, therefore, while rejecting Weber's reference, defend first his quotation of the Sūtra with the assistance of Kātyā-

as the nasal vowels in the *spadeya*. If I understand rightly two *Vārtikas* to our rule, a letter (which, perhaps, was the bearer of the circumflex) was added to an *adhikāra*: that is to say, as often as the *adhikāra* had to be supplied in the sequel; if it could not be supplied so often, one had to supply it when wanted, at the preceding (?) [this query belongs to Dr. B.] rules. Here are the two *Vārtikas* themselves: [then follow the Sanskrit words as given above].—The latter words ("if it could not," etc.) are beyond my comprehension; for, what reasons could prevent an *adhikāra* from being supplied, and if there was such an obstructed *adhikāra*, how could it be supplied at a preceding rule? I doubt, however, whether this sentence, which is intended to represent the meaning of the second *Vārtika* as quoted above, was understood by its own author. But the very words of this "*Vārtika*" revenge themselves on the person who has ill-used them so much: they betray the character of the work which has commented on them. For, however intelligible they are in themselves, it must be observed that the Calcutta Pañḍits have made a mistake in the wording of this *Vārtika*. Dr. Boehdligk, therefore, in giving himself the appearance of having quoted a rule laboriously examined in an original work, is simply detected in reprinting, without any examination whatever, the error of the Calcutta editors. And this, I may add, is generally the case in his "comment." The fact, in short, is this:—the Kāśikā and Siddhānta have no *Vārtikas* on this Sūtra, and in the Mahābhāṣya the words given belong to two dis-

yana and Patanjali. Pāṇini says (I. 3, 11): "An *adhikāra*, or heading rule (will be recognized in my Grammar) by the accent

tinct passages, which have been erroneously contracted by the Paṇḍits into one; viz., to a passage of a Vārtika, *युयसि प्राञ्चवत्*, and to a passage from the commentary of Patanjali: *युयसि प्राञ्चवत् कर्तव्यम् । प्राञ्चुत इति वक्तव्यम्* ("Kātyāyana ought to have said—instead of *प्राञ्च*, *प्राञ्च* with a word following in the ablative"). The second of these passages is therefore merely a correction, by Patanjali, of the vague expression of Kātyāyana, and the *इति वक्तव्यम्* which conveys the correction, becomes purposeless, or assumes a different bearing, in the version of the Calcutta edition. And I may add, that the Paṇḍits have erred, too, in publishing what is their first Vārtika, for they mistook the comment of, and a quotation made by, Patanjali, for the text of a Vārtika. The reprint has been, of course, as conscientious in the latter case as in the former. Compare for both Vārtikas the following note with its translation. But to shew in its proper light the astounding explanation of Dr. Boehdliŋk on this second Vārtika, I shall illustrate his ingenuity by taking some instances of the Kāśikā, as quoted in its comment on this Sūtra, and apply to them his comment on the first Vārtika. According to the Kāśikā, the Sūtras VI. 4, 129; III. 1, 91; VI. 4, 1; IV. 1, 1; III. 1, 1, are among those marked with a *swarita*, to indicate that they are *adhikāras*; the first of these *adhikāras* extends over 47, the second over 541, the third over 613, the fourth over 1190, and the fifth over 1821 Sūtras. If we credit, therefore, the explanation of Dr. Boehdliŋk, a letter of the alphabet (he does not say which; probably, therefore, any

swarita." Upon this Patanjali remarks: "Why does he say that?"—*Vārtika*: "An *adhikāra* to every rule belonging to it; its object is to avoid a (repeated) designation."—*Patanjali*: "An *adhikāra* (says Kātyāyana) is made (so as to

one) was added, perhaps, as he says in the parenthesis, as the bearer of this *swarita*, "that is to say, as often as the *adhikāra* had to be supplied in the sequel." In other words, in the five instances quoted such a letter was added to the Sūtra VI. 4, 129, 47 times, and so on to the other Sūtras severally 541, 613, 1190, and 1821 times! And this method, he conceives, had been devised in a kind of literature, where shortness is the chief object, and where "an author rejoiceth in the economizing of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son." Surely, it requires neither knowledge nor scholarship, but merely something else, to deter a rational writer from eliciting such a sense from a sane book.

"Pāṇini I. 3, 11: स्वरितमधिकारः—Patanjali: किमर्थमिदमुच्यते.—Vārtika omitted in the Calc. ed. at this Sūtra, but mentioned VI. 1, 138, where it occurs as a quotation) अधिकारः प्रतियोगं तस्मान्निर्देशार्थः—Patanjali: अधिकारः क्रियते प्रतियोगं तस्मान्निर्देशार्थ इति । किमिदं प्रतियोगमिति । योगं योगं प्रति प्रतियोगं योगे योगे तस्य ग्रहणं माकारधमिति—Kātyāyana: स्वरितेतितीत्यन्तवचस्ये तृतीया । स्वरितमधिकारो वच्यते इत्यर्थः । स्वरितत्वं सूत्रस्थानां केवलमधिकारस्थानार्थं प्रतिपादयति न तु

apply) to every rule belonging to it; its object is to avoid a (repeated) designation.' What does that mean, 'to every rule belonging to it?' 'To every rule belonging to it,' means in reference to each such rule; and he wants to imply that I must not make special mention (of the adhikāra) in each such rule."—*Kaīyaṭa*: "The words, 'by the accent swarita' [in Sanskrit it is only one word], are the third case in the sense of 'such and such a mark' (as ruled by Pāṇini, II. 3, 21); i.e. an adhikāra is marked with the accent swarita. The plan to mark words which are in the *Sūtra* with the swarita, is merely devised in order that the adhikāra may become recognizable, but it has nothing to do with practical application [i.e. the swarita is not pronounced]."

प्रयोगसमवादि । अधिकारबद्धो भावसाधनो वा । विनियोगो लोके अधिकार उच्यते स एवेह नुह्यते । किमर्थमिति । आकाङ्क्षादिवशात्प्रकृतस्य संबन्धो लोके एव भविष्यतीति प्रश्नः—..... Vārtika (omitted in the Calc. ed.)
अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानं तु—Patanjali: अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानं तु भवति । न चाप्येत विद्वत्समवधिमाधिकारो ऽनुवर्तते इति.—Vārtika (omitted in the Calc. ed.)

The word adhikāra either expresses a condition or it expresses an act; in common language, adhikāra is the same as *vinijoga*, or appointment to an office; and *this* is understood here. Patanjali asks: 'Why does Pāṇini say that?' This question means: Will there be (in his grammar) as in common language, a connection of the matter treated under the same head, because the subjects refer necessarily to one another, and the like?" [Then follows in the Bhāṣya a discussion of Patanjali, the purport of which is to show that the word *adhikāra*, which literally means *superintendence*, *government*, has, in grammar, an analogous sense to that which it has in common life].—*Vārtika*: "But (there is) no knowing how far an adhikāra goes."—*Patanjali* (repeats these words in the manner we

अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानार्थं तु—Patanjali: अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानार्थमेव तद्व्यं यो नो वक्तव्यः । अधिकारपरिमाणां ज्ञासातीति । कथं पुनः स्मरितेनाधिकार इत्यनेनाधिकारपरिमाणां श्रुतं विज्ञातुम् । एवं वक्ष्यामि स्मरितेनाधिकार इति—*Kaīyaṭa*: अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानं भवति । यथा धातोरेति किं प्राप्तादिशेषः । अथाध्यापरिस्वरातिः । अङ्गाधिकारः प्राक्स्वासाधिकारिभ्यः । यथा सप्तमपरिस्वरातिरिति—

have seen before, adding the ellipsis 'there is,' as he usually repeats the words of a Várttika which he explains, in order to ensure its proper text, and then continues): "These words mean: It might not be known to what limit an adhikára is applicable." — *Várttika*: "However, that the extent of an adhikára might be known." — *Patanjali*: "Just that the extent of an adhikára might be known, on that account this rule (I. 3, 11) had to be uttered; in other words, that I may know how far an adhikára goes. But again, how can the extent of an adhikára be known through the Sûtra, which says 'an adhikára (will be recognized in my grammar by the accent swarita,' so that I could say: 'the adhikára (is recognized) by the accent swarita?'" — *Kaiyyāṭa*: "But, there is no knowing how far an adhikára goes," says the Várttika; for instance,

Patanjali: स्वरितं वृद्धाधिकारो न भवतीति द्वेदानीमधिकारो भविष्यति ।
 लोकोक्तो ऽधिकारः । अधिकार इति चेदुक्तम् । किमुक्तम् । चत्वनिर्देशस्य
 निवर्तकस्याप्यभिधीयते । अधिकारार्थमेव तर्ह्ययं योनो यत्नः — *Kaiyyāṭa*:
 स्वरितं इहेति । प्रकृतकाधिकारनिपुणत्वे शब्दान्तरस्य स्वरितत्वं प्रतीक्यावते ।

does adhikára III. 1, 91, stop before the Sûtra III. 4, 78, or does it go to the end of the (third) book? Does the adhikára VI. 4, 1, stop before the Sûtra VI. 4, 78, or does it go to the end of the seventh book? — *Patanjali*: "Since, as soon as (another) swarita is *seen*, there is an end of the adhikára (indicated by the previous swarita); by what means, then, can there be now an adhikára? Adhikára is (as we have seen) a term of common life. Now, if you say there is no such adhikára (meant in this grammar), why was it said before [in a previous discussion], 'that a new injunction stopping (the applicability of the adhikára), a paribhāshā (had to be given).' Therefore on account of an adhikára this rule had to be uttered." — *Kaiyyāṭa*: "(When Patanjali says), 'As soon as (another) swarita

तेन चिन्तित्वाच्च ह्यस्य स्वरितत्वदर्शनात् । द्विनिपुणैर्दिष्टस्य निपुणत्वरूपीयते
 — *Patanjali*: यमु योक्तम् । अधिकारपरिभाषाज्ञानं सिति । — *Várttika*: याव-
 त्त्यो ऽबुद्वयत्वावतो योनातिनि वचनात्सिद्धम् — *Patanjali*: यावत्तिस्यो ऽबु-
 द्वयते तावतो योनामधिकारो ऽनुवर्तते इति यत्नः — *Kaiyyāṭa*: यावत्तिस्य इति ।

is seen,' etc., (his words mean): to stop the (applicability of an) adhikára on a subject-matter, the plan is devised to mark another word with the swarita; thus, because the swarita mark is seen in the Sûtra V. 1, 32, it must be inferred that the applicability of the adhikára, V. 1, 30 (which also was marked with the swarita) has ceased."—*Patanjali*: "Now, has not Kátáyana said, 'But there is no knowing how far an adhikára goes?' " (Quite so; hence the) *Vārtika* (continues): "This results from what is said elsewhere: '*whatever the numerical value of the letter which is joined (to an adhikára-rule)*, to as many rules'" —*Patanjali*: "These words would have been better quoted thus: 'With whatever numerical value a letter is joined (as anu-bandha to an adhikára-rule), to as many (following) rules the

adhikára applies.'"—*Kaīyaṣa*: "For instance: to the Sûtra V. 1, 30, the mute letter *i* (the *second* in the *Sivasûtras*) is to be joined; therefore it applies to *two* subsequent rules; and similarly in other adhikára rules."—*Patanjali*: "Now, what is to be done when an adhikára applies to more rules, while there are fewer letters of the alphabet?"—*Kaīyaṣa*: "(When Patanjali says) 'Fewer (and more),' is this comparative (literally, is the affix of the higher degree, *i.e.* the affix of the comparative), used in reference to different species (of the same class)? (No;) it is used in an absolute sense. (For he means): If you think the rules belonging to the same adhikára are *few*, then (you would have to take his words as implying that) the letters of the alphabet may be (still) *fewer*; on the other hand, if

तत्वात्पीचांशो ऽन्वः । तथा नहवो ऽन्व इति चेदूचांशो योवाः—*Vārtika*: भूयसि प्राग्वच्यम् — *Patanjali*: भूयसि प्राग्वच्यं कर्तव्यम् । प्रागमुत इति वक्तव्यम् । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । संदेहमात्रमेतन्नवति । सर्ववदेहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठे व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि संदेहादवच्यमिति—*Kaīyaṣa*: भूयसीति । चङ्गल

द्विचिपूर्वमिच्छादिबन्धकारो ऽनुवच्यः कर्तव्यः । तेन ह्यचोयोनचोरपुनृवृत्तिर्भवति । एवमन्वचापि चेदित्यन्व—*Patanjali*: अवेदानो यत्वात्पीचांशो ऽन्वः भूयस्य योवानधिकारो ऽनुवर्तते कथं तत्र कर्तव्यम् —*Kaīyaṣa*: चत्वीयास इति । कथं पुनर्मित्रवातीयापिचया प्रकर्षप्रत्ययः । परमतापिचया । चत्वे योवा इति चेन्नन्वे

you think the letters are *many*, then (his words would imply that) there may be still *more* rules belonging to the same *adhikāra*.”—*Vārttika*: “If there are more (rules for the same *adhikāra* than letters), the expression *prāk*, ‘before,’”—*Patanjali*: “If there are more (rules for the same *adhikāra* than letters), *Pāṇini* (says the *Vārttika*) ought always to have made use of the expression *prāk*, ‘before;’ or the *Vārttika* ought to have rather said ‘*before*, with a word following in the ablative.’” [The *Vārttika* means that the *adhikāra* then should have been always indicated in the *Sūtra* by the expression that such and such an *adhikāra* is valid “before,” i.e. goes no further than, such and such a rule or word; as is the case, e.g. I. 4, 56; II. 1, 3; IV. 4, 1 and 75; V. 1, 1 and 18; 3, 1 and 70, etc.] Ought *Pāṇini* indeed (in such a

प्रागेतिरित्यादि यत्तत्त्वम् । तत्तद्हीति । चावतिषो ऽविति मूषवि प्राक्त्वचनं चेत्तर्हः—*Patanjali*: किं प्रबोधयन्—*Vārttika* (omitted in the Calc. ed.) स्वरित्तेवाधिकारत्विवेना विज्ञायेत—*Patanjali*: अधिकारमतिः । अधिकः कारः । अधिकं कार्यम् । नोऽधिकोऽप्यसर्वमस्तेष्वन्य मोटाङ्गहणं चोदितं न कर्तव्यं भवति । स्त्रीयहणं

case) to have expressed himself thus? No, he ought not. This is a more question of a doubtful case, and in all such cases there avails the *Paribhāṣā* which says that ‘the solution of the special (difficulty) results from explanation,’³⁰ for it does not follow that because there is a doubt there is no criterion (to solve it).’—*Kāyapa*: “The foregoing words, ‘if there are more, etc.’ mean that *Pāṇini* (instead of giving, e.g. his rule, VI. 4, 1, as he does in the word *angasya*, i.e. ‘this is the *adhikāra* on base’), ought to have said, ‘*angasya prāk dech*,’ i.e. ‘this is the *adhikāra* on base which avails before (i.e. does not go further than) VIII. 1, 1 (exclusively).’ The words of *Patanjali*, ‘ought *Pāṇini*, indeed, etc.’ mean: ought *Pāṇini* to have given the contents of the two preceding *Vārttikas*?”

स्वरित्यवति । स्वरितेनाधिकारमतिर्विषयतीति स्वरित्यतिविवेकं प्रकृत्य ये विहितविषयं यद्वयं विज्ञास्यते तच्च स्वरितेनाधिकारमतिर्विषयतीति न दोषो भवति etc.

³⁰ “वाक्यानामतिः.” The word *वाक्यानाम* “*explanation*” is defined in the Introduction of *Patanjali*: उदाहरणं प्रबुद्धाहारं वाक्यानामहार एवेतत्समुदितं वाक्यानामतिः “*explanation* is giving an instance, giving a counter-instance, and supplying the elliptical expression of a sentence: all these three together.”

Then follows, in the Bhāṣya, an observation of *Patañjali* on a doubtful passage, which is the subject of his comment in its appropriate place. He continues: "What is the purpose of the Sūtra?"—*Vārttika*: "That the proper way of applying an adhikāra might be known by means of the swarita."—*Patañjali*: "Proper way of applying an adhikāra." (Just so). (*Adhi-kāra* means) an agent placed over, or an act to be done, placed over. Now, at the Sūtra I. 2, 48, the expression *goḷāṅg* (used in the *Vārttika* to this rule) must not be considered as the subject of the adhikāra; for the expression *strī* will have the swarita. Therefore, according to the words of the *Vārttika* ('that the proper way,' etc.) those affixes alone will have to be understood in that Sūtra (I. 2, 48) which fall under the head *strī*, and, according to the *Vārttika*'s own words, there is no defect in the Sūtra I. 2, 48." [To understand this latter illustration of our rule, it is necessary to know that *Kātyāyana*, in giving the *Vārttika goḷāṅgrahanam kṛmivṛiti-tyarham*, to the Sūtra I. 2, 48, intends to point out an omission in the rule of Pāṇini. Patañjali, however, shows that the swarita

over *strī* in this rule obviates the punctiliousness of the *Vārttika*, and he therefore taunts *Kātyāyana*, as well on this occasion as when he comments on I. 2, 48, for not having understood 'the proper way of applying the adhikāra,' by repeating to him his own criticisms on the Sūtra of the present discussion. Then follow other illustrations of Patañjali as to the proper way of applying an adhikāra, which it is not necessary for our immediate purpose to add to the foregoing translation]. x

The passage I have given here from the "Great Commentary" on Pāṇini,—and which may serve too as a specimen of the manner in which the two grammatical saints, *Kātyāyana* and Patañjali, scrutinized every doubtful word of the Sūtras,—will have shown that the rule of Pāṇini, which teaches the manner of defining an *adhikāra*, or heading rule, is interpreted by them as being based on *the application of writing* to his terminology. There are three modes, as we learn from them (and the fact is, of course, fully borne out by the Sūtras themselves), by which Pāṇini indicates a heading-rule in his Grammar. The one consists in his using the word *prāk*,

"before," with a word following in the ablative, by which expression he implies that the heading continues up to that word, which will occur in a later Sūtra. Another mode of his is merely to indicate the heading, the extent of which is then, as the Bhāṣya says, matter of "explanation." His third and last mode consists in putting the sign of a swarita,—*which was not intended for pronunciation*,—not over any word of the Sūtra, arbitrarily, as Dr. Boehtlingk imagines, but, as common sense would suggest, over that word which is the heading, as over the word *strī*, in the Sūtra I. 2, 48. Kātyāyana, moreover, indicates (by the expression *bhūyasī*), and Patanjali expressly states, that in those cases in which the number of Sūtras comprised under an adhikāra did not exceed the number of the letters of the alphabet, a letter representing a numerical value (without, of course, being "the bearer of a swarita"), was added to indicate the extent of the adhikāra; and from the example given by Kaiyaṭa we must infer that the numerical value of the letter was determined by the position it has in the Sivasūtras, since *i* is to him an equivalent of the

figure 2. And this representation of figures by letters of the alphabet derives an additional interest from the circumstance that it is quite different from the method we meet with at a later period of Hindu progress in mathematics and astronomy.⁵¹ In short, we see that Patanjali and Kātyāyana not merely presuppose a knowledge of writing in Pāṇini, but consider the use he has made of writing as one of the *chief means by which he has built up the technical structure of his work*.

I will obviate, at once, an objection which may be raised,—though it could scarcely be raised by those who treat Kātyāyana as a contemporary of Pāṇini, or use the Commentaries as direct evidence for or against Pāṇini,—I mean the objection that the comments of Kātyāyana and Patanjali would only testify to their own knowledge and use of written accents; but that neither necessitate the conclusion that Pāṇini knew and employed, as they suppose him

⁵¹ Compare the system of Āryabhaṭṭa, who uses vowels and nasals = 0; *ka*, *ṣa*, *pa*, *ja* = 1; *kha*, *ṭha*, *pha*, *ya* = 2; *ga*, *ḍa*, *ba*, *la* = 3, etc. See Lassen's Zeitschrift, II. 423 ff., "Journal Asiatique" (1835), vol. XVI., p. 116, etc.

to have done, written accents, nor that he was acquainted with the use of written letters for the purpose of denoting numerical values. And should there be any who attach more faith to Kaiyyāṭa, the late commentator on Patañjali, than to Patañjali himself and Kātyāyana, they might, perhaps, adduce an observation of this grammarian, "that the Sūtras of Pāṇini were read in one breath, (without any regard to accent)," in order to infer that the swarita might have been *sounded* over the word which it intended to mark as adhikāra.²² Such a conclusion, however, would be invalid, not only by the natural sense of the passage quoted, but by the remark of the same grammarian, which is contained in the translation I have given before, and which states that the swarita was not intended, in our present case, for "practical application." It remains, therefore, to be seen whether this remark of Kaiyyāṭa is confirmed by analogous facts in Pāṇini's Grammar.

²² Kaiyyāṭa towards the end of the Introduction: एकमुखा सूत्राणि पाठात्स्वेवायं दासदीनामुपदेशः.—Another discussion on *adhikāra* occurs incidentally in Patañjali's comment on I. 1, 49.

Pāṇini frequently refers, in his Sūtras, not only to grammarians who have preceded him, but to lists of affixes, and to arrangements of the verbal roots, which must have coincided with his own terminology. The personal relation of Pāṇini to these collections or books will be the subject of future remark; it will suffice, at present, to show that Pāṇini's work, and these works, were based on the same grammatical system. Pāṇini refers, for instance, to a list of affixes which begin with *un*,²³ where the mute letter *n*—which has exactly the same technical value in the affix *un* as it would have in

²³ उक्तादि; compare Pāṇini, III. 3, 1; 4, 75.—This word is sometimes written उक्तादि; but wrongly, for the Saandhi rules apply not only to real words, but equally to the technical language of the Sūtras. Since उक्ता, in उक्तादि, is a pada (*pūrvapada*), it has to follow the Saandhi rule given, VIII. 3, 32. Real padas ending in *त्*, it is true, are rare, and perhaps still rarer as first parts of a compound; but a word *उक्तात्* becomes on that very ground the subject of an exceptional rule; its first part is said to be not *पठ्* but *अ* (I. 4, 18, v. 3). As the phonetic rules of the grammarians bespeak the necessities and predilections of the Hindu organ of speech, technical names could not but follow the general rules of pronunciation, and there is no cause, therefore, to establish an exception for the term उक्तादि.

Pāṇini's affixes *an*, *na*, or in other terms containing this *anubandha* —proves that these affixes rested on the terminology which governs the Sūtras of Pāṇini. He speaks of *bhūtādi*, *udādi*, *tulādi*,—in short, of the ten classes of radicals, just as they are given in the Dhātupāṭha, and even of subdivisions of this work, *e.g.*, *dṛutādi*, *vushādi*, *bhūdādi*, *muchādi*, *yajādi*, *radhādi*, etc.;³⁴ and if there existed a doubt that the expressions quoted, which contain the first word of a list, necessarily imply the whole list, and in the order in which the words of such a list appear in this work,³⁵ the doubter

³⁴ Compare *e.g.* Pāṇini I. 3, 1; II. 4, 72 and 75; III. 1, 69, 73, 77, 78, 79, 81, 25; III. 1, 56; 3, 104; VII. 1, 59; VI. 1, 15; VII. 2, 45, and other instances which are quoted in the excellent *Radices Linguae Sanscritae* of *Westergaard*.

³⁵ It is barely possible, however, to admit such a doubt; for Pāṇini does not restrict himself to generally mentioning radicals by giving the first word of the order, such as *bhūtādi*, *udādi*, etc.; he refers, also, to distinct numbers. Thus, VII. 2, 59, he speaks of the four radicals beginning with *ṛ*, and the rule he gives applies to no other four radicals than *ṛ* and the three radicals which follow it in the Dhātup. (§ 18, 19—22); he speaks, VII. 2, 75, of the free radicals beginning with *ṛ*, and his rule avails only for *ṛ* and the four radicals which follow it in the Dhātup. (§ 28, 116—120); or, VII.

would have at least to admit that the *anubandhas* or technical letters which accompany each radical in the Dhātupāṭha, possess the grammatical value which is expressly defined as inhering in them by special rules of Pāṇini.³⁶ He refers to the Upadeśa, which is, according to Patanjali, a list, not only of the radicals, but of nominal bases, affixes, particles, increases of the base and grammatical substitutes, all of which are “settled,” as Kātyāyana says.³⁷

Now, if we consult the Sūtras which treat of the verbal roots, we find, for instance, that, as a rule, a root is *vaāttu* on the last

3, 98, of the free radicals beginning with *ṛ* (= Dhātup. § 24, 59—63); or, VI. 1, 6, of the six radicals beginning with *ṛ* (= Dhātup. § 24, 63—69); or, VI. 4, 125, of the seven radicals beginning with *ṛ* (Dhātup. § 19, 73—79), etc. In all these instances, therefore, the order of the radicals in the Dhātupāṭha, as referred to by Pāṇini, is the absolute condition of his rule.

³⁶ Compare the quotations in *Westergaard's Radices*, p. 342, 343.

³⁷ Compare Pāṇini I. 3, 2; VI. 1, 45, 186; 4, 37; VIII. 4, 14, 18; (the term occurs frequently, too, in the *Vārtikas* and *Kārikas*.) and see note 39.

syllable (VI. 1, 162). Yet (VII. 2, 10) Pánini states that a radical has not the connecting vowel *i*; if in the Upadeśa it is a *monosyllable* and *anudatta*. As the former rule concerns a radical, which is part of, and embodied in, a real word, while the latter describes the theoretical existence of the radical in the Dhátupáṭha, we may imagine, it is true, that for the purpose of grammatical teaching a pronunciation of the radical was devised in the Upadeśa different to that which it has in real language. But, even on the supposition that a radical could be pronounced *anudatta*, is it probable that Pánini or the authors of the Dhátupáṭha could have recourse to so clumsy a method for conveying the rule implied by the term *anudatta*? Would they, gratuitously, have created the confusion that must necessarily arise from a twofold pronunciation of the same radical, when any other technical *anubandha* would have enabled them to attain the same end? Let us suppose, on the contrary, that *anudatta*, in the Upadeśa, does not mean the spoken, but the *written* accent, and the difficulty is solved without

the necessity of impugning the ability or the common sense of the grammarians.

This inference is strengthened, moreover, by another analogous fact, which may be recalled before I give further proof from a synopsis of Pánini's rules and the appearance of the radicals in the Upadeśa. This fact is contained in the last Sūtra of Pánini's grammar, where he teaches that the short vowel *a*, which in his rules is treated as *virīṭa*, or pronounced with the expansion of the throat, is, in reality, *samerīṭa*, or pronounced with the contraction of the throat. This Sūtra did certainly not intend to impose upon the pupil the task of pronouncing, during his grammar lessons, the short vowel *a* in such a manner as no Hindu can pronounce it, or of sounding, when learning the properties of this vowel, instead of it, some nondescript deputy vowel-sound: it can only mean that, for the sake of technical purposes defined by the commentators, Pánini made a fiction in his grammar, which, of course, he had to remove when terminating his book. This fiction, however, being based on

a *phonetic impossibility*, would be a very awkward one if it applied to oral teaching only; it becomes quite unobjectionable if it is supported by a *written* text.⁵⁸

If a radical in the Upadeśa, says Pāṇini (I. 3, 12) has the *anudātta* (or *ṇg*) as anubandha, it is, in general, inflected in the

⁵⁸ I call it a *phonetic impossibility*, since अ, if it were pronounced विवृत, would assume the properties of अ; but as Pāṇini does not allow such an अ to occupy the same portion of time which is required for the pronunciation of अ, a *short* अ pronounced with the expansion of the throat, becomes, to a Hindu organ of speech and from Pāṇini's point of view, impossible. For this reason, Patanjali, too, who on a previous occasion had defined the letters which occur in the Upadeśa, i.e., the *spadishīta-vaṇas*, as *pronounced* or *pronounceable* letters [see note 40], looks upon this last Sūtra of Pāṇini as merely given to counteract the effect of the Upadeśa; he thus implies that this is the only case in which an *spadishīta-vaṇa* was not pronounceable: अ (VIII. 4, 68) ॥ किमर्थमिदमुच्यते । अकारोऽन्वयरसमावायि विवृत उपदिष्टस्य संयुतता-प्रज्ञापयति: किञ्चिन् । —Kaiyaṇa: किमर्थमिति । अकारस्याकारवचने प्रयोजनमाभास्यतः । अकारोऽव्ययि । अन्वयरार्थमिह शाले विवृतदीपयुक्तोऽकार उपदिष्टः । तस्य प्रयोजने संयुतकीर्वाचारार्थमिदं प्रज्ञापयितव्यम् । अन्वयरसमावायवर्ह संवस्यता-स्तीत्यवयवम्.

ātmunepada; if its anubandha is the *svārīta* (or *ṇ*) it is, under certain conditions, inflected in the *ātmunepada*; under others, in the *paramnipada* (I. 3, 72); if it has neither of these *anubandhas* (nor is subject to any of the rules I. 3, 12—77), it is inflected in the *paramnipada* only (I. 3, 78). Again, from the Dhātupāṭha we learn that, for instance, the radicals *jyā, rī, lī, vṛī, bhrī, kshī(śh), jñā*, are *anudātta* (i.e., do not assume the connecting vowel *i*), but have neither the *anudātta* nor the *svārīta* as *anubandha*.⁵⁹ The latter term implies that the sign which bears this denomination is added *after* the significant element. Since, however, the roots named are monosyllables in the *Upadeśa*, and since it is impossible to pronounce an accent without a vowel-sound supporting it, the assumption that the *anudātta* and other accent-*anubandhas* were spoken sounds, would lead to the conclusion that the same verbal root was simultaneously *anudātta* and *not anudātta*.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Westergaard's Radices, § 31, 29—36.

⁶⁰ Other instances may be gathered from Westergaard's Radices. I must exclude, however, some which are not countenanced by the best MSS. I have consulted; those,

If I had adhered to the terminology of the Dhātupāṭha, as it is met with in the best MSS. of Mādhyama's commentary, the foregoing illustration would have become still more striking; for, according to them, the roots *ṣṛā*, *ri*, etc., are *anudātta*, and have the

especially, which are met with in the Radices under the term *स्वरित*. For when we read in the latter work (e.g. § 22 and § 31, 1, etc.) that *मुञ्*, *हञ्*, *पृञ्*, etc., *उञ्जीञ्*, *मीञ्*, *नीञ्*, etc., are *चतुर्दासाः* and *स्वरितः*; or (§ 31, 10, etc.) that *हृञ्*, *इञ्*, *पूञ्*, etc. are *उदासाः* and *स्वरितः*, I could not adduce these and similar instances in support of my conclusions; since Mādhyama is certainly right in giving, instead of the term *स्वरित*, the word *उभयपद्वि*: or *उभयतोऽभावात्*, as the *anubandha* *ञ्* would become meaningless, if these roots had, besides, the *anubandha* *स्वरित*. The term *स्वरित* is correctly indicated by Westergaard and the MSS., for instance, of the roots *तिङ्*, *अण्*, etc. (§ 21); *बिबिर्*, *विबिर्*, *बिद्* (§ 25); *मुञ्*, *रमुञिर्*, *बह*, *रञ्*, etc. (§ 26); *गुह*, *गुह*, etc. (§ 28); *चिचिर्*, *निदिर्*, etc. (§ 29), etc., for all these radicals have not the *anubandha* *ञ्*. A proof of the accuracy of the commentators in this respect, is afforded by the instance of the root *चञ्* (§ 24, 7) which is described in the Dhātupāṭha as *चतुर्दासित*, and represented at the same time as *चञिर्*, for they explain on this occasion that the *anubandha* *ञ्* does not indicate the *āmanepada*-inflection, marked by the term *चतुर्दासित*, but refers to the effect of the Sūtra III. 2, 149.

udātta as their *anubandha*. In general, it may be observed, that the Sūtra I. 3, 78 is apparently understood by Mādhyama and other commentators as referring to roots which have *udātta* as *anubandha*: for a root which is neither *anudātta* nor *swarītet*, is described by them as *udātta*. There is some reason, however, to doubt whether the latter term really occurred in the Upadeśa referred to by Pāṇini; and as the solution of this doubt, in an affirmative sense, would add another fact to those already obtained, it will not be superfluous to advert to it here.

The misgiving I entertain is based on Pāṇini's own terminology. He speaks of roots which, in the Upadeśa, are *udātta* (VII. 3, 34) and *anudātta* (VI. 4, 37; VII. 2, 10), which are *anudātta* and *swarītet* (see the preceding quotations, p. 45); but there is no trace in his grammar of radicals which are *udātta*. And this omission is the more striking, as the number of roots which are marked *udātta* in the present MSS. of the Dhātupāṭha is considerable. Nor is it satisfactorily explained by the negative tenor of the Sūtra I. 3, 78, since there is no other instance in Pāṇini's

work of a technical and important term being given vaguely and inferentially.

If, however, we apply to the present case the conclusions we have been already compelled to draw as to Pāṇini's having used accents as written signs, we may surmise the reason why *udāttet* is not amongst the terms employed by this grammarian. Of the three accents, *udātta*, *swarita*, and *anudātta*, the two latter only are marked in the principal Vaidik writings, the *swarita* being indicated by a perpendicular line over the syllable, the *anudātta* by a horizontal line under it. The syllable not marked is *udātta*. It is possible, therefore, to say that a radical or syllable which is not marked is *udātta*, and that one with a horizontal stroke under it is *anudātta*; it is possible, too, to speak of a line *added* under or over the last letter of the radical; but it is surely impossible to call that 'addition' (*anubandha*) which, not being visible, could not be added at all. This explanation of the absence of the term *udāttet* is founded, of course, on the supposition that the system of marking the accents was the same at Pāṇini's time, as it occurs in our MSS.

of the principal Veda-Sanhitās; but it can hardly be doubted that this system is as deeply rooted in Hindu tradition as everything else connected with the preservation of the sacred books. If, then, it becomes certain that Pāṇini knew written accent signs, which were not pronounced, it will not be hazardous to put faith in the statement of Kaiyaṇa, that the *swarita*, which was intended as a mark of an *adhiḥkāra*, was also a written sign, a perpendicular stroke, "but had nothing to do with practical application."

That Pāṇini, as Patanjali tells us, and Kātyāyana gives us to understand, used letters in his *adhiḥkāra* rules for the notation of numeral values, does not follow, we must admit, from his own words in the quoted Sūtra (I. 3, 11), but there is a rule of his (VI. 3, 115) in which he informs us that the owners of cattle were, at his time, in the habit of marking their beasts on the ears, in order to make them recognizable. Such signs, he says, were, for instance; a swastika, a ladle, a pearl, etc.; yet he mentions besides, *eight* and *five*. Now, either the graziers used letters of the alphabet to denote these numerals, or they employed special figures

as we do. In either case it is obvious that they must have been acquainted with writing; in the latter, moreover, that the age to which they belonged had already overcome the primitive mode of denoting numerals by letters, and that writing must have been, therefore, already a matter of the commonest kind. At all events, and whichever alternative be taken—if even the Hindu cattle paraded the acquaintance of the Hindus with the art of writing and of marking numerals,—one may surely believe that Pāṇini was as proficient in writing as the cowherds of his time, and that, like them, he resorted to the marking of numerals whenever it was convenient to him to do so.

The absence of a letter or grammatical element, or even of a word, the presence of which would have been required by a previous rule, is called by Pāṇini *lopa*. The literal sense of this word, which is derived from *lup*, “to cut off,” is “cutting off.” It will be conceded that it is not possible to “cut off” any but a visible sign, and that a metaphorical expression of this kind could not have arisen, unless the reality existed. Indeed, the very definition

which Pāṇini gives of this term must remove every doubt, if there existed any. He says: “*lopa* (‘cutting off’) is the not being seen” (*acil*, of a letter, etc.)^a For, whatever scope may be given to the figurative meaning of the radical “to see,” it is plainly impossible that an author could speak of a thing visible, literally or metaphorically, unless it were referable to his sense of sight. A letter or word, which is no more *seen*, or has undergone the effect of *lopa*, must, therefore, previously to its *lopa*, have been a visible or written letter to him. And the same remark applies to an expression which occurs several times in the Sūtras; for Pāṇini speaks more than once of affixes which are *seen*, or of a vowel which is *seen* in words.^b

^a I. 1, 60: चदर्शनं लोपः.

^b चन्विज्यो ऽपि दृश्यते III. 2, 178; 3, 130.—चन्विज्यो ऽपि दृश्यते III. 2, 75.—चन्विज्यो ऽपि दृश्यते VI. 3, 137.—चन्विज्यो ऽपि दृश्यते III. 2, 101.—एतन्विज्यो ऽपि दृश्यते V. 3, 14.

—Though in the foregoing observations no conclusion of mine is founded on statements of the later grammarians alone, it may not be without some interest to mention now that these grammarians do not seem to have conceived as much as the idea of Pāṇini’s

He quotes, it is true, a passage from the Mahābhārata, and one from Kumārila's Vārttikas, which condemn, the one the writing of the Veda, and the other the learning it from a written text;^a but I hold that neither quotation proves anything against the practice of writing the Veda at or before Pāṇini's time. Both passages might, on the contrary, be alleged to confirm the fact that the offence of writing the Vedas had already been committed

^a p. 502: "In the Mahābhārata, we read: 'Those who sell the Vedas and even those who write them, those also who defile them, they shall go to hell.' Kumārila says: 'that knowledge of the truth is worthless which has been acquired from the Veda, if the Veda has not been rightly comprehended, if it has been learnt from writing, or been received from a Śūdra.'"—The passage of the Mahābhārata quoted by Müller, occurs in the *Anuśāsanap.* verse 1645. I doubt, however, whether his rendering of वेदाणि विच दूषकाः "those also who defile the Vedas," is quite correct. It seems to me that it means "those who corrupt the text of the Vedas," and that it is synonymous with the expression वेदविच्छेदकाः which occurs in the second act of the *Prabodha-chaudodaya* (ed. Brockhaus, p. 20, l. 14; ed. Calc. p. 12a, l. 5). The expression संसाराणि च दूषकाः which precedes by a few verses (*Anuśāsanap.* v. 1639) i.e., "those who vitiate agreements" is analogous. There is, unhappily, no comment of *Nīlakantha* on either of these passages.

when these verses were composed. They betray, it is true, as we should expect, the apprehension of their authors lest oral teaching might become superfluous, and the services of the Brāhmaṇa caste be altogether dispensed with; but they convey nothing else—not even the prohibition that the teacher or Guru himself might not have recourse to a written text of the Veda if he wanted to refresh his memory or to support his meditation. Nay, we may go further, and assert that by an authority certainly much older than both the authors of this passage of the Mahābhārata and the Mīmāṃsā-Vārttikas, all the first *three castes* were distinctly recommended to possess written Vaidik texts. For, let us hear what the lawgiver Yājñavalkya says: "All the religious orders must certainly have the desire of knowing the Veda: therefore, the first three classes—the twice-born—should see it, think on it, and hear it." But how could Yājñavalkya order them to see the Veda, unless it could be obtained in writing?^a And that Pāṇini, too,

^a Yājñav. III. 191: स ह्याश्रमीर्विदिषाकः समक्षिरित्येव तु । इष्टवस्तुन च मताकः ।

must have seen written Vaidik texts follows clearly, in my opinion, from two Sūtras, in which he says: "(the augment *ā*) is *seen* also in the Veda (viz., in other instances than those mentioned in a former rule)," and (the *ādesa an*) is *seen* also in the Veda (viz., in other cases of *astha*, *dādhi*, etc., than those mentioned previously).⁶⁷ It

श्रोतव्यं विवर्तिनिः. Vijnāśvarī, the modern commentator of Yājñavalkya, who, like Kumārila, is evidently not pleased with the recommendation of "seeing" the Veda, twists the construction of the latter passage into the following sense: "the twice-born should first hear (the expounding of) the Veda, then reflect on it and thus (by reflection) keep it present (to their mind)." In order to impart to the word "to see" the figurative sense, he reverses the entire, and, it would seem, natural order of the injunction, which recommends the twice-born first to look into the Veda, then to reflect on it, and ultimately to ask the teacher to give his own explanation of it; the latter becoming, of course, more effectual, if the pupil is already somewhat familiar with his subject.—This is the comment of the *Mīdākharā*: स्यान्नित्यतयाज्ञानमाद्यतो वेदस्यादृशानु-
सारेण सकारणमिर्णयाप्रकारं विप्रसिद्धत्वादेव प्रकारं दयेयति । विवर्तिनिर्-
हृत्वा उपरोपीकृत्यस्योपायं दर्शयति । श्रोतव्यो सत्यं सति । प्रथमतो वेदान्त-
अपेक्षेन स्थितव्यदन्वयं सत्यव्यो वृत्तिविचारचित्तव्यक्तो ज्ञोऽप्येवापरोपी-
भवति.

⁶⁷ VI. 4, 73, and VII. 1. 76: इदमपि दृश्यते.

is on this ground that—while disapproving the loose manner in which the Siddhānta-kaumudī imparts to the word *grantha* in Pāṇini's Sūtra, I. 3, 75, the meaning *Veda*,—I cannot altogether reject the identity which is established by this commentary between the two words, though it would have been better, in a gloss on Pāṇini, to have retained the distinction which he himself established for facilitating a clearer understanding of those Sūtras which refer to revealed books, and of others which speak of unrevealed ones.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Compare note 27. I alluded above to the analogy which exists between the con-
trasted words *grantha-arthas* and *kāṇḍe-pāṇinīye*. After having shown that the Veda was a written book at Pāṇini's time, I may now quote a passage from the Pāṇinīya of the Nirukta (I. 12): यद्व सत्त्वापेक्षितमाहो इत्युहो अपि वृत्तितो अपि सत्यतो न उ-
पलब्धेन सत्त्वा विवर्तिन्याः प्रकारस्य एव तु विवर्तिन्याः, which is thus rendered by Mr. Muir, in his valuable work, "Original Sanskrit Texts" (vol. II, p. 188): "This refec-
tive deduction of the sense of the hymns is effected by the help of oral tradition and reasoning. The hymns are not to be interpreted as isolated texts, but according to their context." In this passage the words वृत्तितो अपि सत्यतो are equivalent of सत्यतो
इत्येतत्.

There is but one other question which can be raised in connection with the present inquiry : Was writing known *before* Pāṇini ?

One word, of frequent occurrence in the Vaidik hymns, or rather the sense which is imparted to it, may enable us, perhaps, to form an opinion on this difficult problem. I mean the word *Rishi*. It is explained by old and modern commentators as “a seer of hymns,” a saint to whom those Vaidik hymns referred to his authorship, were revealed by a divinity. Thus it is said in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa that the *Rishi* Vāmadeva obtained *seeing* the R̥gveda-hymn, IV. 26, 1 ; or in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa that the *Rishi seeing* the hymn II. 41, 2, spoke it.⁶⁸ For reasons which

⁶⁸ Śatap. XIV. 4, 2, 22 : तद्वीतयस्मनुर्विर्वागदेवः प्रतिपेदे । अहं मनुस्मत्वं सूयेवेति. —*Alter. Br.* 9, 1 : तदेतद्वचिः पञ्चमभ्युवाच निवृत्ता इन्द्रवारविरिति. Compare also Müller's “Ancient History,” p. 237 : श्रौतको द्वितीयं मण्डलं दृष्ट्वा, etc. ; or *Uvāta* on the first verse of the R̥ik-prātisākyā (in the valuable edition of Mr. Regnier, “Journal Asiatique,” tome VII. 1856, p. 181) अथको मन्त्रद्वयः ; or *Nāgajihvāta* on

will appear from the statement I shall have to make on the chronological relation of these works to Pāṇini, I cannot appeal to these Brāhmaṇas as evidence for the present purpose ; it is safer to quote Pāṇini himself, who also speaks of hymns which are *seen* (IV. 2, 7), and who must therefore be supposed to record an impression current at, and very probably anterior to, his time. This probability, however, becomes a certainty when we consider the distinct evidence of Yāska, who says that “the Rishis see the hymns with all kinds of intentions,” and who makes mention of a predecessor of his, a son or descendant of Upamanyu, who defined the word “*Rishi* as coming from seeing ; for he saw the hymns.”⁶⁹

There were authorities, consequently, before Pāṇini's time, who

Pāṇini, I. 1, 1 : यश्चकाष्ठद्वयः अथयः ; or the same on IV. 1, 79 : अविशुद्धिनाच मन्त्रद्वयः etc.

⁶⁹ *Nirukta*, 7, 3 : एवमुवाचविरभिमविन्दवीना मन्त्रद्वयो भवन्ति ; and 2, 11 : अविर्दृश्यात् । सोमान्दद्वयोपमन्त्रः. Hence *Rishi* becomes a synonyme of a Vaidik hymn. Compare Pāṇini, IV. 4, 96, or *Sāyana* on R̥ig-v. I. 189, 8 : अविमिर-तोद्विवाधमकायैर्वैमैः.

maintained the doctrine that the hymns were revealed—not to the sense of hearing, but to the sense of sight. That the act of *seeing* may be applied metaphorically to the faculty of thinking or imagining, and the term *seen* to what is imagined or thought, is no matter of dispute. But when we read numerous hymns of the Rîgveda which neither express a truth, nor depict nature or events of life, but which simply manifest the desire of a pious mind;—when we read, for instance, such sentences as, “may this oblation, Agni, be most acceptable to thee;” or “may afflictions fall upon him who does not propitiate the gods;” or “we address our pious prayers to thee, Agni,” etc., what *metaphorical* meaning could connect such words with the notion of seeing?

And we know, too, that it is not merely the general idea conveyed by a hymn, the ethical truth, or the picture of the elementary life, or the display of sacrificial rites, or the praise of the gods, or the imprecation against foes, which is looked to by the worshipper as having been revealed to a Rishi by a divinity,—but that the very words of the hymn, and the very order in which

they stand, were deemed equally a gift from above. The various methods devised by the learned to preserve the words in their integrity and to prevent their order from being disturbed, prove that they did not view these hymns in the light of mere revelations of truths, but in that of revelations of words and of sentences held sacred in the very order and form in which they appear. Nor does the fact that there were various Śákhás with various recensions of several hymns or passages of hymns, invalidate this argument; for each Śákhá claimed its text as the original one, as *the* revealed text; and its belief was, therefore, based on the same ground which was common to all.

If, then, such is the case, the word *seer* loses altogether the power of metaphorical expression; it then applies only to the material fact of seeing material words, such as the divinity holds before the seer’s material eye. The inference to be drawn from these premises is obvious. It seems to derive some corroboration from a collateral fact. The Vaidik writings from immemorial times being communicated by the teacher to his pupil orally, and

the pupil being bound to receive them in this and in no other way, their name, as we find it at the time of the Brāhmaṇas and Kalpa-Sūtras, is *śruti*, "hearing," or the sacred text received by the sense of hearing. Though Pāṇini does not use this term, we may fairly admit, on account of his using the word *śrotṛiya*,⁷⁰ that he was acquainted with it, and that the same mode of studying the Vedas was already usual in his time. Now the contrast is marked between "seeing" the Veda and "hearing" it. In metaphorical language both terms would be equivalent; they would express comprehension, of the revealed truth. But there is no metaphor in the term "*śruti*." "Hearing" the Veda rests on a material fact. Why should "seeing" the hymns be considered to rest on a less solid ground?⁷¹

⁷⁰ II. 1, 65, and V. 2, 84. Compare also the *Gaṇas* to V. 1, 130, 133, *श्रुत* in the *Gaṇa* to V. 2, 88, and *श्रुति* in the *Gaṇa* to IV. 2, 138.

⁷¹ The title of Rishi was, at a later period, given to renowned authors, though they were not considered as inspired by a divinity. The Kalpa works, for instance, are admitted on all hands to be human and uninspired compositions; yet Kumārila writes

To extend this view from Yāska and the predecessors he quotes, to the authors of the hymns themselves, would, no doubt, be very hazardous. For even on the supposition that the etymology

in one of his Vārtikas (I. 3, 10): च तावद्गुपिः कश्चित्त्वदेति कल्पसूचकत् । कर्तुं लं यदुषीषां तु तत्सर्वं मन्त्रकृतमम् and again: आर्यवचनं लिखयौयलेन यस्येति । आर्यवचनमिदं कल्पसूत्रेष्ववस्थिता । and आचार्यवचनां च प्रामाण्यं श्रूयते श्रुते । अङ्गानां च प्रवेतार आचार्यो ह्यवयो मताः, *i.e.*, "No mention occurs of an author of a Kalpa work who was not a Rishi; but all that Rishis compose is like that which the authors of Mantras compose The word *śruteya* is a synonym of eternal, and the quality of *śruteya* is vested in the Kalpa-Sūtras . . . ; moreover, the Veda says that the words of *Āchāryas* have authority, and the *Āchāryas* who have composed the Vedāngas are deemed Rishis." And though these words of his make part of a Pūrvapakāṣa, and the proposition that the Kalpa works have the same claim to divine origin as the Mantras, is refuted by him in the Siddhānta, his refutation merely concerns this latter part of the discussion, but does not invalidate the title of Rishi given by him to the authors of the Kalpas. For, as he said on a previous occasion: च ह्यखनानृतं यन् श्रूयते पूर्ववर्षिषा. 'the propounder even of a Pūrvapakāṣa should not say that which is too much at variance with truth (if his Pūrvapakāṣa is to be worthy of being part of a discussion).' The title Rishi had, therefore, already lost its primitive worth in the days of Kumārila, and had undergone the same fate which is common to titles in general.

proposed by the son of Upamanyu is correct,"⁷² no proof exists that Rishi is conceived in the hymns as implying the seer of *words* or *sentences*. He may be there the real representative of the Roeh who sees the general idea of his prayer or praise, but fashions it with his own—uninspired—words. There are, we may add in proof of this assertion, various instances in the poetry of the R̥gveda, where the poet is spoken of as having "composed" (literally *fabricated* or *generated*), not as having "seen," a hymn; and they belong undoubtedly to real antiquity, as they show greater common sense. Thus it is said in the R̥gveda (I. 171, 2) "this praise accompanied with offerings, Maruts, is made (lit. *fabricated*) for you by the heart," or (VI. 16, 47): "we offer to thee, Agni, the clarified butter in the shape of a hymn made (lit. *fabricated*) by the heart;" or (I. 109, 1, 2): "... my clear understanding

⁷² That in दृन्, the दृ may be a prefix, is countenanced by the following analogies: दृह (= दृष्ट) and दृष्ट, दृष्ट and दृष्ट. इ (इच्छति) and इच्छ (इच्छति), इत (respected) and इत (respected), दृह and दृह (whence दृहन्) दित् (to be glad) and दृत्, दृन् and दृन्.

has been given to me by no one else than by you, Indra and Agni; with it I have made (lit. *fabricated*) to you this hymn, the product of intelligence, which intimates my desire for sustenance. For I have heard that you are more munificent givers than an unworthy bridegroom or the brother of a bride; therefore, in offering you the Soma, I produce (lit. *generate*) for you a new hymn;" or (VII. 7, 6): "these men who have cleverly made (lit. *fabricated*) the hymn, have increased the prosperity of all (living beings) with food."⁷³ And when the poet says in a Vāṅmīlya hymn: "Indra and Varuṇa, I have seen through devotion that which, after it was heard in the beginning, you gave to the poets—wisdom, understanding of speech;" *seeing* is obviously used by him in none but a metaphorical sense.⁷⁴ ✓

⁷³ Compare, for other instances, Muir's "Original Sanskrit Texts," vol. II. p. 208, note 163, and p. 220.

⁷⁴ Compare *ibid.* p. 220: इन्द्रवरुणा दृष्टिर्गो मनीषां वासो मतिं युतमदत्तमग्निः । तपसाभ्यपन्नम्. In the same sense *Yāska* says (I. 20): सावाकतधर्मोऽ

There are in the Vaidik age, says Professor Müller (p. 70), "four distinct periods which can be established with sufficient evidence. They may be called the *Chhandas period*, *Mantra period*, *Brāhmaṇa period*, and *Sūtra period*, according to the general form of the literary productions which give to each of them its peculiar historical character." In the continuation of his work he then defines the Chhandas period as embracing the earliest hymns of the R̥gveda, such as he conceives them to be according to the instances he has selected from the bulk of this Veda (p. 525 ff.). The Mantra period is, in his opinion, represented by the remaining part of the R̥gveda (p. 456 ff.); and the Brāhmaṇa period by the Sāma-veda-saṁhitā, "or the prayer-book of the Udgātri priests," which is entirely collected from the R̥gveda,⁷⁵ the Saṁhitās of

हवयो यमुः, 'the Rishis had an intuitive insight into duty' (Muir, vol. II. p. 174); and Sāyana, e.g. in his gloss on R̥g. I. 162, 7: हवयो त्वादिब्रह्मणे. or on IV. 36, 6: हविरतोदिब्रह्मणे.

⁷⁵ Professor Benfey has pointed out, in his valuable edition of this Veda, the few verses which cannot be found in the R̥gveda (Pref. p. xix). This redundancy, which is

the Yajurveda (p. 457), the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Vedas, properly so called, and "on the frontier between the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra literature," the oldest theological treatises or Āraṇyakas and Upanishads (p. 313 ff.). Lastly, the Sūtra period contains, according to him (p. 71 ff.), the Vaidik words written in the Sūtra style, viz.: the six Vedāṅgas or the works on "Sikshā (*pronunciation*), Chhandas (*metre*), Vyākaraṇa (*grammar*), Nirukta (*explanation of words*), Jyotiṣha (*astronomy*), and Kalpa (*ceremonial*)" (p. 113 ff.).

An author has, in general, the right of choosing his terms; nor should I consider it necessary to add a remark on the names by which Müller designates these four periods of his Ancient History, were it not to obviate a misunderstanding which he has not guarded against, though it may be of consequence to do so. Two terms which have served him for the marking of two periods of

apparently at variance with the general doctrine of the Hindu commentators, that the Sāmaveda is extracted from the R̥gveda, proves, in reality, that there must have been, at one time, another recension of the R̥gveda than that which we possess now; a fact clearly proved also by Müller's "Ancient History."

the ancient literature, viz., *Sūtra* and *Brāhmaṇa*, have been used by him nearly in the same sense in which they occur in the ancient writers ; and if he embraces more works under these heads than those writers would have comprised, it may be fairly admitted that no misconception will result from this enlargement of the original acception of the words *Sūtra* and *Brāhmaṇa*. But if he designates the two first epochs by the names of *Chhandas* and *Mantra*, with the explicit remark that he has made this division of four periods “according to the general form of the literary productions which give to each of them its peculiar historical character” (p. 70), it may be inferred that, as in the case of *Sūtra* and *Brāhmaṇa*, he has chosen those names in conformity with the bearing they have in the ancient literature itself; that the Hindus, when using the words *Chhandas* and *Mantra*, meant by them the older and the more recent hymns of the *Rigveda*. Such, however, is not the case.

Mantra means, as Colebrooke has already defined the word—in conformity with the *Mīmāṃsā* writers—“a prayer, invocation, or declaration. It is expressed in the first person or is addressed in

the second ; it declares the purpose of a pious act, or lauds or invokes the object ; it asks a question or returns an answer ; directs, inquires, or deliberates ; blesses or imprecates ; exults or laments ; counts or narrates,” etc. “*Mantras* are distinguished under three designations. Those which are in metro are termed *rich*, those chanted are *sāman*, and the rest are *yajus*, sacrificial prayers in prose,” etc.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ “Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society,” I. p. 448, 449.—Compare also Jaiminiya-nyāyamālikā-vistara, I. 4, 1 (*pāropanishad*): तथा योक्तम् । उत्तममन्त्राणां नालाभक्याद्यभावतः । मन्त्रप्रसिद्धभाषायां मन्त्रतीर्थां न युज्यत इति । अथवे ब्रुष्टं निर्वपामीक्षुतमपुनः । अथे यथस्तिवशे समवेदोक्तमन्त्रम् । उर्वो चासि वली चावी-लक्षणाक्यम् । एवे लोर्वे लेति लाकाक्यम् । आदिशब्देनापीदितमिति पादनादयः नः —II. 1, 7: तत्र समाख्यानमुष्ठावकारादीनां मन्त्रत्वं नमवति । उर मन्त्रलोकादयो ऽमुष्ठावकाराः । अविमीळे पुरोहितमन्त्रादयः क्षुतिक्याः । एवे लोकादयस्सत्ताः । अथ वा चाहि वीतय ह्वादय आमन्त्रयोपिताः । अपीदपीतिवारेणादयः प्रियस्याः । अथः लिदावीपुर्तिस्त्रिदावीदिवाद्यो विचारस्याः । अमि अमिने ऽन्वाविने न मा नवति अथवेनादयः परिदेवनस्याः । पृच्छामि स्ता परमत्वं पृच्छिवा ह्वादयः

The first meaning of *Chhandas*, in the ancient writers, is metre; the second is *verse* in general, and in this sense it is contrasted with the prosaic passages of the Yajurveda. Thus the *Purushasūkta* of the R̥gveda—the late origin of which hymn is proved by its contents—says: “From this sacrifice which was offered to the universal spirit sprang the R̥chas (R̥g-verses), the Sāmans (Sāmaveda-verses), the metrical passages (*Chhandas*) and the Yajus;” which latter words seem to be referable only to the two

प्रत्नरूपाः । वेदिमातः परमं पृथिव्या इत्यादय उत्तररूपाः । एवमन्वदयुदाहार्यम्
etc.—II. 1, 10—12 : पादव्येनार्यव्येन चोपेता वृत्तवशा मन्वा ऋचः । मीतिरूपा
मन्वाः सामानि । वृत्तमीतिवर्तित्वेन प्रशिष्टपठिता मन्वा यजूषीयुक्ते न क्वापि संकरः
—II. 1, 13 : ततो मन्वाणां त्रिविध्यं सुस्मितम्.

⁷⁷ R̥gveda (X. 90, 9): तस्माद्यज्ञात्सर्वजित ऋचः सामानि ऋचिरे । ऋचांसि
ऋचिरे तस्माद्यज्ञाद्वायत. Sāyana, it is true, renders ऋचांसि with गायत्र्यादीनि,
when the word would simply mean “metre;” but it does not seem natural that the
enumeration of the three Vedas should be interrupted by a word meaning “metre,”
while on the other hand the word Yajus alone might have left a doubt as to whether the
metrical contents of this Veda are included in it or not.

characteristic portions of the Yajurveda, since Yajus in general designates its prosaic part. In a verse of the Atharvaveda it is contrasted, in a similar manner, with the Yajurveda, and seems to imply there the verses of the Atharvaveda: “From the remainder of the sacrifice sprang the R̥chas, Sāmans, the verses (*Chhandas*), the old legendary lore, together with the Yajus.”⁷⁸ In the Sūtras of Pāṇini the word *Chhandas* occurs, in rules which concern Vaidik words, one hundred and ten times, and its sense extends over two hundred and thirty-three Sūtras; in rules of this category it means Veda in general, comprising thus the Mantra- as well as the Brāhmaṇa- portion of the Veda. Whenever, therefore, such a general rule concerning a Vaidik word is restricted or modified in the Mantra portion, *Chhandas* then becomes contrasted with Mantra, and thus assumes the sense of Brāhmaṇa; or whenever such a general rule is restricted or modified in the Brāhmaṇa portion,

⁷⁸ Atharv. XI. 7, 24: ऋचः सामानि ऋचांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह ! उच्छिष्टाऋचिरे
etc.—In this sentence *Chhandas* is separated from the word Yajus by the word *Purāṇa*,
which here probably implies the legends of the Brāhmaṇas.

Chhandas then becomes contrasted with Brāhmaṇa, and therefore assumes the sense of Mantra.⁷⁹

From no passage, however, in the ancient literature, can we infer that *Mantra* conveyed or implied the idea of a later portion, and *Chhandas* that of an earlier portion of the R̥gveda hymns.

Some very questionable points in the detail of this distribution

⁷⁹ Thus it is used by Pāṇini in the general sense of *Veda*: I. 2. 61; 4. 9. 20. 81; II. 3. 3; 4. 28. 39. 73. 76; III. 1. 42. 50. 59. 84. 123; 2. 63. 88. 103. 137. 170; 3. 1. 29; 4. 6. 88. 117; IV. 1. 29. 46. 59; 3. 19. 150; 4. 106. 110, etc. It is contrasted with *Mantra*, for instance, I. 2. 36 (comp. 34. 35. 37); III. 2. 73 (comp. 71. 72); with *Brāhmaṇa*, for instance, IV. 2. 66; IV. 3. 106 (comp. 105).—The meaning "desire" of the word *chhandas* has not been mentioned above, as being irrelevant for the present purpose; nor was it necessary to give passages from Pāṇini where the word has the general sense "metre," such as III. 3. 34, etc., or as base becomes the subject of rules respecting its derivatives.—Professor Weber has adverted in his "Indische Studien" (vol. i. p. 29 note) to the manner in which Pāṇini has used *chhandas*; he defines it, however, as meaning first, "desire;" then "a prayer of desire, prayer, mantra, contrasted with *brāhmaṇa*, IV. 2. 66; then in a more extended sense, even *brāhmaṇārthan*, III. 2. 73" [or shall this mean, asks he, *brāhmaṇavivārthan*? Certainly not, for the word is contrasted in III. 2. 73 with the word *mantra* of III. 2. 71 (72), and implies therefore in this Sūtra

of the Vaidik literature will be noticed by me hereafter as touching the ground on which I have raised this inquiry into the chronological results of Professor Müller's work. There is, however, one general question which must be dealt with previously. If Müller had contented himself with simply arranging his subject-matter as he has done, we could readily assent to the logical or esthetical point of view which, we might have inferred, had guided him in the sense *brāhmaṇa*]; and then "in the widest sense, generally, *veda*, as contrasted with *loke*, *bhūbhūyān* and its ślokas (IV. 3. 102 a)." [The latter instance is not happy, since it belongs to a Vārtika of the Kāśikā, and since there are more than a hundred Sūtras of Pāṇini which might have been referred to for the corroboration of the sense *Veda*]. Lastly he says, it means "metre."—But this reversal of the meanings of *chhandas* is not only objectionable etymologically; it prevents our understanding how *chhandas* could mean both a poetical and a prosaic passage of the Vedas. Hence, the incidental question of Weber and his conjecture,—which could not have arisen if he had started from the general sense *Veda*, which *if contrasted* (but only then) with *mantra*, would imply the sense *Brāhmaṇa*, and *vice versa*. It seems, moreover, that the sense "desire" marks the last stage of its development; in short, that *chhandas* means: 1. metre; 2. a verse; 3. a verse as prayer; 4. *Veda* in general, which may become modified to *Mantra* or *Brāhmaṇa*; 4. desire.

planning his work. But he does not allow us to take this view, when he assigns dates to these periods severally. The "Chhandas period," he says, comprises the space of time from 1200 to 1000 B.C. (p. 572), the "Mantra period" from 1000 to 800 B.C. (pp. 497, 572), the Bráhmaṇa period "from 800 to 600 B.C. (p. 435), and the "Sūtra period" from 600 to 200 B.C. (pp. 249, 313). In other words, his arrangement is meant to be an historical one. He does not classify ancient Sanskrit literature into a scientific, a ritual, a theological, and poetical literature, each of which might have had *its coeval representatives*, but he implies by these dates that when the poetical epoch, his Chhandas- and Mantra- epoch, had terminated its verses, the theological time, that of the Bráhmaṇas and Upanishads etc., set to work; and when this had done with theology, the ritual and scientific period displayed its activity, until it paused about 200 B.C. I need scarcely observe that such an assumption is highly improbable, unless we suppose that India which, from the time of Herodotus, has always enjoyed the privilege of being deemed the land of supernatural facts, has also in

this matter set at defiance the ordinary law of human development. But this doubt seems to derive some support from Müller's own arguments. In the course of his researches he has confirmed the general opinion, that a Sūtra work presupposes, of necessity, the existence of a Bráhmaṇa, and that a Bráhmaṇa cannot be conceived without a collection of hymns, the Saṁhitá. Thus the ritual Sūtras of Áśwvaláyana would have been impossible unless a Bráhmaṇa of the R̥gveda—for instance, the Aitareya-Bráhmaṇa,—had been known to him; for he founds his precepts on it; and such a Bráhmaṇa, in quoting the hymns of the R̥gveda, implies, as a matter of course, a previous collection of hymns, a R̥gveda itself. Yet, though this argument is unexceptionable, and may be used, perhaps—not without objections of some weight—so as to presuppose in Áśwvaláyana a knowledge of, and therefore as prior to him, a Sāmaveda and a Taittiríya-Saṁhitá—where is the logical necessity that the Vájasaneyi-Saṁhitá and the Śatapatha-Bráhmaṇa (belonging to Müller's third period, 800—600 B.C.) existed before Áśwvaláyana who lived, according to him, between 600 and 200

before Christ? His Sūtras would be perfectly intelligible if neither of the two last-named works had been composed at all. And, again, where is the logical necessity that the Upanishads should have been written before the authors of the Kalpa Sūtras, the Grammar, etc., since all these works are quite independent in spirit and in substance from the theosophy of Upanishads or Aranyakas. On what ground does Professor Müller separate Pāṇini from these latter writings by at least 250 years, when there is no trace of any description in his Sūtras, either that he knew this kind of literature or that his Grammar would not have been exactly the same as it is now if he had lived much before the time of these theological works? I shall recur to this latter question; but I cannot conclude the expression of my misgivings as to this historical division without questioning, too, the usefulness of these dates in general. They are not founded, as Müller himself repeatedly admits, on any basis whatever.⁸⁰ Neither is there a

⁸⁰ "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 244: "It will readily be seen, how entirely hypo-

single reason to account for his allotting 200 years to the three first of his periods, nor for his doubling this amount of time in the case of the Sūtra period. He records, it is true, his personal impression alone in speaking of 1200, 1000 years, and so on; but the expediency of giving vent to feelings which deal with hundreds and thousands of years, as if such abstract calculations were suitable

theoretical all these arguments are As an experiment, therefore, though as no more than an experiment, we propose to fix the years 600 and 200 B.C. as the limits of that age during which the Brahmanic literature was carried on in the strange style of Sūtras." p. 435: "Considering, therefore, that the Brāhmaṇa period must comprehend the first establishment of the threefold ceremonial, the composition of separate Brāhmaṇas, the formation of Brāhmaṇa-charaṇas and the schism between old and new Charaṇas, and their various collections, it would seem impossible to bring the whole within a shorter space than 200 years. Of course this is merely conjectural, but it would require a greater stretch of imagination to account for the production in a smaller number of years of that mass of Brāhmaṇic literature which still exists, or is known to have existed." p. 497: "I therefore fix the probable chronological limits of the Maṇtra period between 800 and 1000 B.C." [Where is the least probability of this date?] p. 572: "The chronological limits assigned to the Sūtra and Brāhmaṇa periods will seem to most Sanskrit scholars too narrow rather than too wide, and if we assign but 200 years to

to the conditions of human life, appears very doubtful, if we consider that there are many who will not read his learned work with the special interest and criticism which it inspires in a Sanskrit philologist, but will attach a much higher import to his feelings than he himself does. One omission, moreover, I cannot leave unnoticed in these general dates, since it has a bearing, not merely on the intervals of his periods, but on their starting points.

Colebrooke, in his essay on the Vedas, speaks of the Jyotisha, the ancient Vaidik calendar; and after having quoted a "remarkable" passage of this Vedānga, in which the then place of the colures is stated, continues (M.E. vol. i. p. 109, or As. Res. viii. p. 493): "Hence it is clear that Dhanishthá and Áśleshá are the constella-

the Mantra period, from 800 to 1000 B.C., and an equal number to the Chhandas period, from 1000 to 1200 B.C., we can do so only under the supposition that during the early periods of history the growth of the human mind was more luxuriant than in later times, and that the layers of thought were formed less slowly in the primary than in the tertiary ages of the world."—But is 1200 B.C. a primary age of the world, except in biblical geology?

tions meant; and that when this Hindu calendar was regulated, the solstitial points were reckoned to be at the beginning of the one, and in the middle of the other: and such was the situation of those cardinal points, in the *fourteenth century before the Christian era*. I formerly (As. Res. vii. p. 283, or Essays, i. p. 201) had occasion to show from another passage of the Vedas, that the correspondence of seasons with months, as there stated, and as also suggested in the passage now quoted from the Jyotish, agrees with such a situation of the cardinal points."

We have evidence, therefore, from this passage of the Jyotisha, that an arrangement of Vaidik hymns must have been completed in the fourteenth century before Christ; and as such an arrangement cannot have preceded the origin of the hymns comprised by it, we have evidence that these hymns do not belong to a more recent date. Nor is there any ground for doubting the genuineness of this calendar, or for assuming that the Hindu astronomers, when it was written, had knowledge enough to forge a combination, or if they had, that, in the habit of dealing with millions of years, they would have

used this knowledge for the sake of forging an antiquity of a few hundred years. Yet the oldest hymns of the *Rigveda* are, according to Müller's opinion, not older than 1200 before Christ.

He has not only not invalidated the passage I have quoted, but he has not even made mention of it. Yet a scholar like Colebrooke, laid, as I have shown, great stress on it: it is he who calls it "remarkable;" and scholars like Wilson and Lassen have based their conclusions on Colebrooke's words.⁴¹ Should we, therefore, be satisfied with the absolute silence of Müller on the statements and opinions of these distinguished scholars, or account for it by the words of his preface?⁴²

⁴¹ See Lassen's "*Indische Alterthumskunde*," I. p. 747. Wilson's Introduction to his Translation of the *Rigveda*, vol. I. p. xlviii.

⁴² Page vi.: "Believing, as I do, that literary controversy is more apt to impede than to advance the cause of truth, I have throughout carefully abstained from it. Where it seemed necessary to controvert unfounded statements or hasty conclusions, I have endeavoured to do so by stating the true facts of the case, and the legitimate conclusions that may be drawn from these facts."

No one, indeed, to the best of my knowledge, has ever doubted the accuracy of Colebrooke's calculation, but Professor Weber, who, in his "*Indische Studien*," vol. i. p. 85, thus expresses himself:—"I avail myself of this opportunity to observe that before Colebrooke's astronomical calculation (*M. E. i. p. 110, 201*) has been examined once more, astronomically, and found correct, I cannot make up my mind, to assign to the present *Jyotiḥ-śāstras*, the composition of which betrays—in language and style—a very recent period, any historical importance whatever for the fixing of the time when the *Vedas* were composed." Thus it seems that Professor Weber would make up his mind to that effect if some one would comply with his desire, and confirm the result of Colebrooke's calculation. But, we must ask, on what ground rests this desire, which, in other words, is nothing but a very off-hand slur aimed at Colebrooke's scholarship or accuracy? Is Colebrooke a third-rate writer, to deserve this supercilious treatment? Has he, in his editions or translations of texts, taken such liberties as to forfeit our confidence? Has he falsified antiquity by substituting

for its traditions his own foregone conclusions or ignorance? Has he appropriated to himself the labour of others, or meddled with subjects he did not thoroughly understand? His writings, one would think, prove that he is a type of accuracy and conscientiousness,—an author in whom even unguarded expressions are of the rarest kind, much more so errors or hasty conclusions drawn from erroneous facts. But Colebrooke was not only a distinguished Sanakritist, he was an excellent astronomer. Lassen calls him the profoundest judge in matters of Hindu astronomy; ^a and he is looked upon as such by common consent. Yet, to invalidate the testimony of a scholar of his learning and character, Professor Weber, simply because a certain date does not suit his taste, and because his feelings, unsupported by any evidence, make him suppose that the Jyotisha “betrays in language and style a

very recent period,” has nothing to say but that he “will not make up his mind” to take that date for any good until somebody shall have examined that which Colebrooke had already examined, and, by referring to it, had relied upon as an established fact!

It is but just to add, that three or seven years after he had administered this singular lesson to Colebrooke, Weber once more is haunted by the asterisms Dhanishthá and Áleshá, and once more rejects their evidence as to Hindu antiquity.^b This time, however, it is no longer the accuracy of Colebrooke’s statement which inspires his doubt—he passes it over in silence altogether—but the origin of the arrangement of the Hindu Nakshatras. “Since,” he says, “the latter was not made by the Hindus themselves, but borrowed from the Chaldeans, it is obvious that no conclusion whatever can be drawn from it respecting Hindu antiquity.”^c But he does not mention that Lassen, whose opinion

^a In an essay on “Die Verbindungen Indiens mit den Ländern im Westen,” written in April, 1853, and printed in the “Indische Skizzen,” 1857.

^b “Indische Skizzen,” p. 73, note.

^c “Indische Alterth.” vol. I. p. 824: “Ueber die Fortschritte der Inder in der Astronomie in der ältesten Zeit drückt sich *der gründlichste Kenner des Gegenstandes* (Colebrooke, a. a. O. II. p. 447) auf folgende Weise aus, etc.”

will have, I assume, as much claim to notice as his own, had adduced weighty reasons for assigning the Hindu Nakshatras to Chinese origin; and had likewise, referring to the Veda-calendar, observed:—"As it is certain now that there existed in ancient times an intercourse, not thought of hitherto, between the Hindus and the Chinese, and that, with the latter, the use of the *sieu* ascends to a far higher antiquity, no objection can be founded on the Chinese origin of the Nakshatras, against their having been used by the Hindus at a time which is adverted to in their oldest astronomical observations on record. These observations belong to the fourteenth century B.C., and it results from them that the Hindus at that period dwelt in the northern part of India."⁸⁷

But, strange to remark, a year after having expressed his repeated doubt, Professor Weber records his poetical views on the earliest period of Hindu civilisation in the following manner:—"From the Kabul river to the Sadánirá, from the remotest point

of the western to that of the eastern border of India, there are twenty degrees, three hundred geographical miles, which had to be conquered (by the Áryas) one after the other. Thus we are able to claim, without any further remark, 1000 years as a minimum time for the period of occupying, subjecting to complete cultivation, and brahmanizing this immense tract of land; and thus we are brought back to about 1500 B.C. as the time when the Indian Áryas still dwelt on the Kabul, and after which they commenced to extend themselves over India."⁸⁸

In short, with fantastical certainty he scruples about astronomical facts, and presents fantastical facts with astronomical certainty. I doubt whether this critical method will strengthen the faith of the general public in certain results of Sanskrit philology.

"If we succeed," says Professor Müller (p. 215), "in fixing

⁸⁷ "Die neuern Forschungen über das alte Indien. Ein Vortrag, im Berliner wissenschaftlichen Verein gehalten am 4. März, 1854;" printed in the "Indische Skizzen," 1857, p. 14.

⁸⁸ "Indische Alterthumskunde," vol. I. p. 747.

the relative age of any one of these Sūtrākāras, or writers of Sūtras, we shall have fixed the age of a period of literature which forms a transition between the Vedic and the classical literature of India." This inference does not seem conclusive; for neither can the age of one individual author be held sufficient to fix the extent of a period which, according to Müller's own views, may embrace, at least, 400 years, and probably more; nor has Müller shown that the older portions of the Mahābhārata and, perhaps, the Rāmāyaṇa, might not have co-existed with some, at least, of the authors of his Sūtra period. He says, it is true, in the commencement of his work (p. 68):—"Now it seems that the regular and continuous Anushtubh-słoka is a metre unknown during the Vedic age, and every work written in it may at once be put down as post-Vedic. It is no valid objection that this epic Słoka occurs also in Vedic hymns, that Anushtubh verses are frequently quoted in the Brāhmaṇas, and that, in some of the Sūtras, the Anushtubh-słoka occurs intermixed with Trishtubhs, and is used for the purpose of recapitulating what had been explained before in prose. For it is

only the *uniform* employment of that metre which constitutes the characteristic mark of a new period of literature." But this very important assertion, even with its last restriction, is left by him without any proof. For, when he adds, in a note (p. 69), "It is remarkable that in Pāṇini also, the word *śłoka* is always used in opposition to Vedic literature (Pāṇ. IV. 2, 66; IV. 3, 102, v. 1; IV. 3, 107)," I must observe, in the first place, that in none of these quotations does the word *Śłoka* belong to Pāṇini.⁸⁸ The first of these instances, where *Śłoka* occurs, cannot be traced to a higher antiquity than that of Patanjali; the second, which coincides with it, occurs in the commentary of the late Kāsikā on a Vārtika, the

⁸⁸ The quotations of Müller's note to his p. 69 are IV. 1, 66, instead of IV. 2, 66, and IV. 3, 103, 1, instead of IV. 3, 102, v. 1; but as the word *śłoka* neither occurs in the Sūtra, nor in the Vārtika nor in the commentaries on the former quotations, I was probably right in assuming that they were errors of the press, and in substituting for them the figures given, which are the nearest approach to them. There is indeed one Sūtra of Pāṇini where *śłoka* and *mantra* are mentioned together, viz., the Sūtra III. 2, 23, but I am not aware that any conclusion similar to that mentioned above could be drawn from it.

antiquity of which rests on the authority of this work ; and, in the last quoted rule, the word *Śloka* likewise belongs to no other authority than that of the same late commentary. But, in the second place, it seems to me that these very instances may be used to prove exactly the reverse of Müller's views.

I should quite admit the expediency of his observation if its object had been to lay down a criterion by which a class of works might become recognisable. There is, however, clearly, a vast difference between an external mark, concerning the *contents* of certain writings, and the making of such a mark a basis for computing *periods* of literature. For, when Patanjali or the Kāsikā, in illustrating the rules IV. 2, 66, or IV. 3, 102, says that a Vaidik composition of *Tittiri* is called *Taittirīya*, but that such a derivative would not apply to the Ślokas composed by Tittiri; they distinctly contrast the two kinds of composition, but they as distinctly state that the same personage was the author of both. And the same author, of course, cannot belong to two different *periods* of literature,

separated, as Müller suggests, from one another by at least several centuries. The same remark applies to the instance by which the Kāsikā exemplifies the import of the rule IV. 3, 107 ; it contrasts here the Vaidik work with the Ślokas of the same author, *Charaka*.

But I will give some other instances, which, in my opinion, corroborate the doubt I have expressed as to the chronological bearing of this word. Kātyāyana, who is assigned by Müller to the Sūtra period, and rightly so, so far as the character of some of his works is concerned, is the author of *Ślokas* which are called *Bhārja*, "the Splendid." This fact is drawn from Patanjali's commentary on Pāṇini and Kaiyaṣa's gloss on Patanjali (p. 23 and 24 of Dr. Ballantyne's valuable edition.)⁸⁸ Now, the word *Śloka*, if used in

⁸⁸ Patanjali (p. 23) : कृत्तुं यद्विदं यद्विदम् । आवा नाम श्लोकाः ।—Kaiyaṣa (p. 24) : आवावनीयनिबद्धआवावश्लोकमवयवितक सख सुतिरगुपादिकादि । एकः शब्दः सुवातः सुप्रयुक्तः सर्वे श्लोके कामधुग्भवतीति ।—Nāgajibhāṣa (p. 23) : आवा नाम का-त्यायनप्रदीताः श्लोका इत्याहुः ।

reference to whole works, always implies the Anushtubh-sloka : thus Müller himself properly calls the laws of Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Parásara, "Sloka-works." (p. 86). It would seem, therefore, that the *Bhrája-sloka*s of Kátyáyana were such a work in *continuous* Anushtubhs. A second instance is the *Karmapradípa*, which is a work of the same Kátyáyana, and is mentioned as such by Müller himself (p. 235) on the authority of Shadgururúshya ; it is written in the "regular and continuous Anushtubh-sloka," as every one may ascertain from the existing MS. copies of this work. *Vyádi*, or *Vyádi*, who is an earlier authority than Kátyáyana (see Müller's History, p. 241), composed a work called *Sangraha*, or "Compendium" in one hundred thousand Slokas ; and there can be little doubt that this information, which is given by Nágajibhaṭṭa, applies to a work in the *continuous* Anushtubh verse.⁹⁰ And this very

⁹⁰ Patanjali (ed. Ballantyne, p. 43) : संवह एतन्माध्याख्येन परीक्षितम्.—Kátyāyana : संवह इति । यन्मविशिष्टे.—Nágajibhaṭṭa : संवहो व्याख्येतो सचक्षोःसंख्यो यन्व इति प्रविष्टिः.—This remark concerns the use which is made of the word *Sloka* in reference

Vyádi, I may here state, will hereafter become of peculiar interest to us on account of his near relationship to Pāṇini. It is evident, therefore, that the "uniform employment of that metre" is not a criterion necessitating the relegation of a work written in it to a period more recent than 200 before Christ.

The "writer of a Sūtra" which, in Müller's opinion, may help us to fix the whole period of the Sūtra literature, is KÁTYÁYANA ; and, if I do not mistake his meaning, PĀṆINI too. For Müller arrives at the conclusion that Kátyáyana lived about 350 B.C., and, if I am right, that Pāṇini was his contemporary.⁹¹

to whole, especially extensive, works. *Single verses*, not of the Anushtubh class, are sometimes also called Slokas ; thus Kaiyaṣa calls so the *Áryá* verse of the Káriká to II. 4, 85, or IV. 4, 9, etc., or the *Dadhaka* verses of the Kárikás to VI. 4, 12, or VIII. 2, 108 ; and Nágajibhaṭṭa gives the name of *Sloka* to the *Indrasajra* and *Upendrasajra* of the Káriká to I. 1, 38 ; but I know of no instance in which a whole work written in such verses is simply spoken of as having been written in Slokas.

⁹¹ I regret that I am not able to refer with greater certainty to Müller's views on their contemporaneity. In page 198 he writes : "Kátyáyana, the contemporary and critic of Pāṇini ;" p. 245 : "Now, if Pāṇini lived in the middle of the fourth century

The reason for assigning this date to Kātyāyana is contained in the following passage of the "Ancient Sanskrit Literature:"—"Let us consider," says Müller, after having established the identity of Kātyāyana and Kātyāyana Vararuchi (p. 240 ff.), "the information which we receive about Kātyāyana Vararuchi from Brahmanic sources. Somadevabhāṭṭa of Kashmir collected the popular stories current in his time, and published them towards

B.C., etc." [this is the date which Müller assigns to Kātyāyana]; p. 303: "the old Kātyāyana Vararuchi, the contemporary of Pāṇini;" but at p. 184 he says: "at the time of Kātyāyana, if not at the time of Pāṇini"—which clearly implies that he here considers Pāṇini's time as prior to Kātyāyana's, since Kātyāyana wrote a critical work on Pāṇini, the Vārtikas; and on p. 44, 45 he observes: "if, then, Āśvalāyana can be shown to have been a contemporary, or at least an immediate successor of Pāṇini, etc.;" but p. 239: "we should have to admit at least five generations of teachers and pupils: first, Śaunaka; after him, Āśvalāyana, in whose favour Śaunaka is said to have destroyed one of his works; thirdly, Kātyāyana, who studied the works both of Śaunaka and Āśvalāyana; fourthly, Patanjali, who wrote a commentary on one of Kātyāyana's works; and lastly, Yāsa, who commented on a work of Patanjali. It does not follow that Kātyāyana was a pupil of Āśvalāyana, or that Patanjali lived immediately after Kātyā-

the beginning of the twelfth century under the title of Kathā-saritsāgara, the Ocean of the Rivers of Stories. Here we read that Kātyāyana Vararuchi, being cursed by the wife of Śiva, was born at Kauśambi, the capital of Vatsa. He was a boy of great talent, and extraordinary powers of memory. He was able to repeat to his mother an entire play, after hearing it once at the

yana, but the smallest interval which we can admit between every two of these names is that between teacher and pupil, an interval as large as that between father and son, or rather larger." Now, if according to the first alternative of p. 45, Āśvalāyana was a contemporary of Pāṇini, the latter becomes a doubtful contemporary of Kātyāyana, according to the quotation from p. 239; and if, according to the other alternative of p. 45, Āśvalāyana was a successor of Pāṇini, there is, according to p. 239, still a greater probability that Pāṇini and Kātyāyana were not contemporaries. Again, at p. 230, he says: "from all these indications we should naturally be led to expect that the relation between Śaunaka and Kātyāyana was very intimate, that both belonged to the same Śākha, and that Śaunaka was anterior to Kātyāyana." But if Āśvalāyana is an immediate successor of Pāṇini (p. 45), and an immediate successor of Śaunaka (p. 239), Pāṇini and Śaunaka must be contemporaries; and if Śaunaka is anterior to Kātyāyana (p. 230, and comp. p. 249), Pāṇini, too, must have preceded Kātyāyana. Acting, therefore, on the rule of

theatre; and before he was even initiated he was able to repeat the *Prātisākhya* which he had heard from Vyāli. He was afterwards the pupil of Varsha, became proficient in all sacred knowledge, and actually defeated Pāṇini in a grammatical controversy. By the interference of Śiva, however, the final victory fell to Pāṇini. Kātyāyana had to appease the anger of Śiva, became himself a student of Pāṇini's Grammar, and completed and corrected it. He afterwards is said to have become minister of King Nanda and his mysterious successor Yogananda at Pāṭaliputra.

probabilities, and perceiving that Müller three times distinctly calls Pāṇini a contemporary of Kātyāyana, and allows by inference only this date to be subverted two-and-a-half times, it is fair to assume that he believed rather in the contemporaneity of both, than otherwise. The correctness of this belief I shall have to make the subject of further discussion; but when I find myself compelled to infer from Müller's expressions that Pāṇini is, to him, a contemporary of Śaunaka, I must, in passing, observe that Pāṇini himself repudiates this conclusion, *far* in the *Sūtra* IV. 3, 106, which is intimately connected with IV. 3, 105, Pāṇini speaks of Śaunaka as of an *ancient* authority.

"We know that Kātyāyana completed and corrected Pāṇini's Grammar, such as we now possess it."²² His Vārtikas are supplementary rules, which show a more extensive and accurate knowledge of Sanskrit than even the work of Pāṇini. The story of the contest between them was most likely intended as a mythical way of explaining this fact. Again, we know that Kātyāyana was himself the author of one of the *Prātisākhyas*, and Vyāli is quoted by the authors of the *Prātisākhyas* as an earlier authority on the same subject. So far the story of Somadeva agrees with the account of Shadgurusishya and with the facts as we still find them in the works of Kātyāyana. It would be wrong to expect in a work like that of Somadeva historical and chronological facts in the strict sense of the word; yet the mention of King Nanda, who is an historical personage, in connection with our grammarian,

²² Note of Müller: "The same question with regard to the probable age of Pāṇini, has been discussed by Prof. Bühlingk in his edition of Pāṇini. Objections to Prof. Bühlingk's arguments have been raised by Prof. Weber in his *Indische Studien*. See also *Rig-veda*, Leipzig, 1857, Introduction."

may, if properly interpreted, help to fix approximately the date of Kātyāyana and his predecessors, Śaunaka and Āśvalāyana. If Somadeva followed the same chronological system as his contemporary and countryman Kalhana Paṇḍita, the author of the Rājataranginī or History of Kashmir, he would, in calling Pāṇini and Kātyāyana the contemporaries of Nanda and Chandragupta, have placed them long before the times which we are wont to call historical. But the name of Chandragupta fortunately enables us to check the extravagant systems of Indian chronology. Chandragupta, of Pāṭaliputra, the successor of the Nandas, is Sandrocottus, of Palibothra, to whom Megasthenes was sent as ambassador from Seleucus Nicator; and, if our classical chronology is right, he must have been king at the turning point of the fourth and third centuries B.C. We shall have to examine hereafter the different accounts which the Buddhists and Brahmins give of Chandragupta and his relation to the preceding dynasty of the Nandas. Suffice it for the present that, if Chandragupta was king in 315, Kātyāyana may be placed, according to our interpretation of Somadeva's

story, in the second half of the fourth century B.C. We may disregard the story of Somadeva, which actually makes Kātyāyana himself minister of Nanda, and thus would make him an old man at the time of Chandragupta's accession to the throne. This is, according to its own showing, a mere episode in a ghost story,²² and had to be inserted in order to connect Kātyāyana's story with other fables of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara. But there still remains this one fact, however slender it may appear, that, as late as the twelfth century A.D., the popular tradition of the Brahmins connected the famous grammarians Kātyāyana and Pāṇini with that period of their history which immediately preceded the rise of Chandragupta and his Śūdra dynasty; and thus, from an European point of view, we must place in the second half of the fourth century B.C."

Thus, the whole foundation of Müller's date rests on the

²² Note of Müller: "According to the southern Buddhists it was Chandragupta, and not Nanda, whose corpse was reanimated. *As. Res.* xx. p. 167."

authority of Somadeva, the author of "an Ocean of [or rather, *for*] the Rivers of Stories," who narrated his tales in the twelfth century after Christ. Somadeva, I am satisfied, would not be a little surprised to learn that "a European point of view" raises a "ghost story" of his to the dignity of an historical document. Müller himself, as we see, says that it would be "wrong" to expect in a work of this kind "historical or chronological facts;" he is doubtful as to the date which might have been in Somadeva's mind when he speaks of King Nanda; he will "disregard" the fact that Kátyáyana becomes, in the tale quoted, a minister of Nanda; he admits that a story current in the middle of the 12th century about Kátyáyana and Pāṇini is but a "slender" fact;—in short, he pulls down every stone of this historical fabric; and yet, because Nanda is mentioned in this amusing tale, he "*must*" place Kátyáyana's life about 350 B.C.

I have but one word to add: however correct the criticisms of Müller on the value of this tale may be, the strength of his conclusion would have become still more apparent than it is now,

if instead of the abstract of the story, which he has given, a literal translation of it had preceded his premises; for the very form of the tale, and its incidental absurdities, would have illustrated, much better than his sober account of it, its value as a source of chronology. I subjoin, therefore, a portion of it, from the fourth chapter of this work. Kátyáyana, the grammatical saint and author of the Kalpa-sūtras, after having told Kānabhāti how once upon a time he became enamoured of a beautiful damsel, by what feelings he was moved, and that he at last married the fair Upakośā, continues as follows: "Some time after, Varsha (who in another tale is said to have lived at Pātaliputra during the reign of Nanda) had a great number of pupils. One of them was a great blockhead, by the name of Pāṇini; he, tired of the service, was sent away by the wife of Varsha. To do penance, he went, grieved yet desirous of knowledge, to the Himālaya; there he obtained from Śiva, who was pleased with his fierce austerities, a new grammar which was the introduction to all science. Now he came back and challenged me to a disputation; and seven days

passed on while our disputation proceeded. When on the eighth day, however, he was defeated by me, instantly Śiva (appeared) in a cloud (and) raised a tremendous uproar. Thus my grammar, which had been given to me by Indra, was destroyed on earth; and we all, vanquished by Pāṇini, became fools again."

It is almost needless for me to state, that the *profound* researches of Dr. Otto Boehtlingk in his "*commentary*" on Pāṇini, are based on the same interesting "Ocean for the Rivers of Stories," and have duly advocated the same date of Pāṇini's life. But as we have become already acquainted with the *reasoning* of the "*editor*" of Pāṇini, it will not appear devoid of interest to recall his arguments, which differ in several respects from those of Professor Müller. In the Rājataranginī, the Chronicle of Kashmir, he says (p. xv.), we read that Abhimanyu ordered Chandra and other grammarians to introduce the great commentary of Patañjali into Kashmir. Now, continues he (p. xvii), "the age of King Abhimanyu, under whose reign Chandra lived, can be ascertained by various ways, which all lead to the same result," viz., to the date

100 B.C.; and (p. xviii) "since we have found that Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya came into general use in Kashmir through Chandra, about 100 B.C., we are probably justified in pushing the composition of this great commentary to the Sūtras of Pāṇini, into the year 150. Between Patañjali and Pāṇini there are still three grammarians known to us, as we have observed before (p. xiv; viz., Kātyāyana, the author of the Paribhāṣās, and the author of the Kārikās), who made contributions to the Grammar of Pāṇini. We need therefore only make a space of fifty years between each couple of them, in order to arrive at the year 350, into the neighbourhood of which date our grammarian is to be placed, according to the Kathā-sarit-sāgara."

"Every way," says the French proverb, "leads to Rome,"—but not every way leads to truth, even in chronology. There is one way for instance, and it was ~~the~~ proper way, which led Professor Lassen⁴ to the correct result that Abhimanyu did not live about

⁴ "Indische Alterthums-kunde," vol. II. p. 412.

100 B.C., but between 40 and 65 after Christ. As to the triad of grammarians which is "known" to Dr. Boehtlingk between Pāṇini and Patanjali, and represented to his mind by Kātyāyana, and what he calls *the* author of the *Paribhāṣā* and *the* author of the *Kārikās*, I must refer to my subsequent statements, which will show the worth of this specious enumeration. But, when Dr. Boehtlingk required 200 years between Patanjali and Pāṇini, simply to square his account with the "Ocean for the Rivers of Stories," it would be wrong to deny that he has rightly divided 200 by 4; nor should I doubt that he would have managed with less ability the more difficult task of dividing 2000 or 20000 years by 4, if such an arithmetical feat had been required of him by that source of historical chronology, the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*.

Professor Müller must have had some misgivings like my own as to the critical acumen and accuracy of Dr. Boehtlingk's investigations. For, in the first instance, he does not start from the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* in order to arrive at the conclusion that Kātyāyana lived fifty years after Pāṇini; on the contrary, he makes,

as we have seen, both grammarians contemporaries; judging, no doubt, that two men who enjoyed a very substantial fight cannot have lived at different times, even in a story book. Then he adverts likewise (p. 243) to the little mistake of Dr. Boehtlingk concerning Abhimanyu's date; in short, he denies the validity of all the arguments alleged by Dr. Boehtlingk, save those which are founded on the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*. When therefore he, nevertheless, says (p. 301) that the researches of Professor Boehtlingk "with regard to the age of Pāṇini deserve the highest credit," I am at a loss to understand this handsome compliment, even though it strengthen his assurance (p. 310) "that Kātyāyana's date is as safe as any date is likely to be in ancient Oriental chronology."⁸⁵

That Sanskrit philology should not yet possess the means of ascertaining the date of Pāṇini's life, is, no doubt, a serious

⁸⁵ In reply to this compliment, Dr. Boehtlingk makes the following bow: "Alles was zur Entscheidung dieser Frage beitragen könnte, finden wir auf das sorgfältigste

important branch of the ancient literature. No work has struck deeper roots than his in the soil of the scientific development of

geheim gehalten worden sein. Möglicher Weise vernichtete aber auch der Autor sein Schriftwerk, sobald er dasselbe memorirt hatte, um nicht durch sein Beispiel Andere zu verleiten, um sich nicht des Vorwurfs einer Verrätheri an der Priesterkaste schuldig zu machen, vielleicht auch um nicht als gewöhnlicher Autor, dem das Werk allmählich unter den Händen entsteht, zu erscheinen, sondern als ein inspirirter Seher, der, ohne alle Mühe und Anstrengung von seiner Seite beim Schaffen, ein Werk in abgeschlossener Gestalt im Geiste erschaute und als ein solcher von den Göttern Bevorzugter weiter verkündet;" i.e., "In my opinion, therefore, writing was not used in the olden times for the *propagation* of literature, but was resorted to for the *production* of new works. The author wrote down his work, but then learnt it by heart, or made others commit it to memory. Probably, works once written down, were not copied anew in the olden time, with rare exceptions; but the original manuscripts were perhaps preserved as sacred relics in the family, and kept secret. But it is possible, too, that the author destroyed his written work, after he had committed it to memory, in order not to seduce others by his example, nor to make himself guilty of the reproach of treason towards the caste of priests; perhaps, too, not to appear as an ordinary author, whose work grew gradually under his hands, but as an inspired seer who, without any labour and exertion in producing, had seen in his mind a work in a finished form, and, as a person thus favoured by the gods, had proclaimed it abroad."—This reasoning will not surprise

impediment to any research concerning the chronology of ancient Hindu works. For Pāṇini's Grammar is the centre of a vast and

zusammengestellt und erwogen in einem so eben erschienenen Werke von Max Müller, einem Werke, in welchem überraschende Belesenheit, Scharfsinn und geistreiche Behandlung des Stoffes den Leser in beständiger Spannung erhalten;" i.e., "All that can contribute to the solution of this question—(viz., that of the introduction of writing into India) we find put together and examined in the most careful manner, in a work by Max Müller, just published, a work in which surprising acquaintance with the literature, acuteness and ingenious treatment of the subject-matter, never suffer the reader's attention to flag." The testimonial he thus gratuitously gives to his own knowledge of "all that can contribute to the solution of that question," reached me too late to be noticed in the previous pages, as they were already in the press; it is contained in a paper of his, having the title "Ein Paar Worte zur Frage über das Alter der Schrift in Indien." These "few words" do not contain, indeed, a particle of fact bearing on the question, but much reasoning, of which the following concluding passage is the summary: "Nach meinem Dafürhalten also wurde die Schrift zur Verbreitung der Literatur in den älteren Zeiten nicht verwandt, wohl aber wurde sie zum Schaffen neuer Werke zu Hülfe genommen. Der Verfasser schrieb sein Werk nieder, lernte es aber dann auswendig oder liess es durch Andere memoriren. Niedergeschriebene Werke wurden in der älteren Zeit wohl selten von Neuem abgeschrieben, mögen aber im Original in der Familie als Heiligtümer aufbewahrt und

India. It is the standard of accuracy in speech,—the grammatical basis of the Vaidik commentaries. It is appealed to by

as in the author of a "commentary on Pāṇini" (compare note 48, etc.). Yet I must ask, whence he derived his information that it was treason towards the Brāhmaṇa caste to write or to produce a manuscript? or whence he has learnt that an author could, in olden times, pass himself off as an inspired seer who was favoured by the gods, without, of course, being chastised by his countrymen, as an impostor? *Meas* XI. 55, treats of *false boasting*—**अभुतं सगुणं वै**—as a crime equal to that of killing a Brāhmaṇa; and *Yājñavalkya*, III. 229, places it on the same level with the drinking of spirituous liquors, which crime is expiated only after the sinner has drunk either boiling spirits, or boiling butter, cow's urine, or milk, until he dies (III. 253). Veracity, moreover, is known to be one of the principal features of the character of the ancient Hindus, as, in the epic legends, a word spoken, or a promise made, is always deemed irrevocable and binding. It is notorious that the Hindu authorities did not look upon any one as an inspired seer, except the author of a Mantra, and, probably, at a more recent period, of a Brāhmaṇa. The Kalpa works were never considered to be anything but human productions, and I know only of one instance, viz., that of Pāṇini, where the author of a scientific work was supposed to have received it from a divinity.—In other words, to the mind of Dr. Bochtlingk the whole of the ancient scientific literature of India presents a picture of a gigantic swindle and imbecility; on the one side are the charlatans who write works, learn them by heart, and burn the manuscripts, in order to appear in direct communication

every scientific writer whenever he meets with a linguistic difficulty. Besides the inspired seers of the works which are the root of Hindu belief, Pāṇini is the only one, among those authors of scientific works who may be looked upon as real personages, who is a Rishi in the proper sense of the word,—an author supposed to have had the foundation of his work revealed to him by a divinity.* Yet, however we may regret the necessity

with a divinity; on the other, is the idiotic notion which believes that the learned quacks are inspired seers favoured by the gods! It is not a little characteristic, but at the same time very intelligible, that this should be the view of the "editor" of Pāṇini.

* Patanjali frequently, therefore, makes use of the expression, "Pāṇini *sees*," when an ordinary author is quoted by him as "saying" or the like; e.g. p. 145 (in Dr. Ballantyne's edition): **यस्मिन्नि साधार्यो नाकारकस्तातो कोपो भवतीति**; or p. 246, **यस्मिन्नि साधार्यो न खञ्जनस्य नुबो भवतीति**; p. 281, **यस्मिन्नि साधार्यो न विचकारं भवतीति**; p. 615, **यस्मिन्नि साधार्यः कानिषदादयो भवतीति**; p. 787, **यस्मिन्नि साधार्यस्यैकदेशभूतं तद्वैच नुबुत इति** etc.; but p. 658, **यस्मिन्नि साधार्यः** (viz. Kāśyapa, in his *Vārtikas* to VI. 4, 104). **चिबो बुचि तस्यैवार्थस्य स्यात्तत्ताप्रसङ्ग-यत्साधार्योपस्य चासिद्धत्वादिति** etc.—For the same reason, when Kaiyaṇa, for instance, speaks of "the author of the *Sūtras*," viz. Pāṇini, Nāgajibhaṭṭa explains this

of leaving this important personage in the chaos which envelopes the historical existence of all ancient Hindu celebrities, it is better to acknowledge this necessity than attach faith to a date devoid of real substance and resting on no trustworthy testimony. For, in doing so, we may feel induced to direct our efforts towards an investigation more likely to lead to a solid result, — I mean the investigation of the *internal evidence* afforded by the ancient literature—as to the position of Pāṇini relatively to the works which are its chief representatives. If we could succeed in establishing this position, or, at least, in determining the critical means by which this end could be obtained, future research into the chronology of Sanskrit literature would have, at least, some ground to build upon, as well as a test by

expression with “*Śiṣe*,” who revealed to Pāṇini the first fourteen Sūtras : e.g. p. 86, **सुबकारो महेवः । विदुषो वा :** or when Kaiyaṭa calls Pāṇini, Āchārya, Nāgajibhaṭṭa says (p. 120) **विदो विदुषो वाचाचार्यः ;** or p. 197, **वाचार्यः प्रिवः .** Of the first fourteen, or the Śivasūtras, Nāgajibhaṭṭa says that they existed from eternity, while Pāṇini made the rest : (p. 763 ed. Ballantyne) **तेषामवादिषादीनां पारिनिष्ठतत्वात्** etc.

which to recognise the place that may be allotted to many important works within the structure raised.

In making an attempt in this direction, we feel our immediate interest naturally engaged by the question whether Pāṇini and Kātyāyana (the author of the Vārtikas), were in reality contemporaries or not, whatever be the age at which they lived. As a substantial record of these Vārtikas is met with in no other work than the “Great Commentary” of Patanjali, it will first be necessary for us to examine the literature embodied or alluded to, in the Mahābhāṣya, so far as it bears on this inquiry, in order to ascertain what portion of this literature is anterior to Kātyāyana, and what portion belongs to his own authorship. We may consult for this purpose, Kaiyaṭa, the principal commentator on Patanjali ; but we need not descend to the recent period of the Kāśikā, the Siddhānta-kaumudī, the commentaries of Nāgēśa, Purushottama, or other Vṛttis and Tīkās, for all these works are at too great a distance from the period of Patanjali to assist us in the solution of our problem.

Of the grammatical writers named by the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, we pass over those which are quoted by Pāṇini himself, as by his testimony we are enabled at once to assign to them an existence prior to his Grammar.⁷⁷ We may pass over, too, those authorities to whom Patanjali adverts when he speaks of a "Śūtra of the former" grammarians⁷⁸; for such an expression on his part invariably refers to Pāṇini's Śūtras; and the substance of the opinions or rules of these "former" grammarians must equally, therefore, have preceded Pāṇini's work, and, consequently, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana.

The first category of writings deserving our notice here will

⁷⁷ These authors are Āpīśali, Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Chākravarmanya, Bhāradvāja, Śākaīśyana, Śākaīya, Senaka, Sphoṭīyana, and those designated by the collective appellation of eastern and northern grammarians. These names have been correctly mentioned by Dr. Boehtlingk, vol. II. p. iii—v.

⁷⁸ Kaiyaṭa calls them *पूर्ववर्तिनः*; or the "former teachers" *e.g.* in his comment on the third Śivasūtra; on I. 1, 4; V. 2, 39; VI. 1, 6, etc. The word *पूर्ववर्तिनः* which in the sense given is a Tatpurusha, the former part of which is to be understood in the sense of a genitive, occurs *e.g.* in the Bhāṣya to VII. 1, 18; compare also note 46.—And the

therefore be those Vārttikas and grammatical dicta which are quoted by Patanjali in relation to Kātyāyana's own Vārttikas. As authors of such writings we meet, for instance, with the grammarians of the school of the *Bhāradvājīyas* and *Saunāgās*, with *Kunaravādava*, *Vālava*, who is perhaps the same as this grammarian, with *Sauryabhagavat*, with *Kaṣi*, who is spoken of by Kaiyaṭa as a predecessor of Patanjali, and an indefinite number of grammarians who are introduced to us under the general designation of "some" or "others."⁷⁹ Whether the latter term com-

authorities quoted by Patanjali, under the name of *व्याचक्षिपः*, are probably also meant as "older grammarians" *e.g.* in his gloss on the fifth Śivasūtra, on I. 1, 1 and 2, 18, etc.

⁷⁹ The *Bhāradvājīyas* are quoted several times in the Bhāṣya; and in the Calc. ed. four times, viz. III. 1, 89, v. 1; IV. 1, 79, v. 1; VI. 4, 47, v. 1, and 155, v. 1.—The *Saunāgās* are mentioned there to II. 2, 18, v. 1—4; VI. 3, 44, v. 1; and VII. 2, 17; the latter quotation, however, does not occur in the Bhāṣya.—*Kṣarasvādāyas* is mentioned in the Bhāṣya to VII. 3, 1, v. 6; *Vālavas* and *Sauryabhagavat* to VIII. 2, 106, v. 3; *Kaṣi* in Kaiyaṭa's gloss on I. 1, 75, where he says that Patanjali follows, in the words referred to, the opinion of *Kaṣi* (Kaiyaṭa: *कुषिना प्राचक्ष्यमानाचार्यविदेवास्मिन्*).... *माधवारसु कुषिदम्बनमिच्छत*.) Some of these quotations are given by Dr. Boehtlingk, vol. II. pp. iv. li. The phrase "*अपर आह*" is of frequent occurrence in

prise the grammarians just named, or other authorities, we can not infer from the words of Patanjali; probably, however, we are justified in deciding for the latter alternative, since Patanjali is a writer who chooses his words deliberately, and would scarcely have quoted his authority at one time by name, and at another by a general term which does not imply that great respect entertained for a high authority. But, whatever view we take of the matter,—setting aside those grammarians quoted by Patanjali, who will require some additional remark before we can establish their relation to Kātyāyana—we may see that all that are named must have lived before Patanjali, and after

the Bhāṣya, e.g. to the second Śivasūtra, to I. 1, 10; 2, 50, 51; II. 2, 24; 3, 66; III. 1, 27, 112, 123; 2, 109, 123, etc.; or कश्चिदीयाकरणे साह e.g. II. 4, 56; अन्ये धिया-करकाः e.g. I. 1, 27; केचित् e.g., VIII. 2, 80 (केचित् एके); अपरे e.g. I. 1, 1 and 2; III. 2, 123; and four sets of grammarians are contrasted by Patanjali in his comment on III. 2, 115: कथंजातीयकं पुनः परोचं नाम । केचित्सावदाहुः । वर्षे-व्रतपूतं परोचमिति । अपर आहुः । वर्षसहस्रपूतं परोचमिति । अपर आहुः । कुडाक-टाकारितं परोचमिति । अपर आहुः । द्वाहपूतं त्रहपूतं वेति .

Kātyāyana, since all their Vārttikas or remarks, recorded by Patanjali are criticisms on, and emendations of, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana.¹⁰⁰ Of Patanjali's *Ishtis* or “desiderata” which

¹⁰⁰ A few instances will bear out this conclusion. Kātyāyana's third Vārttika to II. 2, 18 runs thus: **खिचं तु क्वास्त्वितुर्वैतिवचनात्**; and his fourth: **प्रादयः क्षाये** (omitted in the Calc. ed.). After having explained both, Patanjali adds: **एतदेव च सीनानिविख-रतरकेष पठितम्** and quotes the four Vārttikas of the Saunāgyas as given in the Calc. edition; Kaiyyāta is even more explicit on this occasion, for he says: **एतदेवेति । कात्या-यनानिप्रायेणैव प्रदर्शयितुं सीनानिवृत्तिवक्तरेष पठितमित्यर्थः**. — The Vārttika of Kātyāyana to I. 1, 20 reads: **सुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतियहं शिदर्थम्**; but, says Patanjali, the Bhāradwājīyas read it otherwise: **भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति । सुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतियहं शि-द्विहतार्थम्**, which last compound contains an important improvement on the rule of Kātyāyana. — The latter enlarges Pāṇini's rule III. 1, 89, by this Vārttika: **यक्षिबोः प्रतिषेधे हेतुमक्षिबन्निष्ठासुपसंज्ञावत्**; but, says Patanjali after his explanation of it, **भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति । यक्षिबोः प्रतिषेधे क्षिबन्विचिबूषामाहवैपदाकर्मका-सामुपसंज्ञावत्** which version of the Bhāradwājīyas is a distinct criticism on Kātyā-ayana. — His two Vārttikas on VI. 4, 153 are the following: **खाविष्टव्यमातिपदिकस्य and पुंवज्ञावरभावटिकोपचकादिपरायम्**, but the Bhāradwājīyas improved them in this way: (Patanjali: **भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति ।**) **खाविष्टव्यमातिपदिकस्य पुंवज्ञावरभावटि-कोपचकादिपरप्रादिविचयतीकुक्षिबन्विचयम्**. The same Bhāradwājīyas have criti- cised Pāṇini also, independently of Kātyāyana, for Patanjali mentions at the Sūtra

are his own additions to Kātyāyana's Vārttikas, I need not

VI. 4, 47: **अस्मिन्नेषधयो रमन्तरस्वाम्**, their Vārttika: **अस्मिन्नेषधयो रमन्तरस्वाम्**. The mere comparison of their Vārttikas and the passages quoted, will clearly show that these grammarians not only lived after Pāṇini, but also after Kātyāyana; and that they were engaged on the same task which was the object of Kātyāyana, viz., that of criticising Pāṇini. Dr. Boehtlingk, however, (vol. II. p. iv.)—when speaking of the Vārttikas of the Bhāradwājīyas and one Vārttika of the Āpīśalas, which improves Pāṇini's Sūtra VII. 3, 95, **गुरुश्रुत्यस्यः सार्वधातुके कृन्दसि** (quoted by the Kāśikā, not by Patanjali),—draws from them the twofold conclusion, “first, that the grammatical terminology of both predecessors of our grammarian (Pāṇini) was the same, partly at least (*dans die grammatische Terminologie bei den beiden Vorgängern unserer Grammatikers, zum Theil vereinigt, dieselbe gezeichnet*), and then, that their original works, in time, received similar emendations and additions as the grammar of Pāṇini.” I know not by what logical process either of these conclusions could be extracted from these Vārttikas. The passages quoted are obvious criticisms on Pāṇini and Kātyāyana,—and so are the other Vārttikas of the Bhāradwājīyas named by Patanjali. There is not the slightest evidence afforded by these Vārttikas that they are in any connecting whatever with works of Bhāradwāja and Āpīśali, and any *reasoning* concerning the latter becomes therefore without foundation. Or do we find that in India all pupils and descendants are compelled to confine their writings or remarks to the

speak, since they are an essential portion of his own Great Commentary.¹⁰¹

works of their teachers and ancestors? and will their criticisms on these latter works turn out, by some marvellous process, to fit exactly the productions of other authors also? ¹⁰¹ It will probably be thought desirable that an editor should at least understand the title-page of the work which he is committing to the press, even when editing is merely tantamount to reprinting the labours of others, faults and all; but I fear that this much cannot be said of Dr. Boehtlingk's edition of Pāṇini; for, in translating the title-page of the Calcutta edition, he renders **रहि** “*kārikā*” and justifies this version in the following note (vol. II. p. xxxvii): “I take **परिभाषेष्टिभिः** as a *dvandwa*, and **रहि** as synonymous with *kārikā*, because I should not like to miss these (the *Kārikās*) on the title.” Thus, because the Calcutta Pandits, rightly or wrongly, did not say on the title-page of their edition that their compilation will comprise the *Kārikās*, but merely stated that it will give Vārttikas, Gāṇas, Paribhāshās and Ishṭis, Dr. Boehtlingk *reasons*, that “since he does not like the omission of the *Kārikās*,” *Ishṭi* is the same as *Kārikā*. There is, indeed, nothing strange in this *reasoning* of Dr. Boehtlingk; we have seen already some specimens of it, and if any one would take upon himself the ungrateful task of reviewing the second volume which he has annexed to his “*edition*” of Pāṇini, he would have to add a good many more of the same quality. But if Dr. Boehtlingk had chosen to consult, by letter or otherwise, the editors of his edition of Pāṇini, they would in all probability have told him that *ishṭi* means a “*desideratum*,” and that *ishṭis*, emphatically

Another category of literary compositions, which are either entirely or partly embodied in the Mahābhāṣya, are the *Kārikās*.¹⁰² To assign these verses to one author, would be as

so called, and not qualified otherwise (as *Ishtis* of the *Kāśikā*, etc.), designate the *Vārttikas* of *Patanjali*. They might, too, have referred him to the *Padachandrikāśrīti*, which in the introduction plainly says: इष्टयो माधवारखः; or to Nāgajñāta, who when referring to the word इष्टि applied by Kaiyaṣa to the *Vārttika* of Patanjali to I. 1, 1, omitted in the edition) बन्धोवत्सुचि भवन्ति comments: इष्टिरिति। तथा च माधवारीयतिदेशात्सूत्रेषु खट्वः कार्यप्रवृत्तिरिति भावः. But, for aught I know, they might have simply requested him to read their own edition, before sending it to the printer, since they have themselves written the word माधवारिष्टिः, for instance, after a *Vārttika* to I. 1, 9, or भारिष्टिः after a *Vārttika* to I. 1, 68; or the words इष्टिमाधवः after a *Vārttika* to II. 2, 28; and it is clear enough that in none of these instances can इष्टि be synonymous with कारिका.

¹⁰² It is almost superfluous to state that I merely speak of the *Kārikās* which are recorded by Patanjali. Those belonging to Bhartṛihari, who wrote a gloss on Patanjali (comp. e.g. *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*: भर्तृहरीवृत्त्यपदीयकतो महाभाषयाखाता च, and my subsequent observations on the *Vākyapadīya*), as well as the *Kārikās* met with exclusively in the *Kāśikā* or *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, can have no bearing on the present investigation.

erroneous as to speak of one author of the *Vārttikas*.¹⁰³ For, even the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini enables us to see, at first

¹⁰³ These assertions have nevertheless been made by Dr Boehtlingk, vol. II. p. xiv., where he states that "between Pāṇini and Anura-Sinha there are still four grammarians: Kātyāyana, the author of the *Paribhāṣhās*, the author of the *Kārikās*, and Patanjali;" and p. xviii. xix., where he states that each couple of these grammarians may be separated from one another by a space of fifty years, he repeats, "as we have observed above (p. xiv), there are between Patanjali and Pāṇini still three grammarians known to us, who made contributions to the grammar of Pāṇini." On page xlix, it is true, he says, "no doubt the *Kārikās* do not all belong to the same author, since the same subject is treated sometimes in two different *Kārikās* in a perfectly different manner;" but as he observed before that the *Kārikās* are "scattered in various grammars (*sic*), viz. in the *Mahābhāṣya*, the *Kāśikā*, the *Padamanjari* and the *Kaumudī*," and as two quotations which he adds in corroboration of his statement, viz. VI. 3, 109, and VII. 2, 10, have reference to the *Kāśikā* and *Siddhānta-kaumudī* only, we should be in fairness bound to conclude that, in his opinion, it was the literary period after Patanjali which produced this variety of authors of the *Kārikās*. Yet when he presents us with a third quotation, viz. "Calc. ed. p. 274," which clearly points to the fact that there were different authors of *Kārikās* at or before Patanjali's time, it would be curious to learn how he reconciles this latter quotation with his previous statements at pages xiv and xix, according to which there is but one author of the *Kārikās* between Pāṇini and

sight, in four instances, that they cannot be the work of the same author ; and, besides these, two other instances of the same kind may be found in the "Great Commentary."¹⁰⁴ But, to define the relation of these verses to Kátyáyana, it will not be sufficient simply to state that some of them embody the rules of Kátyáyana, while others deviate from them, and others again enlarge and criticise the Várttikas :¹⁰⁵ it will be necessary to describe the

Patanjali, and a personage, too, who lived 50 years after the author of the Paribhāshās and 50 years before Patanjali ! Compare also the following note.

¹⁰⁴ The Kárikās not met with in the Bhāshya are, usually, correctly marked in the Calcutta edition with the name of the work whence they have been taken ; those not marked, are therefore, nearly always, recognizable in this edition as belonging to the Mahābhāshya. That such Kárikās of the latter kind, to the same Sūtra of Pāṇini, belong to different authors, is indicated in the Calc. ed. at I. 4, 51 ; III. 2, 123 (*p. 274*) ; IV. 1, 44 and 63. From the Bhāshya we learn it, at *first sight*, besides, in the two instances, I. 2, 50,—where the words मोक्षा इत्वं etc. are preceded by अपर आह—and VIII. 2, 58, where the latter words precede the Kárikā वेत्तिषु etc. Compare the notes 107, 108, 111.

¹⁰⁵ Three striking instances of the latter kind are the Kárikās to IV. 2, 60 ; VIII. 1, 60 ; and III. 2, 118. The first occurs at the end of Patanjali's commentary on the

characteristic features of these Kárikās such as we find them in Patanjali's work.

An external, but very important mark, is afforded by the circumstance that one portion of the Kárikās is left by Patanjali entirely without comment, while he comments on another portion in the same manner as he does on the Várttikas ; and we may add, too, that there are a few Várttikas which are not altogether without a gloss, but the gloss on which is so scanty

Várttikas of this Sūtra, is without comment, and contains, for the greater part, new matter, which is given in the shape of Várttikas in the Siddhānta-kāumudī. It is omitted in the Calc. ed. and runs thus : अगुर्वस्वस्वचक्षे सर्वसादेर्विनीच सः । इक्यदेत्तरप-दाच्छतषष्टेः विकल्पचः । The Kárikā to VIII. 1, 69 embodies the Várttikas 1, 2, 3 to the same Sūtra and Várttika 2 to VIII. 1, 67, but in the latter Kátyáyana says मलोपवचनं च, and the Kárikā enlarges this rule to मकारलोपो ऽतिष्ठि (Nāgajibhaṣṣa : मलोपचेति चार्तिकोक्तो मलोपस्तिष्ठु-नेनेष्टः). The Kárikā to III. 2, 118 is thus introduced by Patanjali : किं वातः सादि० । न स पुरावतञ्च इति (second Várttika) शुवता कात्यायनेनैह सादि० ; and by Kaṣyapa : एकतरस्वितास्तिष्ठि अपुरावच्छा-नुपवचलेनात्रचक्षीवी । तत्र पूर्वस्विन्यस्विता विधेयमपञ्चयुच्छति । इतरी वार्त्तिक-कप्रत्याख्यानाय मया विवक्षितमेतदिवाह । सादि०.

Being here merely concerned with the question of the relation of these Kárikás to Kátyáyana, we should not feel under the necessity of examining the contents of the six verses just mentioned, even if they differed in character from the rest—which is not the case,—for the statements alleged enable us, as it is, to conclude that they are *later* than his Várttikas. Still, as the remaining portion of these uncommented Kárikás does not admit of a similar inference without an inquiry into the evidence which they yield, it will be necessary to observe that they fall into two distinct divisions.

One class of them merely records the substance of the preceding Várttikas. These, for the most part, stand at the end of Patanjali's commentary on the Súra to which they belong; but etc.—Kaiyaṭa: **संदिग्धानसंदिग्धांश्च धात्वित्तरासाद्य पर्यवर्ति-
यन्तः**—Kaiyaṭa on the Kárikás to VI. 4, 22: **धात्तिककारोन्निवृत्तप्रयोजनेषु प्राक्का-
न्तिषु ङीकधात्तिककारोन्निवृत्तप्रयोजनानामेषः**—Nāgajibhatta: **धात्तिककारः शालाघ्नः ।
ङीकधात्तिककारस्तत्र एवेति भावः**. See also page 92.

some of them are also met with in the midst of the discussion of the Bháshya, but only when they comprise the contents of a portion, not of the whole, of the Várttikas to the Súra of Páṇini.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Such uncommented Kárikás standing at the end of the commentary occur at the Sútras II. 1. 10; 4. 85 (Kár. 2. 3).—III. 1. 79; 2. 3.—V. 2. 48; 3. 55 (Kár. 3. 5).—VI. 1. 77 (Kár. 2). 87.—VII. 1. 73 (Kár. 2).—VIII. 2. 62. 108; 3. 43.—*In the middle* of the discussion they occur at the Sútras II. 1. 60, before the fourth Várttika, and summing up the Várttikas 1, 2, 3; II. 4. 88 (Kár. I, being a summary of the Várttikas preceding the third Várttika in the Calc. ed.).—The summary character of these Kárikás is sometimes expressly adverted to by the commentators. Thus at II. 1. 60, Kaiyaṭa observes: **अवधारणे नञा वेदिति पूर्व एवार्थं चार्थवा संवृतिः**; II. 4. 85 (Kár. 1), **एव एवार्थं (of what precedes) चार्थवा दृष्टिः**; II. 4. 85 (Kár. 2. 3), **पूर्वोक्त एवार्थः ङीकधेयमिति पूर्वोक्तार्थस्य द्योताः**; etc. etc. I may here observe that the word **इति**, which is usually added by authors after quotations they make from other authors, is scarcely ever met with after the last word of these or any other Kárikás. There is the following instance which clearly proves that no inference can be drawn from the presence or absence of this word **इति** after the Kárikás; viz. the Káriká to III. 1. 7 is identical with the first Káriká to V. 2. 94; **इति** occurs after the former, not after the latter. Only one of the Kárikás introduced by **अपरं चाङ्**—a 'clear

The second class has not the character of summaries of the Vārtikas. It is an *essential part of the discussion of the Bhāṣya itself*, now introducing the point at issue with some general remark, then

instance of a quotation—is followed by this word, viz. : III. 2, 123 (Kār. 1); none of the uncommented Kārikās except the one mentioned (III. 1, 7) has this word after it; and among the Kārikās with comment, it occurs only at III. 2, 13A. It is not necessary, on the present occasion, to make any further statement concerning the use of *इति* in Patanjali's commentary; but compare also note 130.—The Calcutta editors, who, unfortunately, have considered themselves justified in giving us "Extracts" from the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana, do not enable their readers fully to recognize the summary character of these Kārikās; and, in placing the Kārikās either at the end or at the beginning, they have, in this class of the Kārikās, and still more so in the following classes, entirely destroyed all possibility of perceiving how these Kārikās are sometimes summaries of a portion only of Vārtikas, sometimes the summary of Patanjali's discussion, and sometimes an essential portion of his arguments. When, in the MSS. of the Bhāṣya, to judge from the one at my command, a Kārikā, which occurs in the middle of the discussion, is sometimes—not always,—repeated at the end, such a device on the part of Patanjali, or, as it seems more probable, on the part of the copyists, is intelligible, and deserves approval, as it is calculated to draw our attention to the occurrence, in the middle of the discussion, of such a verse, which usually contains important information. But when such a verse is always taken from its original and proper place, and always

connecting or strengthening the links of the debate by an important definition or a new argument, then again summing up the substance of the discussion itself, and throwing, as it were, some additional light on it:¹¹⁰

put either at the beginning or at the end, for no other reason than that it is a verse, such a method, in a book, moreover, of that equivocal class which gives dribbled extracts of an important literature, makes the same impression, on my mind at all events, as if an editor of a garbled Shakspeare were to present us first with all the prosaic and then with all the poetical parts of the play, or vice versa.

¹¹⁰ Uncommented verses of this kind are met with in the Bhāṣya at or near the beginning of the discussion on IV. 1, 44 (वोतो मुञ्च० । मुञ्चवचनदिलुच्यते । वो मुञ्चो नाम । सत्वे निविशते etc., when he contrasts the following Kārikā—अपर आह । उपनि० —with the preceding words); IV. 1, 63 (आतिरली० । आतिरलुच्यते वा अतिर्नाम । आतिरलुच्य०, which words are contrasted with the Kārikā of "another" अपरे आह । प्रादुर्भाव००); IV. 1, 161 (समोर्षोतावच० । अपत्ते कुसिति etc.); V. 1, 115 (तेन गुणं । एदमयुक्तं वर्तते । किमवायुक्तम् । चक्षुःश्रोत्रादिसमर्थे किंचा चेत्सा सवतीलुच्यते । अथ च श्रुतीवासमर्थे नाम किंचा आत । श्रुतदयुक्तं वर्तते । सर्व एव ते शब्दा मुञ्चसुदा० चेपु वर्तते आह । अथियो विद्वः मुद्र हति । तपः श्रुत००); VI. 2, 199 (परादिचक्षुर्वि चक्षुश्च । चक्षुर्विदमुच्यते । परादिच परावच००); VII. 4, 46, 46A. 2. (तो दृ० ।

A comparison of these two classes of *uncommented* Kárikás shows, therefore, that while the former might have been omitted in the Great Commentary, without any detriment to the contents of this work, the latter was indispensable to it. We may look upon the summary Kárikás as memorial verses, adapted for forming a separate collection for the convenience of teachers and pupils; but

वार्तिक विद्वत् इति च etc.)—The foregoing quotations, which begin with the Sūtra itself, will show the introductory character of these Kárikás.—*In the middle of the discussion of the Bhāṣya* we find such Kárikás at I. 1, 0 (ed. Ballantyne, p. 201, 202, towards the end of the Introduction); I. 1, 20 (preceding the fourth Vārtika of the Calc. ed.); I. 1, 38 (the first Káriká of the Calc. ed.; it stands after the Vārtikas of this ed., and is followed by a Káriká of the third category—see note 106,—which is omitted in the Calc. ed.); I. 2, 64 (preceding the eighteenth Vārtika of the ed.); III. 1, 22 (after the Vārtika of the ed., but before other Vārtikas omitted there); V. 3, 55 (Kár. I. 2; preceding the ninth Vārtika of the Calc. ed.; Patanjali speaks in the first person); VI. 4, 114 (before the third Vārtika of the ed.); VIII. 2, 80 (before the second Vārtika of the ed.)—Uncommented Kárikás occur *at the end of the discussion* of the Bhāṣya at I. 1, 14, 38 (the last Káriká of the ed.; the Calc. editors add that this Káriká is originally a Vaidik passage referring to **वैदिक**). Kaiyyaṭa and Nāgajibhaṭṭa have no remark to this effect; but even if the editors be right, they ought to have proved first that the

the independent existence of the commentatorial Kárikás is quite unintelligible, and would be altogether purposeless. In short, though there might be a doubt whether Patanjali, or some other grammarian, poetically inclined, had versified the Vārtikas, it seems impossible to assume that the second class of those Kárikás was composed by any one but Patanjali. It is very probable, however, that the author of the Mahābhāṣya was not the author of the summary or memorial Kárikás. For since there *was* an “author of versified Kárikás,” as we learn from Kaiyyaṭa and Nāgajibhaṭṭa, and as we shall see that a considerable number of the commented Kárikás do not belong to his authorship, the literary activity of this personage would become restricted to,

“Vaidik” passage in question—a very vague definition—is older than Patanjali’s Bhāṣya, and not taken from it; on I. 1, 70; 4, 51 (Kár. 5—7); II. 4, 36; III. 1, 7 (which occurs once more in the middle of the discussion on V. 2, 94 as Kár. 1); III. 1, 122, 127; 3, 1. Kár. 3 (see note 113). 156 (= VII. 4, 41); 4, 79; IV. 2, 9, 60 (omitted in the Calc. ed.; see note 105, **वैदिक**); V. 3, 55 (Kár. 3—5); VI. 1, 1; VII. 1, 18; 4, 92 (where Patanjali speaks in the first person); VIII. 1, 70; 2, 59.

and his fame would have been founded on, less than half-a-dozen lines, if we did not ascribe to him more Kárikás than those expressly attributed to him by these commentators, or if we fathered these summary Kárikás on Patanjali. Whether the “*other*” mentioned in the first six instances be the same, or not, as the “author of the versified Kárikás,” I have no means of deciding; but, at all events, it becomes certain, after this brief explanation, that *all the uncommented Kárikás are later than the Várttikas of Kátyáyana.*

The Kárikás *commented upon* by Patanjali are in one respect similar to the foregoing class, but in another wholly different from it. As regards an external mark, we again meet here with “another,” who has twice composed a Káriká which is contrasted by Patanjali with a preceding Várttika, and twice a Káriká which he contrasts with a preceding Káriká, the authorship of which is left without a remark.¹¹¹ Another such Káriká, too, is distinctly

¹¹¹ III. 1, 112, Patanjali says, अपर चाह । संज्ञायां पुंसि etc., when he contrasts the

ascribed by Kaiyyata to the “author of the versified Kárikás.”¹¹² And when we examine the contents of this second class of Kárikás, we again find many which form an essential part of the arguments in the discussion of Patanjali.¹¹³ Here, however, the analogy stops; for the remainder have in no way the nature of summaries; they are to all intents and purposes identical in character with the Várttikas of Kátyáyana; and even Patanjali’s commentary

Káriká with the preceding Várttika; III. 2, 109, अपर चाह । नोवेचिवात् etc. contrasted with preceding Várttikas omitted in the Calc. ed.; I. 2, 50 (Kár. 2), अपर चाह । नोवात्सं etc. contrasted with the preceding Káriká; I. 4, 51, अपर चाह । प्रधावकर्मसाक्षिणे etc. (commented on up to स्वयो विदुः Kár. 1-4) contrasted with the preceding Káriká.
¹¹² VI. 4, 22. Compare note 108.

¹¹³ Such Kárikás are met with at or near the beginning of the Bháshya on I. 4, 51 (the two first Kár. of the Calc. ed.); III. 3, 1. (Kár. 1, 2; the last Káriká is left without comment); IV. 1, 3, 54, 78. (the first four Kárikás stand at the beginning, before the first Várttika; the following nine after the second Várttika of the Calcutta edition, which, in the Bháshya, however, is the fourth); 92, 165; V. 2, 45; VI. 1, 103. In the middle of the discussion on I. 1, 57; IV. 1, 93; V. 1, 19; 2, 94, Kár. 2 (before the seventh Várttika of the Calc. ed.); VII. 4, 46 (Kár. 1).

on them follows the same method that he observes in his comment on the Vārttikas.¹¹⁴

This method is analogous to that which has become familiar through the classical commentaries of Śaṅkara on the Upanishads, of Medhātithi and Kullūka on Manu, of Śāyana on the Vedas, of Vijnāneswara on Yājñavalkya, and so on. Its character chiefly consists in establishing, usually by repetition, the correct reading of the

text, in explaining every important or doubtful word, in showing the connection of the principal parts of the sentence, and in adding such observations as may be required for a better understanding of the author. Patanjali even excels, in the latter respect, the commentaries instanced, for he frequently attaches his own critical remarks to the emendations of Kātyāyana, often in support of the views of the latter, but not seldom, too, in order to refute his criticisms and to defend Pāṇini; while, again, at other times, he completes the statement of one of them by his own additional rules.

Now this method Patanjali strictly follows in his comment on the Kārikās I am alluding to. As they nearly always constitute a whole verse, and as such a verse is generally too complicated an assemblage of words to be thoroughly intelligible without being interrupted by some explanatory remark, it seldom happens that the comment of Patanjali does not begin till he has given the whole verse in its uninterrupted order. Nor is it often that so many words of the Kārikā as constitute half a verse remain together in the Bhāṣya, though it is obvious that half a verse is

¹¹⁴ Kārikās of this description occur in the Bhāṣya at or near the beginning of the commentary on I. 1, 19; 2, 9, 17, 18, 50 (Kār. 1); III. 2, 115; IV. 1, 10 (the Vārttika of the Calc. ed. on this Sūtra is no Vārttika but Bhāṣya); 3, 60, 84, 134; V. 3, 83; VI. 1, 77 (Kār. 1 a. b.). 158; 2, 1; 3, 46; 4, 3, 46, 128; VII. 1, 21, 40, 73 (Kār. 1). 96; 2, 107; 3, 3 (Kār. 1). 86; VIII. 1, 69 (?); 2, 25, 55, 58 (Kār. 1. 2); 3, 88; 4, 68.—*In the middle*, at I. 2, 51; 4, 21 (= HL. 3, 161); III. 2, 57, 139; IV. 1, 18, 32 (the second Vārttika of the Calc. ed. is no Vārttika but Bhāṣya on the last part of the Kārikā); 2, 8 (the second Vārttika of the Calc. ed. is misedited; it runs thus: **इष्टे सामनि जाते सायच्छिद्धिं यो विधीयते**). 45; V. 2, 39; VI. 4, 12, 62, 74; VII. 1, 9; 2, 102; 3, 3 (Kār. 2 and 3).—*Towards the end*, at IV. 1, 120.—In several of these instances there are no other Vārttikas to the Sūtra besides the Kārikā, which is then the subject of the whole commentary, e.g. at IV. 3, 60, 84; VI. 4, 46, 128; VII. 1, 21; 3, 88.

more likely to afford undivided matter for comment than a whole one. The rule, therefore, is, that small portions of the Káriká, for the most part of the extent of an ordinary Várttika, are, like so many Várttikas, separately commented upon by Patanjali, and that in all such instances we have to gather the scattered parts of the Káriká from amongst the commentatorial interruptions of Patanjali, in order to see that, put together, they form a verse,—a Śloka, an Indravajra, a Dodhaka, an Áryá, or the like.¹¹⁵ This trouble we are frequently saved, either by the author of the Great Com-

¹¹⁵ The text of the *whole* verse of Kárikás of this class is given before the comment of Patanjali, at I. 2. 51 ; V. 2. 94. Kár. 2 ; VI. 4, 46 ; VIII. 4, 68. There occur *half* verses of the Kárikás, without commentatorial interruptions, e.g. at I. 4, 21 (= III. 3, 161). 51 ; III. 2, 57. 115 ; IV. 1, 3. 10. 32. 93. 165 ; 2, 8. 45 ; V. 2. 39 ; VI. 4, 3. 12. 62. 128 ; VII. 1, 9. 96 ; 2, 102. 107 ; 3, 3. 86.—Both modes are combined at VIII. 3, 45 (a Kár. of the *third category*) where Patanjali first comments on the text of the first Káriká, which is given without any interruption ; then on the first half of the second Káriká ; then on the second half of the second and the first half of the third Káriká, both given together ; then on the second half of the third ; and lastly, on the first half of the fourth Káriká. The comment on the second half of the fourth Káriká follows first after the words सिद्धं च

mentary himself, or by the attentive copyists of his work, as he or they usually repeat, at the end of the gloss on the Várttikas,

ते समाधि, and then after the words प्रतिविचार्य चो ह्यस्.—The manner in which the great majority of these Kárikás is interrupted in the Mahābhāṣya may be guessed from a very few instances which have escaped the garbling process of the Calcutta editors ; from IV. 1, 120, where the four Várttikas are the literal text of the Káriká ; and from V. 3, 83, where the first five Várttikas constitute the Káriká. The injudiciousness of giving these Kárikás on all other occasions, without indicating the manner in which they have arisen from a number of short Várttikas, requires no remark after the foregoing explanation ; but this proceeding becomes still more subject to censure, when some portions of the Káriká are given as Várttikas and others are omitted, or ascribed to other works than the Bhāṣya, while the Káriká, nevertheless, is printed as belonging to the latter work. For it becomes evident that, in all such cases, there was not even a principle which guided the so-called selection or quotation of the works whence the Várttikas are taken. Thus at IV. 1, 32 the Calcutta edition gives the Káriká, but only the last portion of it as Várttika—mistaking, moreover, the words of the commentary वा ह्यस्ति मुक्तव्यः for the Káriká-Várttika, which runs thus : वा ह्यस्ति नुगमेत्.—A similar mis-edition of the second Várttika to IV. 2, 8, and the attributing to the Kāśikā of the fifth Várttika, make it impossible to see that the Várttikas 2—5 form, in the Mahābhāṣya, the text of the printed Káriká.—In ascribing the third and the fifth Várttika of V. 3, 83 to the Siddhānta-kaumudī, the

the whole Káriká in its metrical integrity. Sometimes, however, they omitted to do this; and if I may judge from the copy of the Mahábháshya in the possession of the Library of the Home Government for India, the Calcutta Pandits, who published an edition of Páṇini, have, in some instances, supplied the apparent defect of this manuscript.¹¹⁶

editors obscure the origin of the Káriká to this Sūtra, which repeats the text of the first five Várttikas, such as they occur in the Bháshya.—At VIII. 2, 25 the same edition does not allow us to perceive more than the first stop of the first Káriká, while it gives the three Kárikás in full.—I may mention, too, that there is no such Káriká in the Bháshya as that printed at VI. 4, 19. It certainly was very tempting to roll up into a Śloka the words of Patanjali, तुकप्रसजित, which explain the second Várttika together with the three other Várttikas which belong to Kátyáyana; but there is no evidence to show that Patanjali made this verse; nor does it occur in the Káriká or the Siddhánta-kaumudī.—For one Káriká Patanjali seems, indeed, to be himself answerable, for the Várttikas to VIII. 1, 69 merely contain the material for the first fourth and the second half of the Káriká, which occurs at the end of his Bháshya on this Sūtra. It is possible, however, under the circumstances, that this Káriká may be one of the summary class. See note 105.

¹¹⁶ Dr. Ballantyne's edition of the first Páda of the first Adhyáya of the Mahá-

The foregoing remarks sufficiently express my views on these commented Kárikás. Where the authorship of "another," or of the Śloka-várttika-kára, is distinctly mentioned by Patanjali or Kaiyyāṭa, I see no reason to doubt that the Kárikás to which this remark applies are neither Patanjali's nor Kátyáyana's. When the Kárikás are part of the arguments of the Bháshya itself, it seems certain, as in the case of the analogous Kárikás without comment, that their author is Patanjali; but when they have entirely

bháshya, and the MS. of the E. I. H., which have the four Várttikas to I. 1, 57, निवः परखादयो निवः । comm. । परखादो व्यवस्था । comm. । व्यवस्थायो वाचि । comm. । चरित्तेन सिध्यति । comm. 1, do not repeat these words without interruptions in order to show their Káriká nature; and the same remark applies to the MS. with regard to the commented Kárikás I. 2, 51; 4, 21. 51; IV. 1, 3. 32. 78. 92. 93. 120. 165; 2, 45; 3, 60. 134; V. 1, 19; 2, 39. 45. 94 (Kár. 2); 3, 83; VI. 1, 158; 4, 46. 62. 74. 128; VII. 1, 96; 4, 46 (Kár. 1); VIII. 2, 25. 55. 58 (Kár. 1, 2); 3, 48; 4, 68. The repetition of some of these Káriká-Várttikas has no doubt been omitted, because the commentary of Patanjali allowed the whole verse or half a verse of this text to remain uninterrupted (see note 115). In the Calcutta edition all these Kárikás are given in their metrical integrity.

the character of Vārttikas—which will later be defined—they are undoubtedly the composition of Kātyāyana; and such, I hold, is the view of Kaiyaṣa and Nāgajibhaṭṭa also. For though it is no part of their task to specify the authorship of the Kārikās, except when such a remark is essential to their gloss, they, nevertheless, have done so occasionally; and when thus we find that they plainly ascribe some of these commented Kārikās either to the author of the Vārttikas or the author of the Great Commentary, as the case may be, we must be allowed to infer that they entertained a similar opinion on other Kārikās which would fall under either of the heads I have mentioned above.¹¹⁷ Nor need we hesitate at the idea of a

¹¹⁷ Thus, on the first four Kārikās to IV. 1, 78, *Nāgajibhaṭṭa* observes: एते श्लोका भाष्यकृत एव च चार्त्तिककृतः—which words, moreover, plainly intimate that there exist Kārikās composed by Kātyāyana; or in the latter part of Kaiyaṣa's comment on the Kārikā to VI. 1, 103 we read: एवादिना विशिष्टमेव विदुषश्चण्ड आशङ्क्यो रेवाश्रितम्.—In his comment on the Kārikā to IV. 3, 60, *Nāgajibhaṭṭa*, in referring to the remark of Patanjali, मुञ्चपात्रे तत्त्वभाषासीयप्रत्ययो चकृवः (which words explain the beginning of the second Kārikā) observes: भाष्ये तत्त्वभाष्यामिति चार्त्तिके आर्षत्वात्समाहः; and on a further remark of Kaiyaṣa: प्रकृतचार्त्तिकप्रत्यो-

poetical author of Vārttikas. Not only were whole grammatical works, ancient and modern, written in verse,¹¹⁸ but it is a common occurrence with scientific commentators in India, that they cannot resist the temptation of running into verse, even at the risk of endangering their prosaic task. We need only remember another celebrated author of Vārttikas, Kumārila, who writes alternately in Śloka and prose. It might seem more remarkable that Patanjali should write in verse and comment upon this himself; but *Mādhava* affords an analogous instance in his Jaiminiya-nyāya-mālā-vistara; *Viśvanātha-Panchānana*

जनमाह. On the affix तवै in the second Kārikā to VI. 1, 158, *Nāgajibhaṭṭa* remarks: चार्त्तिके तवैयद्वयं सूचीपक्षचक्षुस्; on the first Kārikā to VI. 2, 1: इति विवलो ऽसिद्ध इति चार्त्तिकार्थः; on Kaiyaṣa to the first Kārikā to VI. 3, 46: चन्वप्रकृतिरिति चार्त्तिकस्यमव्ययत्वं व्याचष्टे; on Kaiyaṣa to the second fourth of Kārikā 1. to VI. 4, 12: चार्त्तिके सुतीति, etc.; on a various reading in the second Kārikā to VII. 3, 86: चार्त्तिके ऽन्यत्रापि इति पाठे, etc.—In his gloss on the Kārikā to VIII. 4, 68, Kaiyaṣa says: तस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्वपापि विवृतोपदेशः स्ववैयद्वयाच्च इति चार्त्तिककृता पूर्वमेव प्रतिपादितम्.

¹¹⁸ For instance, the Pāṇiniya-Śikshā and the Rik-Prātisākhya.

wrote a commentary in prose, the Siddhántamuktávali, on his metrical exposition of the Vaisesika Philosophy, the Bháshá-parichcheda; *Daivajñarāma* explained in prose his versified Muhúrtachintāmani; *Vardhamāna* did the same with his Ganaratnamahodadhi; and many more instances could be adduced to show that there is nothing striking, or even remarkable, in the assumption that Patanjali composed grammatical verses and commented on them in prose.¹¹⁹

After the foregoing observations, the authorship of those Kárikás, which, apparently, form a third category, can create no difficulty so far as Kátyáyana is concerned. They were neither written by him, nor before his time. The manner in which Patanjali comments on them, and their very contents, show that they cannot be assimilated to Kátyáyana's Kárikás, which, as I mentioned before, are dealt with by him in the same manner as the Várttikas in prose. There is either scarcely any comment on

¹¹⁹ I owe to the kindness of Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall an extract from his "*Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems*," which mentions besides Vísvanátha-Pañchānana, eleven authors who wrote twelve works in verse and commented on them in prose. As this extract is, on other grounds, of considerable interest, I will, with Dr. Hall's permission, forestall the arrival in Europe of his important work, and here subjoin the substance of his communication. He names in it, besides the author of the Bháshá-parichcheda — 1. *Jivardja-Dikshita*, who wrote the Tarka-káriká (on the Vaisesika) in verse, and a commentary on it in prose, the Tarka-manjari; 2. *Vidyārasya-charya*, the author of the Vedántádhikaraya-mālā (in verse) and a prose exposition interspersed; 3. *Prakāśānanda* or *Anantānanda-kriṣṇa* (?), the author of the Siddhántamuktávali; 4. *Vanadeva-Brahma-Prasāda*,

the author of the Sachchidānandānubhava-pradīpikā; 5. *Lakṣmedhara-Kavi*, who wrote the Advaita-makaraṇḍa; 6. *Śaṅkara-charya*, to whom the Ātmabodha is ascribed, and likewise a comment on it, entitled Ajñānabodhinī; 7. *Śaṅkara-saṇḍa*, the author of the Ātmapurāṇa and a comment on it, the Ātmapurāṇa-dīpikā; 8. *Appayya-Dikshita*, the author of the Brahmataraka-śava and the Brahmataraka-śivaraṇa; 9. 10. *Vallabhācharya*, the author of the Pushpīpravāhamaryāśābheda and a Vivaraṇa on it, and likewise of the Antahkarasaprabodha and a Virṭi on it; 11. *Gaṅgādhara-saracraṭi*, the author of the Siddhāntasūktimanjarī (an abridgement of the Siddhāntaleśa) and a Prakāśa of it; and 12. *Govindaśāstrī*, who wrote the Atharvaprāśāya and a commentary on it.—All these works (except the first) treat on the Vedānta; their text is in verse and their commentary in prose.

the Kárikás of this class, or his comment assumes more the nature of a general exposition, which is intended to work out the sense of the Káriká, but not to give, at the same time, a gloss, in the usual sense of this word.¹²⁰ In short, a comparison of these

¹²⁰ Thus the two half verses of a Káriká to I. 1, 38 (omitted in the Calc. ed.), are interrupted and accompanied by a brief remark, as will appear from the following quotation (ed. Ballantyne, p. 492): कृतवितानां सहस्रं तु कार्यं संस्वाविशेषं ह्यभिनिश्चिता ये (first half verse) । तेषां प्रतिषेधो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । एषा मा भूत् । एको दो बहुव हति । तस्मात्स्वरदिग्रहं च कार्यं कृतवितानां सहस्रं च पाठे (second half verse) । पाठे-नेयमवयवज्ञा विद्यते शेषे न प्राप्नोति । परमोक्षे परमवीथिरिति.—The Bhāṣya on the first two half verses of the Káriká to III. 1, 123 (which are left uninterrupted), merely consists of the words: निवृत्तौ विन्वीत पशुकासः; on the following portion, खादिकखाद्यगुर्वैः क्षप, of the instances: देवद्वयः । प्रकीयः । उन्नीयः । उच्छिद्यः ।; on शगुर्वैश्च चतौ विधिः, of the instances मर्यः । सूर्याचर्यः । खन्वः, and the like on the last half verse.—The comment on the Káriká to IV. 2, 13 runs thus: चपचा कुमारीं भवः कीमारः । बभेवं कीमारी भार्येति न सिध्यति पुनोना-दभिधानं भविष्यति । कीमारश्च भार्या कीमारी.—The whole Bhāṣya on the Kárikás to VI. 4, 120, is the following; on the first half verse: ह्यन्वस्त्वभिचोरपीति वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रवीयवत् । वनेषु००; and on the rest, which is given without any

Kárikás with those of the two other classes, must lead to the conclusion that, in reality, they are no separate class, but belong either to one or the other. They are partly Patanjali's own arguments expressed in verse and amplified in prose, or the composition of that "other" grammarian whom we have encountered before. There are, indeed, two of these Kárikás which are distinctly ascribed by

interruption: क्षमिन्लो त्वं विधिरिति.—The Káriká to VI. 4, 149, which also is given entire—up to तथा, which is preceded only by the word चान्तिषद्—is followed by these words: चान्तिषे च दूरके सूर्या.—The Bhāṣya on the whole continuous first Káriká to VIII. 3, 45, consists of these words: व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्ये पूर्वोक्तः । न चात्र व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्ये । किं पुनः कारकम् । पूर्वोक्त्यन्ते व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्यमात्रोक्तौ न पुनरेकार्षीभावो यथावत्; on the first half of the second, the Bhāṣya runs: एकाक्षौ सति वाक्के बलं न खात् । सविक्करोति । सविः करो-तीति; on the uninterrupted second half and first half of the third Káriká; यदि ह्यदन्तमेतत्ततो ऽधिकस्त बलं न प्राप्नोति । किं कारकं । प्रत्ययग्रहो यस्मात्स तद-देवेष्ट्वं भवतीति वाक्के ऽपि तर्हि न प्राप्नोति । परमसर्विकरोति; on the second half of the third Káriká: यदवमगुत्तरपदक्येति प्रतिषेधं शक्ति तन्वापयत्वाचार्यः । भवति वाक्के विभाविति; fourth Káriká, etc.

Patanjali to this grammarian, and a third which quotes Kátyáyana, and cannot therefore belong to this author of the Várttikas.¹²¹

Another and very important class of grammatical writings frequently adverted to in the Māhabhāshya is familiar to Hindu grammarians under the name of *Paribhāshās*. They do not amend and criticize, but teach the proper application of, the rules of Pāṇini. While the *Sanjñā-rules* explain the technical terms of his work, the *Paribhāshās* explain the general principles, according to which the Sūtras are to be applied. Thus, when Pāṇini or other grammarians teach the meaning of the terms *Guṇa*, *Vṛiddhi*, *Upasarga*,

¹²¹ The Kārikās to I. 1, 38; VI. 4, 149; and VIII. 3, 45, belong, in all probability, to Patanjali, and those to III. 1, 123; 2, 118, 123 (Kār. 3); IV. 2, 13; and VI. 4, 120, to the "other" grammarians. The Kārikā to III. 1, 123, is distinctly introduced by Patanjali with the words *अपर आह*.—The third Kārikā to III. 2, 123, which has no other comment than the words *हिमवानपि वृच्छति*, is thus introduced by him, together with the two preceding and the two following verses: *अपर आहः । नास्ति वर्तमानः काल इति । अपि चात्र लोकादुदाहरति । न वर्तते, etc.* Compare note 107.—The first Kārikā to III. 2, 118, explicitly refers to Kátyáyana, in quoting his second Várttika to this Sūtra.

Gati, *Dvandva*, etc., the rules devoted to this purpose are *Sanjñā-rules*; but when Pāṇini says, "If a grammatical element in the Sūtras has the mute letter *m*, this anubandha indicates that such an element has to be added after the last vowel of the radical or base with which it is to be joined;" or if he states, "The sixth case in a Sūtra means that, instead of that which is expressed by this case, something else, enjoined by the Sūtra, is to be substituted,"—such rules are *Paribhāshā-rules*.¹²²

¹²² Compare I. 1, 1, 2, etc., and other Sūtras marked in the edition *संज्ञाप्रदेशः*; and I. 1, 47, 49, and other Sūtras marked there *परिभाषासूचकम्*. But the Calcutta editors have failed in accuracy, also, in this respect. Thus the rule I. 1, 21, *आबन्तवदेकस्मिन्*, is marked by them as an *वृत्तिदेशः*; but Patanjali calls it distinctly *परिभाषा*; or I. 1, 69, *अनुदित्सर्वस्य चाप्रबन्तः*, has their mark *संज्ञाप्रदेशः*, but is called by Kátyáyana himself a *Paribhāshā* (ed. Ballantyne, p. 763); or I. 1, 72, *येन विधिस्तदन्तः* is marked by them *संज्ञाप्रदेशः*; but Patanjali likewise calls it a *Paribhāshā* (ed. Ballantyne, p. 372): *द्वयोः परिभाषयोः सावकाशयोः समवस्थितवोरानन्तवदेकस्मिन्नेन विधिरादन्तश्चेति च । इयमिह परिभाषा भविष्यति आबन्तवदेकस्मिन्निति । इयं च न भविष्यति येन विधिरादन्तश्चेति, etc.*

A *Paribhāshā* contains either a special mark, which enables the reader to recognise at once the Sūtra to which it refers, or it is delivered without such a criterion. In the latter case, it is matter of discrimination to see whether it applies unconditionally or conditionally to a given Sūtra. In explaining, for instance (I. 1, 3), that "whenever *Guṇa* or *Vṛiddhi* is the subject of a rule, these terms are used in reference to the vowels *i, ī, u, ū, ri, rī*, and *li* only," Pāṇini, by these technical terms, gives us the power of distinguishing at first sight, as it were, the Sūtras affected by this *Paribhāshā*. But when he says (I. 1, 54), "If a rule is given in reference to something which follows, it concerns merely the beginning of such a following element," it is for the reader to judge whether this *Paribhāshā* prevails unconditionally at, and is an essential part of, for instance, rule VII. 2, 83, or not. Again, when a *Paribhāshā* (I. 4, 2) teaches that "If two rules connected with one another, but of a different purport, apparently apply to the same case, the later rule only is valid," it is left to his judg-

ment to decide whether it may be applicable or not to rule VII. 3, 103, for instance.¹²³

The *Paribhāshās*, however, which are to be the subject of the following remarks, are not those given by Pāṇini himself: they are the *Paribhāshās* met with in the Great Commentary of Patanjali, and have been defined by *Vaidyanātha*, surnamed *Pāyagunḍa*, in his gloss on the *Paribhāshenduskhara* of *Nāga-*

¹²³ *Parashottama-vṛtti-tīkā* on Pāṇini, I. 1, 3: परि सर्वज्ञान उपयुक्ता यावी भाषा सा परिभाषा सा च लिङ्गवती लिङ्गज्ञेयभूता च । या लिङ्गधारमावे (MS. E.L.H. No. 224, *भावो) नोपयुज्यते सा लिङ्गवती । या सर्वेव विधिवान् उपयुज्यते सापरा । सापि कानिचिद्विरक्तभूता यां विना विधिवान्नास्ति प्रवर्तते । यथा । आदेः परल्लेखेति (I. 1, 54) । च (MS. स) हि लक्षणा ईदम् इति (VII. 2, 83) प्रवर्तते । कानिच विधियेवभूता । विप्रतिषेधे परमिति (I. 4, 2) कतिरोधे युक्तेष्विहादी यत्स्वमबाहतेनैव (comp. VII. 3, 103) । विरोधविषये तु एकात्परं (MS. खलापरं) कारयतीति । The explanation of the *Kāśikā*—which in general is much more lucid, and on the whole not more extensive than the compiled gloss of the Calcutta edition—runs thus on the word *विप्रतिषेध* (I. 4, 2): विरोधो विप्रतिषेधः । यत्र दो प्रसङ्गावभाषावैकल्यनुपपत्त्यासुतः स विप्रतिषेधः । गुणवत्कतिरोधो विप्रतिषेधः.

jñāta, surnamed the *Upādhyāya*, as “axioms (the existence and authority of) which are established by certain Sūtras of Pāṇini, and axioms (the existence and authority of) which are established by the method that governs other works, but is applicable to Pāṇini also.” Each of these categories has been taught, as they state, by “older grammarians, in the shape of Sūtras,” the former however, Vaidyanātha observes, prevail in number and authority over the latter. In other words, these Paribhāshās are, according to the grammarians quoted, special axioms referring to Pāṇini exclusively, and general axioms which avail for *his* Grammar as well as for *other* works. The “certain” Sūtras of Pāṇini which indicate that such Paribhāshās are in existence and are required for a proper application of the rules, are called *Jñāpaka*, and the method of other authors which indicates that those Paribhāshās are applicable as well to them as to Pāṇini, bear the name of *Nyāya*.¹²⁴ We shall see, however, that this definition, to be

¹²⁴ *Paribhāshendūśekhara*, in the introduction: प्राचीनवैयाकरणतन्त्रे वाचवि-

correct, will have to be modified; and I may mention, besides, that older commentators, Kaiyyāta, for instance, merely speak of Paribhāshās and Nyāyas, not of Paribhāshās founded on Nyāyas; while the author of the Paribhāshendūśekhara himself frequently gives the name of Nyāya to those Paribhāshās which, according to his introductory words, are such as are founded on Nyāya.¹²⁵

कान्यच याचिनीये तन्त्रे प्रापकवाचसिद्धानि भाष्यार्थिकवोर्नित्तानि यानि परिभाषाकृतानि तानि वाक्यावन्ते. *Paribhāshendūśekhara-Kaṭikā* of Vaidyanātha on these words: प्राचीनेति । एकादीत्यर्थः । वाचनिकानि । सूत्ररूपेण यदिति । च । चक्षि । एवमेव ऽपि प्रापकेत्यस्य प्रायेवेत्यादिः । तथा च वाचनिकानामपि तत्सहचरितानां संग्रहः । वाचसिद्धान्तावबसिद्धान्ता (MS. E.I.H. No. 490: वाचसिद्धा ऽन्ता) प्रापकेनाभ्यर्हितत्वाच्चापकशब्दस्य इत्ये पूर्वनिपातः (comp. II. 2, 34, v. 3) । तदैतच्छालीयकिङ्गं प्रापकम् । एतच्छालीयकतत्त्वानामवबसिद्धान्ताः । सूत्रपाठकपरिभाषाकान्वाक्यानामपि प्राचीनोक्तानां कांश्चिद्विद्वद्भाषाकाव चाह भाष्येति etc.

¹²⁵ The *Laghuparibhāshā* is therefore divided into a gloss on what we may call the Paribhāshās proper and a gloss on the वाचयुक्ताः परिभाषाः which comprise twenty-eight axioms. This distinction is somewhat obscured in the

In now adverting to the chronological relation in which these axioms stand to Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, we are, in the first place,

Paribhāṣendāśekhara, where both categories are mentioned in the introduction (comp. the preceding note), but afterwards treated promiscuously. The Calcutta edition has, in most instances, correctly appended the Paribhāṣā to the Sūtra which is its *Juḥpaka*: thus the P. निर्दिष्टमानखादेया भवन्ति which is required for the proper application of, e.g. the Sūtra VI. 4, 130; VII. 2, 101, etc., is correctly appended in this edition to the *Juḥpaka-Sūtra* I. 1, 49; the P. नागुबन्धकतमनेकाक्षरम् which applies e.g. to VI. 4, 127, to the *Juḥpaka* I. 1, 55; the P. सङ्घटतो विप्रतिषेधे यदाङ्गितं सङ्घटितमिव which applies e.g. to VI. 4, 105 combined with VII. 1, 35, to the *Juḥpaka* I. 4, 2, and so on. Sometimes, however, the editors have appended the Paribhāṣā to the Sūtra for the interpretation of which it is required, but not to the *Juḥpaka* rule where it ought to have been placed; e.g. the P. विकरलेखो नियमो बलीयान् applies to I. 3, 12, but its *Juḥpaka* is I. 3, 43; or the P. नागुबन्धकतमनेकाक्षरम् is required for the proper interpretation of I. 1, 20; VI. 1, 45, etc., but its *Juḥpaka* is III. 4, 19, etc. In some instances the authorities named differ as to the *Juḥpaka* of a Paribhāṣā; thus the P. ऋषेयवृक्षेणानर्षकस्य यद्वस्त्रम् is indicated according to the *Paribhāṣendāśekhara* which invokes the authority of Patañjali, by the *Juḥpaka* I. 1, 72; according to the *Laghu-paribhāṣāśrīti*, by the *Juḥpaka* I. 1, 34; the Calc. editors have placed it under I. 1, 68. —The P. प्रकृतिवद्वुक्तरसं भवन्ति is indicated, according to the first named work, by the *Juḥpaka* VI. 4, 58, according to the second, by the *Juḥpaka* I. 3, 18; the editors

enabled to decide that Paribhāṣas of this kind must have existed before the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, for the latter quotes such Paribhāṣas in his Vārttikas.¹²⁵ Another question, how-

have appended it to VIII. 2, 46, which Sūtra, however, merely illustrates its applicability. Many other instances of this kind might be alleged in order to show that the matter is one of great difficulty to the Hindu grammarians themselves, and that in this respect, also, much scope is left for a future conscientious editor of Pāṇini. That the Paribhāṣas are not met with at the end of Patañjali's Bhāṣya to a Sūtra, requires no further observation after the statement of note 109; for they are an essential portion of the arguments of his discussion.—The term *खाद्य* is applied six times to Paribhāṣas by the Calcutta editors (viz. at the Sūtras I. 1, 23, 42, 47; twice II. 1, 1; III. 1, 12); but if they followed the Paribhāṣā collections quoted, they ought to have marked in a similar manner several axioms which are given by them simply as Paribhāṣas. At all events, they ought not to have called the same axiom *वन्निवद्वुक्तरसोऽन्यथा*, at III. 1, 12, and *Paribhāṣā*, at VI. 1, 71; and since they repeated it in order to show its application, they might have mentioned it also at VI. 1, 135, where it likewise occurs in the commentary of Patañjali.

¹²⁵ A Vārttika to I. 1, 65, which has disappeared in the Calcutta edition, says: *यस्य विज्ञानास्तिङ्गमिति चेन्नानर्थके ऽसौ ऽस्त्वविचरन्त्यासद्विकारे*; its last words *नानर्थके*, etc., are a Paribhāṣā, as results from the Bhāṣya on this Vārttika:

ever, is, whether those Paribhāshās which existed before Kātyāyana existed also before Pāṇini, and whether we should be justified in looking upon the Paribhāshas collected in the Paribhāshenduśekhara, the Paribhāshasangraha, and similar works, as the original Paribhāshās to the Sūtras of Pāṇini. If we believed Vaidyanātha's definition of the two categories of Paribhāshās, and of the distinction he establishes between *Jñāpaka* and *Nyāya*, as just mentioned, it would become very probable that the Paribhāshās were composed *after* the Grammar of Pāṇini, and by another grammarian than Pāṇini, since there is no evidence to show that he wrote other Paribhāshās than those which are embodied in his own Sūtras; and if we assumed that the collections of Paribhāshās made and commented upon by Nāgajibhaṭṭa, Śrīadeva, and others, are the original collections, there would be a

बलविज्ञातिवर्जित चेत् । तत्र । किं कारणम् । नानर्थके ऽहो ऽस्त्वसिचिरन्या-
सविहारे । नानर्थके ऽहो ऽस्त्वसि विचिन्विता परिभाषा कर्तव्या । किमप्येवम् ।
नेत्याह । चत्वार्यस्यविहारे । Compare also a similar instance, in note 137.

certainty that the "older grammarians," whom the former quotes as his authority, did not precede Pāṇini, for one, or perhaps two, of these axioms, *mentioned in each of these collections*, distinctly refer to him.¹⁷

There are, however, reasons which must induce us to doubt the originality of the Paribhāshās contained in these collections, and to doubt too the strict correctness of Vaidyanātha's definition. In the first place, because these collections, each of which appears to be entitled to equal authority, differ in the number, and even in the wording, of the Paribhāshās which they contain, though they coincide in giving all those Paribhāshās which espe-

¹⁷ The Paribhāshā to IV. 1, 82: **चतस्रसुः पाणिनीयाः**; and the P. to VIII. 1. 1: **पूर्वपाणिनीयमस्ति**, which is, *perhaps*, founded on the Sūtra VIII. 2, 1; but as the expression **पूर्वपाणिनीय** need not be a quotation from Pāṇini, it would not be safe to found a conclusion on it with the same certainty as on the word **पाणिनीयाः**. For this reason I do not lay stress on another Paribhāshā which occurs in the *Paribhāshārthasamgrahavākyaśāndrikā* and the *Laghuparibhāshāśāndrikā*, and is founded on VII. 4, 2: **पूर्वपाणिनि न खानिवत्** (its wording in the *Laghup.* **पूर्वपाणिनीये न खानिवत्** is erroneous. Compare note 132).

cially concern us here.¹²⁸ It is not probable, therefore, that the original collection of Paribhāshās was any of those now preserved in manuscript. But there is more ground to confirm this doubt. The *Paribhāshendusekhara* states, in its introduction, that it is going to explain "the axioms explicitly mentioned by the older grammarians and recorded in the *Bhāshya* and the *Vārtikas*;"—whereupon Vaidyanātha comments: "The older grammarians' are Indra and so on; 'explicitly mentioned' means read in the shape of Sūtras; 'in the Bhāshya' says the author of the *Paribhāshendusekhara*, because it is not his intention to explain the Paribhāshās which are embodied in Pāṇini's Sūtras,

¹²⁸ The number of Paribhāshās in the *Paribhāshendusekhara* is 108; it may, however, be given as 112, as several P. are contracted into one; in the *Paribhāshārcitti* of Śivadeva it is 130; in the *Laghuparibhāshārcitti* and the *Paribhāshārthasaṅgrahayākyāchandrikā* there are 108 Paribhāshās proper and 28 *vyāyogādāḥ* P., some of the latter being included in the 108 of the first named work. Another collection, which does not mention the name of the compiler, but bears the title of *Pāṇinimānūgāminī Paribhāshā*, has 123 Paribhāshās. Each of these collections has some Paribhāshās which are not named in several of the others.

and because some of those mentioned by the older grammarians carry no authority with them."¹²⁹

Now, if we compare the Paribhāshās collected in the last-named work, and in the other works devoted to the same purpose, with the Great Commentary itself, we find that they frequently call that a Paribhāshā which is not a quotation made by Patanjali from authorities which preceded him, but simply a portion of his own argument. No doubt, when this great critic considered himself justified in laying down general principles, according to which certain Sūtras are to be interpreted or applied, such axioms of his are to all intents and purposes Paribhāshās, but they are Paribhāshās of his, not of the authorities who preceded him.¹³⁰ And this dis-

¹²⁹ See note 124.

¹³⁰ I mentioned in note 109 that the absence or presence in the Bhāshya of the quotational word *ṛt* affords no criterion in the case of the *metrical Kṛtikā*. It is necessary to state now that this word is always met with when a Paribhāshā is quoted by Patanjali, and its absence is therefore a safe mark that a general axiom which occurs in his commentary is one of his own creation. A few instances chosen from the first

tion we must draw in order to judge whether Patanjali originated an axiom merely for the purpose of defending Pāṇini, or whether the Sūtra in question is *bona fide* entitled to the benefit of

chapters of the Mahābhāṣya will make good this assertion. We read in the Bhāṣya on I. 1, 20 (p. 395, ed. Ballantyne): दोष एवितक्षाः परिभाषायाः । अथप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्येति । नामादायद्वेष्यविशेष इति (the former of these P. is omitted in the Calc. ed.); or at I. 1, 49 (p. 565) निर्दिष्टमात्रादिषा अवन्तीति वा परिभाषा etc.; or at I. 1, 55 (p. 608) अस्तेषां परिभाषा । मानुषव्यवहृतमनैकार्थं अवतीति; or at I. 1, 15 (p. 277) एवं तर्हि नीचमुखाद्योमुखे कार्यसंप्रत्यय इति; or at I. 2, 63 तज्ज्ञापयत्वाचार्यः खर्चो ह्यन्यो विभावयैकव्यवतीति (not विभाषैक° as in the Calc. ed.); or at I. 4, 2 विप्रतिषेधे परमेव भवतीति तदेतदुपपन्नं भवति । सङ्गती विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाचितं तद्वाचितमेवेति; when in the latter three instances the word इति indicates that the preceding words are a Paribhāṣā, while in the first three instances the term itself is added, and इति afterwards. On the other hand, when we read at I. 1, 27 (p. 442): शिव दोषः । भवति हि चङ्ग्रीहो तदुपसंविज्ञानमयि । तस्य वा । विषयसमाजय etc.; or in the Bhāṣya on the same Sūtra (p. 448): कर्तव्यो ऽथ यत्नः । वाचकान्वयं हि विपतनानि भवन्ति, and it may, in passing, be observed that the Paribhāṣendūśekhāra and the Calc. ed. have omitted the word हि in giving

such a general rule, since it is certain that several of these axioms were invented at later periods, either to palliate the shortcomings of Pāṇini, or to make his rules so conveniently elastic as to extend

these words as Paribhāṣās. Or when the Bhāṣya on the Vārtika श्रुत्यानयोच निमित्तभावात्तुल्यो ऽनावस्योरपवादत्वात् (omitted in the Calc. ed.), to II. 3, 46, says : ... श्रुत्यानयो तिकुपवादेती चाच वाच्यौ । न चापवादविचयमुत्सर्गो ऽभिनिविद्यते । पूर्वं ह्यपवादा अभिनिविद्यते यच्चादुत्सर्गः । प्रकृत्य वापवादविवचं तत् उत्सर्गो ऽभिनिविद्यते । न तावदत्र कदाचित्तिकुदिशो भवति etc., the words पूर्वं ° ऽभिनिविद्यते are clearly a portion of Patanjali's general argument, and do not contain Paribhāṣās of older grammarians.—These instances will illustrate the uncritical condition of the actual collections of Paribhāṣās. Some of these Paribhāṣās, moreover, are nothing else than Vārtikas of Kātyāyana forming part of the discussion of the latter; they, too, are therefore not the oldest Paribhāṣās, since, as we have seen above (note 126) Kātyāyana quotes a Paribhāṣā which must have preceded his Vārtikas. Such Paribhāṣās—Vārtikas, which are commented upon by Patanjali in the same manner as the Vārtikas—while he generally contents himself with merely quoting a Paribhāṣā rule—are, for instance, the P. to I, 66: उभयविदेशे विप्रतिषेधाप्यनयोचिदेशो; or to I, 72: अपदेशिपञ्चावो ऽप्रातिपदिकेन; or ऽथ यद्वाङ्मतिचारे तस्य च सद्गुतरपदस्य च; or प्रत्ययपर्ययं चाप्यन्वयः, etc. Other Paribhāṣās of the Paribhāṣendūśekhāra, etc., do not even represent the words of Patanjali, but merely the meaning of his general argu-

from the time at which he lived down to a period of linguistic development, which could not but find them defective in many respects.¹²¹

There is a material difference, therefore, between the Paribhāshas contained in these collections, *when taken as a whole*, and the Paribhāshas quoted by Patanjali; and no conclusion becomes safe until we know which Paribhāshas are quotations made by Kātyāyana and Patanjali, and which belong to their authorship, or even to other and later works. It suffices for our present purpose to add, that neither the first Paribhāshā already mentioned, which distinctly refers to Pāṇini, nor the second, is a Paribhāshā quoted by Patanjali or Kātyāyana.¹²²

ments; e.g., the P. given at I. 2, 9, पूर्ववद्वचनप्रवृत्तिः, is the representative of the following words of the Bhāshya : इतकारि खल्वपि शास्त्रं पूर्ववत् । तथा । पूर्ववो वाचदूतं पूर्वं च सर्वमनिवर्तति, etc.; and other Paribhāshas, again, so far as I was able to ascertain, do not occur at all in the Bhāshya; e.g., the P. at I. 1, 62. 63; II. 3, 46 (par. 2), etc.

¹²¹ Such Paribhāshas are, e.g., समावाक्यविधिरितिः, at VI. 2, 197, and the nine P. mentioned at III. 1, 79, by the Calcutta editors.

¹²² The Paribhāshā चक्रवर्तः पाणिनीयाः is mentioned in Kaiyata's gloss on the

We are left, then, free to judge of the relative age of these axioms entirely from their contents, and to weigh the probabilities which decide whether they could all have been written after Pāṇini or not. These probabilities strongly tend in favour of the latter alternative. For, however many of these *old* Paribhāshas may have been additions made after Pāṇini's

Bhāshya to IV. 1, 82, but not by Patanjali. The P. पूर्ववाचिनीयमनिवर्तने is, in my opinion, a portion of Patanjali's own argument, when commenting on the 10th Vārtika (of the Calcutta edition), to VIII. 1, 1, as results from the following quotation: पीनःपुनः पीनःपुनः एति । अत्रातिपदिकत्वात्तत्त्वतो-त्पत्तिर्न खात् । यदि तर्हि खाने दिवचनं रात्रा वाक्याकपदसेति (?) नलोपा-दीनि न सिद्ध्यन्ति । इदमिह संप्रधायं दिवचनं क्रियता नलोपादीनीति । कि-मत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वात्नलोपादीनि पूर्ववासिहे नलोपादीनि सिद्धासिद्धयोश्च नास्ति संप्रधारणा । एवं तर्हि पूर्ववासिनीयमनिवर्तन एति वक्ष्यामि etc. The same remark applies to the third Paribhāshā mentioned in note 127; for the passage of the Bhāshya to VII. 4, 2, whence this Paribhāshā is taken, runs thus : तज्ज्ञापयन्नाचार्यः । एत उच्यते खानिवद्भावो न भवतीति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनं पूर्ववासिहे न खानिव दिव्युक्तम् । तत्र वाक्यं भवति etc.

though before Patanjali's time, we still shall have to admit that without a *great number* of them, a *proper* application of his rules is absolutely impossible. Without them, many rules would become open to equivocations and doubts, nay, to such serious objections, that it is hardly possible to conceive a grammarian of the mould of Pāṇini handing his work to his contemporaries in a condition so needlessly precarious, and so little creditable to his skill.¹²

¹² Two instances will suffice to illustrate this character of what I consider to be the oldest Paribhāśas. In the rule III. 1, 94, Pāṇini teaches that if, in his chapter on kṛit-affixes, a subsequent rule supercedes a preceding rule, either of the kind of affixes enjoined by such rules may be at will employed in the formation of a kṛit-derivative, except when the affix enjoined is used exclusively in the feminine gender, and when the affixes in the preceding and subsequent rules are of *the same form*. Thus the Sūtra III. 1, 133, teaches that nouns denoting the agent are formed with the affixes *gṛat* (= *aka*) and *trich* (= *tri*). Again, Sūtra III. 1, 135, says that from *kship* and other radicals there named, such derivatives are formed with the affix *ka* (= *a*); hence, according to the Paribhāśa-rule III. 1, 94, the nouns of agent formed of *kship* may be *kshipa*, or *kshēpa* or *kshēptṛi*, since none of these affixes is used exclusively in the feminine gender, and none has the same form as the two remaining ones. But when Pāṇini rules, in III. 2, 3, that from *dā* a derivative may be formed *-da* (as latter part of compounds like *go-dā*, etc.), and,

Nevertheless, if he had delivered his grammar entirely without any Paribhāśá, we might still be free to assume, without inconsistency, that in doing so, he meant to leave to the acumen of

in III. 3, 12, a derivative *-díya* (as latter part of such compounds as *go-díya*, etc.) it would become doubtful whether there be an option also in these instances, since the technical affix of the form *-da* is *ka*, and of the form *-díya*, *aṅ*, and since it is not clear whether *ka* and *aṅ* could be considered as affixes of a different form, or—on account of their representing the real affix *a*, though with a different influence on the radical—as affixes of the same form. This doubt is not solved by Pāṇini himself, but by a Paribhāśá quoted by Patanjali, which says : *नानुबन्धकतमसाङ्गम्*, “dissimilarity (of the affixes) is not produced by the mute *anubandha*.” And Pāṇini must have supposed that his readers were acquainted with this Paribhāśá; for otherwise, as an accurate writer, he could not—in the Sūtra III. 1, 139—have treated, without any further explanation, the affixes *śa* (= *a*) and *ṇa* (= *a*) as similar affixes, and exempted them as such from the influence of the rule III. 1, 94.—Or when, in the Sūtra VI. 1, 48 (and VII. 3, 36), he says that the radical *i*, before the affix of the causal, becomes *úp*, his rule (VI. 4, 57) on *úp* would be equivocal, since the form *úp* may represent a simple radical, too,—unless he relied on the familiarity of his reader with the Paribhāśá, which states : *बन्धप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्य*, “(if there is a doubt) whether a secondary or a primitive form (be meant); the primitive form (has the precedence).”

his commentators the task of eliciting these general principles from his grammatical rules. But we know that such is not the case; his work bears evidence that he *has* given Paribhāshā-rules,—axioms which are in no way more important than many of those which are met with in the Mahābhāshya, but not in his work;—axioms which admit of the same arguments for or against their desirability or their indispensableness in a book of this kind. The omission of these rules, then, would not be one made on principle; it would assume the nature of a serious defect, unless we discovered a motive which would reconcile it with the accuracy that characterizes this great grammarian.

We have proof—and some will be afforded in the sequel—that Pāṇini was not the *inventor* of the grammatical system preserved in his work, though he improved the system of his predecessors, and made his own additions to it. We shall see, moreover, that he availed himself of the technical means of the older grammarians, and, in such a case, never gave any explanation of those technicalities which must have been known to his contemporaries, and,

therefore, required no remark. If, then, we supposed that he followed the same course with regard to the Paribhāshā-rules—and there is no reason why he should not—our inference would, of necessity, be that he was compelled to give such Paribhāshās as did not occur in the works of his predecessors, and were required as special axioms for his own work; but that, without exposing himself to the reproach of carelessness, he could omit all those Paribhāshās which were already in existence, and were available, as well for the grammar of his predecessors as for his own.

And this conclusion is confirmed by the sense in which the term *Jnāpaka* is used in the older commentaries, especially in the Mahābhāshya itself, where by this name are called such rules of Pāṇini as “indicate” or point to other rules which show how the former rules are to be applied properly. In commenting, for instance, on a Vārtika to the Sūtra I. 1, 23, which defines the technical term *saṅkhyā*, Patanjali asks, “how will there be in rules on *saṅkhyā* a correct understanding of this term?” and

answers this question in the following manner: “(This understanding) results from the *Jnāpaka*-rule. What is such a *Jnāpaka*-rule? When Pāṇini, in his Sūtra V. 1, 23, teaches that bases formed with the affix *vat*, have an additional vowel *i* before the affix *ka* enjoined in the preceding rule for *sankhyā*s,—is this Sūtra V. 1, 23, the *Jnāpaka*-rule of *sankhyā*? (*i.e.* does this Sūtra indicate that bases formed with *vat* are comprised under the technical name *sankhyā*?) No. For the term *Jnāpaka* concerns the application of a rule (*i.e.* this term is not used of a Sūtra when its application is prohibited; the Sūtras V. 2, 51 and 52, for instance, as Kaiyaṇa observes, are *Jnāpakas* of the Sūtra on *sankhyā*).¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Vārtika to I. 1, 23 (om. in the Calc. ed.; p. 432 ed. Ballantyne): ब्रह्मादीनाम-यद्वयम्. *Patanjali*: ब्रह्मादीनां यद्वयं शक्यमवर्तुम्। केनेदानीं संख्याप्रदेशेषु संख्या-संग्रहयो भविष्यति। ज्ञापकास्तिङम्। ज्ञापकं किम्। यदयं वतोरिङ्गिति (V. 1, 23) संख्याया विहितस्य कनो (comp. V. 1, 22) बलनादिटं शास्ति। वतोरिव तज्ज्ञापकं खात। नेत्याह। योगापिबं ज्ञापकम्.—*Kaiyaṇa*: ज्ञापकास्तिङमिति। एकादिवन्नि-यतसंख्यावाचित्वं ब्रह्मादीनां नासीति ज्ञापकाश्रयः। योगापिबमिति। अस्य योगस्य

Hence, though a rule may stand in relation to another rule, it is not its *Jnāpaka* unless it indicate its real purpose;¹³⁵

प्रत्याख्यानदेतद्योगापिबमिति न बोद्धव्यम्। किं तु योगानपिबत इति योगापिबम्। यदयं बहुपूरणसघस्य नियुक्त्वं (V. 2, 52) षट्कृतीति (V. 2, 51) इति परत आनमं शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयति भवति संख्याकार्यमिति. Nāgajibhatta explains: योगापिबमिति। प्रयोगापिबमित्यर्थः.—This instance will suffice to illustrate the use of the word *jnāpaka*, which is of constant occurrence in the Bhāṣya, and is always employed in a similar manner. In order to obviate an objection which might be raised by those not familiar with the Mahābhāṣya against my rendering वतोरिव तज्ज्ञापकं खात “is this Sūtra V. 1, 23,” etc.,—I have to observe that Patanjali when quoting a Sūtra, often merely mentions its principal word, instead of repeating the words of the Sūtra and adding after them the quotational word इति. The word वतोः taken from the Sūtra वतोरिङ्गा is therefore here an equivalent of वतोरिङ्गिति. Analogous instances will be found in note 136.

¹³⁵ Patanjali observes, for instance, in his comment on the first Śivasūtra (p. 87 ed. Ballantyne): कथं ज्ञायते यदयम् अ (VIII. 4, 68) ह्यकारस्य विवृतस्य संवृताप्रत्या-पत्तिं शास्ति। नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्। अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य प्रयोजनम् etc.; or on the Vārtika to I. 1, 36, आहिभुवोरीट्प्रतिविधः. he observes (p. 633, ed. Ballantyne): आहिभुवो-रीट्प्रतिविधो वक्तव्यः। आत्य। अमृत। अस्ति ब्रूयह्येन यद्व्यादीट् प्राप्नोति। आहोला-

and as Patanjali expressly and repeatedly states, a rule has the character of a Jnápaka only when it is given in reference to a rule already previously established, and when its sense becomes completed by it. Thus the Sūtra III. 2, 97, says Patanjali, is no *Jnápaka* of the Guṇa-rule I. 1, 3, since the former rule does not become completed through the contents of the latter. Or, the Sūtra VII. 2, 103 is not a *Jnápaka* of the rule VII. 2, 102, since its object would not be accomplished by the contents of this latter rule, though the words concerned by both rules are comprised under the term *suranāman*.¹³⁶ In

वत्त वक्तव्यः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति । नाहेरीद भवतीति । यदयमाहस्य इति (VIII. 2, 35) झलादिप्रकरणे यत्वं शक्ति । नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयो-
जनम् । किम् । भूतपूर्वगतिर्यथा विज्ञायेत । झलादियौ भूतपूर्वं इति । यत्वेवं यवचनम-
नर्थकं स्यात् etc.; and the like in other instances.

¹³⁶ Patanjali e.g. in his gloss on the Vārtikas to I. 1. 3 (ed. Ballantyne, p. 248):
यदप्युच्यते जनेर्भवचनं (III. 2, 97) ज्ञापकं न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति सिद्धे विधिरा-
रम्भमाशौ ज्ञापकार्थो भवति । न च जनेर्गुणेन सिध्यति: on the last words of the third

consequence, a *Jnápaka* rule cannot precede, but must come after the rule which is indicated by it.

In now considering the relation which exists between the Jnápakas and the Paribhāśā-Sūtras,¹³⁷ we cannot but perceive that it nowise differs from the relation which exists between rules in-
stanced before and ordinary rules indicated by these Jnápakas. In the same manner as there are Jnápaka-rules which indicate the purpose of other rules, there are Jnápaka-rules which indicate the purpose of Paribhāśās, and all the Paribhāśās given by Pāṇini

Kārikā to VII. 2, 102: एवं तर्हीचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न सर्वेषां त्वदादीनामत्वं भव-
तीति । यदयं किमः क इति (VII. 2, 103) बादेशं शक्ति । इतरथा हि किमोऽङ्गवतीत्वव
ब्रूयात् । सिद्धे विधिरारम्भमाशौ ज्ञापकार्थो भवति । न च किमोऽत्वेन सिध्यति .

¹³⁷ A Paribhāśā is, on account of this relation, also called *ज्ञाय*. In his comment, for instance, to I. 4, 14, Patanjali says: अन्तग्रहणं किमर्थम् । न सुप्तिङ्पदमिखिवोच्यते
जनेदानौ तदन्तानां भविष्यति । तदन्तविधिना । अत उत्तरं पठति .—Vārtika : पद-
संज्ञायामन्तवचनमन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधार्थः .—Patanjali :
पदसंज्ञायामन्तग्रहणं क्रियते । किं ज्ञायम् । एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः । अन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ
प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्न भवतीति etc. Compare note 126.

himself, therefore, precede their Jnápaka-rules. If, then, as we learn from Kātyāyana and Patanjali, there existed Paribhāṣhās which are not contained in Pāṇini's grammar, but which nevertheless are indicated by Jnápakaḥ, which are Sūtras of Pāṇini, such Paribhāṣhās must, at least in Patanjali's opinion, have existed before Pāṇini's work; for otherwise the definition given by the Mahābhāṣhya of the term *Jnápaka* would become inconsistent with itself. And since Paribhāṣhās or principles of interpretation cannot be conceived without matter to be interpreted according to them, such Paribhāṣhās must not only have preceded Pāṇini, but they must have been taught in one or more other grammatical works; and Vaidyanātha, therefore, as I suggested above, cannot be correct in basing his distinction between *Ngāya* and *Jnápaka* on the circumstance that the latter refers to Pāṇini exclusively, while the former applies also to other works. In all probability the difference is this: that *Jnápaka* is used especially of grammatical rules, while *Ngāya* is a synonyme of Paribhāṣhā, but applies to writings which are not grammatical.

In now summing up the result we have obtained from the previous investigation, so far as it bears on our immediate problem, we find that the oldest author on record who wrote on Pāṇini was Kātyāyana, and that he was not merely the author of the Vārttikas, properly so called, but also of a certain number of Kārikās, which, in reality, however, are nothing else than an assemblage of single Vārttikas, forming, combined, a stanza or a verse. We have seen, too, that Vārttikas, which form an essential part of the Mahābhāṣhya itself, are of Patanjali's authorship.

What, then, is the relation of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini, and of Patanjali to Pāṇini and to Kātyāyana? Is it that of commentators, or is it to be defined otherwise?

Professor Müller confers upon Kātyāyana the title of "editor" of Pāṇini, and says that "the Great Commentary of Patanjali embraces both the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana and the Sūtras of Pāṇini."¹²⁸ Professor Weber, on the contrary—who, even in some

¹²⁸ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 353 and 243.

of his latest writings, candidly confesses that he has never read the *Mahābhāṣya*, but nevertheless, or perhaps for this reason, abounds in conjectures on this work, which not only is in existence but within reach,—goes so far as to throw doubt on the genuineness of those Sūtras which are not explained, *because* they are not explained, in the Great Commentary.¹²⁹ I fear that neither scholar

¹²⁹ For instance, in the *Indische Studien*, vol. IV., p. 78: "Die *Pāṇis* kommen in dem Schol. zu Pāṇini (IV. 1, 95; 2, 112) vor (ob aus dem *Mahābhāṣya*?)"; or in a note to the same vol., p. 168, when referring to the Sūtra VI. 2, 142 of Pāṇini, he observes: "Allerdings: *dhāhye tu na vyākhyāyātam*, also unsicher, ob ihm gehörig." ["Also"—, on what basis does this conclusion rest? "*Unsicher*"—, for whom?] The same confession and the same conjecture occur, indeed, so often in Professor Weber's multifarious writings, that it becomes a matter of psychological curiosity to see how an author, apparently much concerned about a certain subject, instead of acquiring the necessary information—which in the present case could not have caused any great difficulty,—or of consulting at least some one who might have allayed his inquietude, constantly displays before the public his feelings and theories, whereas, by dint of a stereotyped repetition of the same words, he must convey to a confident reader the impression that there may be some foundation, at least, for his would-be critical surmise.

will find adherents for his opinion amongst the pupils of Patañjali and Kātyāyana. The mutual relation of these latter grammarians and their relation to Pāṇini is, indeed, implied by the word *Vārttika*.

"The characteristic feature of a *Vārttika*," says Nāgajibhatta, "is criticism in regard to that which is omitted or imperfectly expressed in a Sūtra."¹³⁰ A *Vārttika* of Kātyāyana is therefore not a commentary which explains, but an animadversion which completes. In proposing to himself to write *Vārttikas* on Pāṇini, Kātyāyana did not mean to justify and to defend the rules of Pāṇini, but to find fault with them; and whoever has gone through his work must avow that he has done so to his heart's content. He will even have to admit that Kātyāyana has frequently failed in justice to Pāṇini, by twisting the words of the Sūtras into a sense which they need not have, or by upbraiding Pāṇini with

¹³⁰ Nāgajibhatta on Kaiyaṣa to the first *Vārttika* (of the Calc. ed.) of I. 1, 1 (ed. Ballantyne, p. 213): **वार्तिकमिति । सूत्रे गुणदुर्लभचिन्ताकारं वार्तिकत्वम्.**

failings he was not guilty of. On this score he is not unfrequently rebuked by Patanjali, who on such occasions severely rates him for his ungenerous treatment of Pāṇini, and, as we have seen in an instance above (p. 52), proves to him that he himself is wanting in proficiency, not Pāṇini. Kātyāyana, in short, does not leave the impression of an admirer or friend of Pāṇini, but that of an antagonist,—often, too, of an unfair antagonist. In consequence, his remarks are attached to those Sūtras alone which are open to the censure of abstruseness or ambiguity, and the contents of which were liable to being completed or modified : he is silent on those which do not admit of criticism or rebuke.

The position of Patanjali is analogous, though not identical. Far from being a commentator on Pāṇini, he also could more properly be called an author of Vārttikas. But as he has two predecessors to deal with, instead of one,—and two predecessors, too, one of whom is an adversary of the other,—his Great Commentary undergoes, of necessity, the influence of the double task he has to perform, now of criticising Pāṇini and then of animad-

verting upon Kātyāyana. Therefore, in order to show where he coincided with, or where he differed from, the criticisms of Kātyāyana, he had to write a comment on the Vārttikas of this latter grammarian ; and thus the Mahābhāṣya became not only a commentary in the ordinary sense of the word, but also, as the case might be, a critical discussion, on the *Vārttikas of Kātyāyana* ; while its *Iskhis*, on the other hand, are original Vārttikas on such Sūtras of Pāṇini as called for his own remarks.

I have already mentioned that Patanjali often refutes the strictures of Kātyāyana and takes the part of Pāṇini ; I may now add that, in my opinion, and as a few instances hereafter will show, he sometimes overdoes his defence of Pāṇini, and becomes unjust to Kātyāyana. It is easy, however, to understand the cause of this tendency in Patanjali. The spirit of independent thought, combined with the great acumen and consummate scholarship which pervade the work of this admirable grammarian—to whom, as far as my knowledge goes, only one author of the later literature bears a comparison, I mean the Mīmāṃsā philosopher, Kumārila—

could not allow him to become a mere paraphraser of another's words. An author like Patanjali can only comment on the condition that, in doing so, he develops his own mind, be it as adherent or as antagonist. And since Kātyāyana had left but little chance for a successor to discover many more blemishes in the Grammar of Pāṇini than he had pointed out, an active and critical mind like that of Patanjali would find more scope and more satisfaction in contending with Kātyāyana than in completing Pāṇini; and thus, I hold, we may explain his proneness to weaken even those censures of Kātyāyana which we should see reason to approve, did we not discover in favour of Pāṇini arguments which will appear hereafter, but which were foreign to Patanjali.

As little, therefore, as it entered into the purpose of Kātyāyana to advert to every Sūtra of Pāṇini, did it come within the aim of Patanjali to write a commentary on Pāṇini, and, according to the requirements of such a commentary, to explain every rule of this grammarian. His object being, like that of Kātyāyana, merely a critical one, Patanjali comments upon the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana,

because such a comment of his implies, of necessity, criticisms, either on Pāṇini or on Kātyāyana; and, in consequence, no Vārttika could be left unnoticed by him. Again, independently of Kātyāyana, he writes his own Vārttikas to Sūtras not sufficiently or not at all animadverted upon by the latter grammarian, because they, too, are criticisms, viz., on Pāṇini. And, like Kātyāyana, therefore, he passes over altogether all those Sūtras which are unexceptionable to his mind. It is obvious, therefore, that no doubt whatever concerning the genuineness of a Sūtra of Pāṇini can be justified on the ground alone that it has no Bhāṣya of Patanjali; and the unsoundness of such a doubt becomes still more obvious when we consider that a great many Sūtras of Pāṇini, which have no Vārttikas and no Bhāṣya of Patanjali, nevertheless make their appearance as quotations and as part of Patanjali's argument in his Commentary on other Sūtras criticized by Kātyāyana.

Now, if we take a summary view of the labours of Kātyāyana, we find that of the 3993 or 3992 Sūtras of Pāṇini, more than 1500 offered him the opportunity of showing his superior skill; that his

criticisms called forth more than 4000 Vārttikas, which, at the lowest estimate, contain 10,000 special cases comprised in his remarks.

Having arrived at this point, let us ask—How could India resound with the fame of a work which was so imperfect as to contain at least 10,000 inaccuracies, omissions, and mistakes? Suppose that there existed in our days a work of 4000 paragraphs, every second or third of which not merely called for an emendation, an addition, and corrections, in formal respects, but which, on the whole, compelled us to draw the conclusion that there were twice and a half times as many blunders in it as it contained matter to be relied upon,—is it possible to assume that such a work could create a reputation for its author except one which no sensible man would be desirous of? If we assumed such a possibility, it could only be on the supposition that such an author originated the subject he brought before the public, and, as an inventor, had a special claim to indulgence and fame; or, on the supposition of public ignorance and individual immorality. ✓

But there is evidence to show that Pāṇini was not the first

Hindu grammarian who wrote, nor even the inventor of the technical system which has caused so much uneasiness to would-be philologists. It is certain, too, that grammar was not, in ancient India, the esoteric study of the few; and there is no proof of any kind that Pāṇini had influenced or hired a number of scribes to puff his Grammar and his fame. We must needs, therefore, resort to another explanation, if we want to reconcile the fact of the Vārttikas with the fact of Pāṇini's reputation, which was so great that supernatural agency was considered as having assisted him in his work.

This explanation, I hold, can only be derived from the circumstance that *Pāṇini and Kātyāyana belonged to different periods of Hindu antiquity*,—periods separated by such a space of time as was sufficient to allow—

1. *Grammatical forms which were current in the time of Pāṇini to become obsolete or even incorrect;*
2. *Words to assume meanings which they did not possess at the period when he lived;*

3. *Words and meanings of words used by him to become antiquated; and*

4. *A literature unknown to him to arise.*

It is on this supposition alone that it seems possible to realise Pāṇini's influence and celebrity; of course, on the supposition, too, that in his time he gave so accurate, so complete, and so learned a record of the language he spoke, that his contemporaries, and the next ages which succeeded him, could look with admiration on the rules he uttered, as if they were founded on revelations from above. If he had bungled along, as he must appear to have done, had he been a contemporary of Kātyāyana,—not he, but the author of the Vārttikas, would have been the inspired Rishi and the reputed father of the Vyākaraṇa. It is not necessary to exaggerate this view by assuming that Pāṇini was an infallible author, who committed no mistakes, omitted no linguistic fact, and gave complete perfection to a system already in use: we need take no other view of the causes of his great success than we should take of those which produce the fame of a living man. His work may or may

not have been looked upon by his contemporaries as having attained the summit of excellency, but, at all events, it must have ascended far beyond mediocrity. At its own period it cannot have failed so signally, and in so many respects, as it would have done if Pāṇini and Kātyāyana had been contemporaries.

In order fully to substantiate this view, I should have to submit a considerable portion of Pāṇini's Grammar and the Vārttikas connected with it, to an investigation which would exceed by far the limits prescribed by the present inquiry; and such an investigation might, moreover, appear to be superfluous on the present occasion, since I shall adduce hereafter arguments of another kind, which will add materially to the force of these deductions. Yet the importance of this question is so great that I will indicate, at least by a few instances, the direction in which, I believe, the facts may be found that lead to the conclusions named.

1. Pāṇini says (I. 2, 6) that the radical *indh* is *kit* in *lūt*, which words mean that, according to rule VI. 4, 24, the preterit of *indh* is

idhe. This radical he treats together with *bhū*; and he does not observe—as he always does if such be the case—that his rule concerns the Vaidik use of the preterit of *indh*. Yet Kātyāyana corrects the injunction of the Sūtra by adding this restriction; and, for reasons connected with the latter, goes so far as to declare this Sūtra of Pāṇini to be superfluous.¹⁴

In rule VII. 1, 25, Pāṇini states that the *sarvanāmāni* (which word is usually but inaccurately rendered “pronouns”) which are formed with the affixes *datara*, and *datama*,—moreover, *itara*, *anya*, and *anyatara* (Gaṇa to I. 1, 27) form their neuters not in *m*, but in *d*, e.g. *katarad*, *katamad*, *anyad*, etc.; but he says in a

following special rule, that, in the Veda, *itara* has *itarām* for its neuter. It is obvious, therefore, that he intended to exhaust his subject by these rules; yet Kātyāyana has to state that “*ekatara* forms *ekatarām* in the Veda as well as in the language of common life.”¹⁴²

The letters *k*, *t*, *ṭ*, *p*, at the end of a Pada, says Pāṇini (VIII. 4, 45) may become *g*, *d*, *ḍ*, *b*, before a following nasal, or be changed into the nasal of their class. Kātyāyana adds: “If, however, the following nasal is part of an affix, these letters *must always* become the nasal of their class, in the language of common life.”¹⁴³

Now I have chosen these instances from the sphere of conjugation, declension, and phonetic laws, simply because they at once suggest the question whether Pāṇini knew as much grammar as

¹⁴² VII. 1, 26: नेतराकृद्भिः—Vārttika: इतराकृद्भिः प्रतिषेध एकतरात्सर्वेषु.

¹⁴³ VIII. 4, 45: यतो ऽनुनासिके ऽनुनासिको वा.—Vārttika: यतो ऽनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यवचनम्.—Bhāṣya: यतो ऽनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषायां निवृत्तिरिति यत्नवत् । वाङ्मयं लघुवत्.

¹⁴⁴ I. 2, 6: एभिर्नवतिभ्यां च.—Vārttika: एवेकृद्दोषिष्यत्वाच्चो युको नित्यत्वात्ताभ्यां क्विप्चनानर्धकम्.—Bhāṣya: एवेकृद्दोषिष्यो विट् । न ह्यनारेण कृद् इतिरनारो विट् सखः । आमा भाषायां भवितव्यम् । युवो युको नित्यत्वाच्चवतेरपि नित्यो युङ्गते युवे प्राप्नोति । सङ्गते ऽपि प्राप्नोति । ताभ्यां क्विप्चनानर्धकम् । ताभ्यामिद्विभर्तृभ्यां क्विप्चनमनर्धकम्. (The Calcutta editors have on this occasion mistaken Kātyāyana's Vārttika for Patanjali's Bhāṣya).

we should fairly expect from a beginner, who had studied Sanskrit for a few months. Is it probable or not, that he was proficient enough to form the preterite of the common radical *indh*, "to kindle," the nominative of the neuter of *ekatarā*, "one of two,"—a word which, moreover, is the subject of one of his special rules (V. 3, 94)? and was he really so ignorant as not to be able to combine *vāk* or *twak*, with the common affix *maya* into *vāṅmaya* or *twāṅmaya*, though a phonetic influence of the affix *maya* on the base *hiranya* is adverted to in his rule VI. 4, 174? Or is it more plausible to assume that *idhe* and *ekatarā* were forms current in his time, though no longer current and correct when Kātyāyana wrote; and that when Pāṇini lived, *vāgmaya* or *twāgmaya* were as legitimate as *vāṅmaya* or *twāṅmaya*? That Kātyāyana's stricture may be as much open to censure as the rule of Pāṇini, unless we, in fairness, gave it the benefit of a similar argument, is proved by the words *kakūḍmāt*, *kakūḍmin*, and *garukhāt*, which "in the (classical) language of common life" are quite correct, but would have been incorrect according to the

Vārttika, if they had been used in such language at the time when it was composed.¹⁴

2. Pāṇini says (VI. 1, 150), "the bird (*nominative*) may be *vishkira* or *vikira*" (either of which means any eatable bird but a cock). This rule is thus modified by Kātyāyana: "the form may be *vishkira* or *vikira* if the sense of the word is 'bird'" (*locative*). Patanjali, it is true, sides with Pāṇini. The Vārttika, he says, is irrelevant, since it teaches that either form *vishkira* or *vikira*, is correct, if the word means "bird," but that *vishkira* would be the only legitimate form, if the word has any other sense. Pāṇini, however, he adds, did not mean to affect the sense "bird" by his optional "or," but the irregular form of the derivative.¹⁵

¹⁴ It is not permitted to adduce also वारिमन्, for this word ought to be written— as, for instance, the commentators of the Amarakosha do write it—वारिमन्, since the affix is not रिन्, but रिन्, according to Pāṇini, V. 2, 124: वापो रिमिन्. रिन् is रिमिन् the letter र् is not an *anubandha*, results from I. 3, 8.

¹⁵ VI. 1, 150: विकिरः प्रकुनिर्विकिरे वा.—विकिरः विकिरः प्रकुनी विकिरे चेति वक्तव्यम्.—Bhāṣya: प्रकुनी वेवुचमाने प्रकुनी ज्ञा (ज्ञा?) सादृश्येणापि विकिरः।

Nevertheless, it appears to me that both grammarians are right, and that Patanjali's decision is open to doubt. Whenever Pāṇini binds the application of a rule to the condition of a special sense, he expresses the latter by a word either in the locative or nominative. If he gives the meaning of the word in the locative it does not necessarily follow, though it usually happens to be the case, that such a word has other meanings, too, which are then excluded from the influence of the rule; but if he expresses the sense of the word in the nominative, he seems always to indicate that the word has this sense, and this sense only,—that both sense and word, being expressed in the same case, are, as it were, congruous.¹⁴⁶ His present rule would therefore imply that each form, *viśhkira* or *vikīra*, has no other sense than that of "bird;" but

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वाच्येन शकुनिरभिसंबध्यते किं तर्हि निपातनमभिसंबध्यते विक्किर इत्येतन्निपातनं शकुनी वा निपात्यत इति.

¹⁴⁶ Compare e.g. III. 3, 80. 81. 87; V. 2, 15; VI. 1, 149 (the meanings 2 and 3 of चपलक, in my Dictionary, are of later origin); VI. 1, 155. 156, etc.

Kātyāyana's corrections would mean that both forms are optional in the sense of "bird," while in any other sense both forms represent separate words. This fact is borne out by the meanings given in Wilson's Dictionary under each form.

The word *úscharya* is rendered by Pāṇini *anitya* (VI. 1, 147), i.e. "not permanent, rare." Kātyāyana corrects this meaning, in substituting for it *adbhuta*, i.e. "that which has not existed before, miraculous, wonderful." On this occasion, too, Patanjali defends Pāṇini, by observing that this remark might have been spared, for the sense, "wonderful, miraculous," is implied by the sense "rare;" and he gives instances to confirm this view, viz., "the height of (this) tree is something 'rare' (or wonderful); the blueness of the sky is something 'rare' (or wonderful);" but I very much doubt whether logicians will assent to this view of Patanjali; for, though all that is wonderful is rare, not all that is rare need be wonderful. And he himself seems to break down under his third instance, which runs thus: "That the stars which are not fastened in the

atmosphere do not fall down, is"—surely not rare, but wonderful.¹⁴⁷ In other terms, the meaning of *āścharya*, given by Pāṇini, seems to have been only "rare;" and if so, it preceded that which became more usual at a later time, and is mentioned by Kātyāyana.

Another and, perhaps, more striking instance is afforded by the Sūtra (VII. 3, 69) where Pāṇini renders the word *bhojya* by *bhakshya*; for Kātyāyana corrects him in saying that he ought to have rendered *bhojya* by *abhyavahārya*. Now, if we consult the use of these words in the classical language, there can be no doubt that *bhojya*

¹⁴⁷ VI. 1, 147 : आश्चर्यमनित्वे .—Vārttika (mis-edited in the Calc. ed.): आश्चर्यममृत इति वक्तव्यम्.—Bhāshya : रहापि यथा खात । आश्चर्यमुद्धता वृक्षस्य । आश्चर्यं नीला बीः । आश्चर्यमन्तरिचे त्वन्वनानि नचचाणि न पतन्तीति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । अनित्य इतिव सिद्धम् । इह तावदाश्चर्यमुद्धता वृक्षस्येति । आश्चर्ययद्दणेन न वृक्षो ऽभि-संबध्यते किं तर्ह्युद्धता सा चानित्या । आश्चर्यं नीला बीतिरिति नाश्चर्ययद्दणेन बीरभि-संबध्यते किं तर्हि बीलता सा चानित्या । आश्चर्यमन्तरिचे त्वन्वनानि नचचाणि न पतन्तीति नाश्चर्ययद्दणेन नचचास्त्रभिसंबध्यते किं तर्हि पतनक्रिया सा चानित्या । तच्चानित्य इतिव सिद्धम्.

and *abhyavahārya* mean "what is fit for consumption," and apply to solid as well as to liquid substances; that, on the other hand, *bhakshya* means "what is fit to be eaten," and applies to solid food only. Is it likely, however, that Pāṇini should have blundered in the application of words which, it would seem, the most ignorant would employ properly? Patanjali, who, as I have already observed, is always disposed to stand by Pāṇini, again takes up his defence, and observes, that Pāṇini's using the word *bhakshya* instead of *abhyavahārya* need not have been criticised by Kātyāyana, for there are expressions like *ab-bhaksha*, "one who eats water," or *vāyu-bhaksha*, "one who eats air," which show that the radical *bhuksh* is used also in reference to other than solid food.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ VII. 3, 69 : भोज्यं भक्ष्ये .—Vārttika : भोज्यमन्ववहार्यमिति वक्तव्यम् (where the nominative of *अन्ववहार्य* implies an additional criticism against the locative of *भक्ष्य*; see the foregoing remark, page 126).—Bhāshya : रहापि यथा खात । भोज्यः सूपः । भोज्या यवागूरिति । किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति । भक्षिरयं खरविशदे वर्तते तेन द्रवे न प्राप्नोति । नावस्त्रं भक्षिः खरविशदे वर्तते किं तर्ह्यन्वचापि वर्तते । तच्चया । अन्व-चो वायुमन्व इति.

But both instances alleged by Patanjali are conventional terms; they imply a condition of fasting, and derive their citizenship amongst other *classical* words from a Vaidik expression, as Patanjali himself admits, when, in his introduction to Pāṇini, he speaks of *ekapadaś*, or words, the sense of which can only be established from the context of a Vaidik passage to which they originally belong;¹⁴⁰ they do not show, therefore, that *bhākṣh* is applied also to other phrases of the classical language, so as to refer to liquid food. It seems evident, therefore, that in Pāṇini's time, which preceded the classical epoch, *bhākṣhya* must have been used as a convertible term for *bhojya*; while, at Kātyāyana's period, this rendering became incorrect, and required the substitution of another word.

3. The words and the meanings of words employed by Kātyāyana are such as we meet with in the scientific writers of the classical literature: his expressions would not invite any special

attention nor call forth any special remark. This cannot be said of the language of Pāṇini. In his Sūtras occur a great number of words and meanings of words, which—so far as my own knowledge goes—have become antiquated in the classical literature. I will mention, for instance, *pratyavasānā*, eating (I. 4. 52; III. 4. 76); *upasamtūda*, making a bargain (III. 4. 8); *rishi*, in the sense of Veda, or Vaidik hymn (IV. 4. 96); *utsanjana*, throwing up (I. 3. 36); *vyāgha*, application, employment in (I. 3. 36); *upasambhāshā*, talking over, reconciling (I. 3. 47); *svakarana*, appropriating, especially a wife, marrying (I. 3. 56); *sālinikarāṇa*, humbling (I. 3. 70); *mati*, desire (III. 2. 188); *abhreṣa*, propriety (III. 3. 37); *avakṛipti*, imagining (III. 3. 145); *abhyādāna*, commencement (VIII. 2. 87); *hoṭrā*, in the sense of *ritvij*, priest (V. 1. 135); *upājekṛi* and *anvājekṛi*, to strengthen (I. 4. 73); *nivachaneṭṛi*, to hold one's speech, to be silent (I. 4. 76); *kanēhan* and *manohan*, to fulfil one's longing (I. 4. 66), etc. etc.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Some of these expressions, or others belonging to the same category, occur also

¹⁴⁰ For the quotation from Patanjali's preface to Pāṇini (ed. Ballantyne, p. 46) see my Dictionary, s.v. **एकपादश**.

4. To prove a negative, is, no doubt, the hardest of all problems. There are circumstances, however, which may lessen the danger of drawing the conclusion that an author cannot have possessed such and such knowledge when he wrote. If we take into account the evidence afforded by the author's character and work, the judgment passed on his writings by his countrymen, and the condition of the latter,—these elements put together into the scale of criticism will show whether the scale of the author's proficiency can spare, or not, a certain amount of weight without disturbing the balance required. That Pāṇini was an eminent writer, is not only manifest from his Grammar, but acknowledged by the common judgment of his countrymen; and the learning and civilization of ancient India was such that we must admit the fullest

is the Kōśha, and in the artificial poetry, especially the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya. This circumstance, however, does not disprove that they are obsolete in the real literature, since the Kōśha have borrowed them from Pāṇini, whereas the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya is expressly written to illustrate the rules of Pāṇini, and the artificial poetry bases its chief merits on the strangeness of its style and words.

competence in those who established his celebrity. But we know, too, that Pāṇini was a Brahmanic writer. No amount of scholarship could have ensured to him the position he holds in the ancient literature if he had been a professor of the Buddhistic creed. In forming, then, an opinion on Pāṇini we must always bear in mind his learning and his religious faith, and the consequences which follow from both these premises.

After these preliminary remarks I will first advert to the Sūtra (IV. 2. 129) in which Pāṇini teaches the formation of the word *Āranyaka*, and says that it means, "a man who lives in a forest." That *Āranyaka* has this meaning is unquestionable. It means, too, if we consult the lexicographers, "a forest," "a forest-elephant, a jackall, etc.;" but above all it is the name of those theosophical works which are the precursors of the Upanishads, and are held in the greatest awe by the Hindu authorities.¹⁵¹ If a learned Hindu were

¹⁵¹ Manu, IV. 123, for instance, applies the same injunction to the termination of a lecture of an *Āranyaka* as to that of a whole Veda: *सामध्यानुमन्तुमी वाचीपीठे कदाचन । विदुःसाधीनं वाचनमस्मिन् कर्मणी च ।*

asked the meaning of *Āraṇyaka*, he would certainly first point to the sacred works which bear this name, and then refer to the meaning "forester," just as, I suppose, a European questioned on the sense of the word "Bible," would first say that it means "Testament," and then remember its etymological sense, "book." Yet Pāṇini merely speaks of *Āraṇyaka*, "the forester." No wonder that Kātyāyana supplies, in a Vārttika of his, the defect which must have struck him if, and since, he was acquainted with this portion of the sacred literature.¹²³ But is it possible to assume

¹²² Pāṇini, IV. 2. 129 : *आरण्यकमुखे*.—Patanjali : *अथर्वमिदमुच्यते मनुष्य इति*.—Kātyāyana : *पञ्चखायवायविहारमनुष्यइति* वक्तव्यम्.—Patanjali : *आरण्यकः पञ्चाः । आरन्वको ऽथायः । आरण्यको वायः । आरण्यको विहारः । आरण्यको मनुष्यः । आरण्यको इती*.—Kātyāyana : *वा नोमयेषु*.—Patanjali : *वा नोमयेष्विति वक्तव्यम् । आरण्यका नोमयाः । आरन्वा नोमयाः*. (Both Vārttikas are marked in the Calcutta edition, as if they did only occur in the Siddhanta-kaumudī). Professor Müller has pointed out that Pāṇini does not mention the principal meaning of *Āraṇyaka*, but expresses himself thus (page 339) : "Whether Pāṇini knew the *Āraṇyaka* as a branch of sacred literature is uncertain. Although he mentions the word

that Pāṇini could have known this sense of the word *Āraṇyaka*, when he is altogether silent on it; and if he did not know it, that the works so called could have already existed in his time?

The acquaintance of Pāṇini with a Yajurveda is evidenced by several Sūtras of his.¹²³ But in speaking of a Yajurveda, he does not tell us whether he knew the *Black* as well as the *White* version, or only the *Black* version of it. That the former, which is considered as the literary property of the *Ṭittiri* school, is older in form and contents than the latter, the *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā*, requires no observation of mine, after the conclusive proofs which have been given by previous writers. To decide, however, whether Pāṇini had a knowledge of the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā or not,—in other words, whether both versions of 'Āraṇyaka,' he only uses it in the sense of 'living in the forest;' and it is the author of the Vārttikas who first remarks that the same word is also used in the sense of 'read in the forest.'"

¹²³ For instance, by the Sūtras II. 4. 4 (*adhvaryu*) ; VI. 1. 117 ; VII. 4. 38 ; VIII. 3, 104, etc.

this Veda are separated in time or not, by the Grammar of Páṇini, is a matter which touches closely on our present inquiry with regard to the chronological relation between Páṇini and Kátyáyana.

In mustering the facts which bear on the solution of this question, we shall have, first, to observe that the word *Vājasaneyin* does not occur in a Sūtra of, but only as a formation in a *Gaṇa* to, Pāṇini (IV. 3. 106), while the formation of *Taittirīya*, from the base *Tītiri*, is taught in a Sūtra (IV. 3. 102). There is, consequently, a *primā facie* doubt against Pāṇini's acquaintance with the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*.¹⁴ And this doubt is heightened by the cir-

¹⁶⁴ Professor Weber has already drawn attention to the fact that in the *Gangas* to Páñini only the first word may safely be ascribed to the knowledge of Páñini, since it is mentioned by himself; and I may add, those words of a Gaṇa, too, which are implicitly referred to by him; for instance, *इतः, उत्तमः, इतरः, शब्दः, अव्ययः*, of the Gaṇa to I. 1, 27, adverted to in the *Sūtra* VII. 1, 25, which otherwise would be unintelligible. See also note 53. With these exceptions, we have no real certainty of deciding whether the words of a Gaṇa were those which Páñini had in view when he wrote; for not only are there considerable differences in the readings of the Gaṇa collections in existence,

cumstance that the sacred personage, also, who is believed to have collected not only the Sañhitá, but the Bráhmaṇa of the White Yajurveda, *Yájñavalkya*, is also not mentioned in the Sútras of, but merely in the Ganas to, Páṇini.¹³

Since the question, however, whether Pāṇini knew the Vājasaneyi-Sāṃhitā, coincides with the question whether he had a knowledge of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, I will first quote a passage from Professor Müller's work, which, in a correct and lucid manner, describes the relation of Yājñavalkya to both these works :—"A comparison," he says (p. 353), "of the texts of the Taittirīyas and Vājasaneyins shows that it would be a mistake to call Yājñavalkya the author, in our sense of the word, of the Vājasaneyi-sāṃhitā and the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. But we have no reason to doubt that it was Yājñavalkya who brought the ancient Mantras and Brāhmaṇas into their present form, and, considering the differences but it is certain that these lists have been subject, at various periods, to various interpolations, which materially lessen their critical worth.

¹⁵⁶ In the *Gaṇas* to IV. 1, 105 and 2, 111.

between the old and new text, we must admit that he had a greater right to be called an author than the founders of the Charaṇas of other Vedas whose texts we possess. In this sense, Kātyāyana says, in his Anukramanī, that Yājñavalkya received the Yajur-veda from the Sun. In the same sense, the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa ends with the assertion that the White Yajur-veda was proclaimed by Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā."

If, then, we turn our attention to the word *Śatapatha*, we have again to state that it occurs only in a Gāṇa to V. 3, 100 (compare also note 105), but is not mentioned authentically in any Sūtra of Pāṇini. Yet Kātyāyana, I hold, has helped us to untie this knot, which has been drawn still tighter than it was by Professors Müller and Weber, in spite of the excellent counsel which the latter gives, "not to increase, by inattention, the darkness, which is great enough already in the history of Sanskrit literature."¹⁵⁶

A rule of Pāṇini's, which, literally translated, runs thus,

"amongst the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kalpas* which have been proclaimed by an *Old one* (or by the *Old*)," ¹⁵⁷ teaches, in its connection with preceding rules, that names of *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kalpas* are formed by adding the (technical) affix *nini* (i.e. the real affix *in* with *Vṛddhi* in the base), to the proper name of the personage who proclaimed them, provided that such a personage is an *old* authority. Kaiyaṇa gives as an instance of a *Brāhmaṇa* so formed, the word *Sātyāyanin*, derived from *Sātyāyana*, the saint who proclaimed this *Brāhmaṇa*; and other instances are mentioned by Patanjali in his comment on a previous Sūtra. To this rule *Kātyāyana* added a *Vārtika*, which, according to the text in the Calcutta edition, would mean literally, ¹⁵⁸ "In reference to *Yājñavalkya* and so on (there is) an exception, on account of the contemporaneous-

history of Hindu literature; let us abstain at least from increasing it through our own inattention!"

¹⁵⁷ IV. 3, 105: **पुराणप्रोक्तसु ब्राह्मणकल्पसु**, which words are completed by the Sūtras IV. 3, 101 and 103.

¹⁵⁶ Indische Studien, vol. I., p. 483: "We have already darkness enough in the

ness,"¹²⁸ and the comment on this additional rule is afforded by Patanjali, in the instance he gives: *Yājñavalkyaṁ Brāhmaṇaṇi*, where the Brāhmaṇa referred to the authorship of Yājñavalkya, is not formed by means of the (technical) affix *ṇi*, but by the (technical) affix *aṇ* (i.e. *a*, with Vṛiddhi in the base).

The great importance of this additional rule of Kātyāyana is obvious. It has been made the subject of several remarks in the "Indische Studien," where Professor Weber writes (vol. i. p. 57, note):—"By the Yājñavalkyaṁ-brāhmaṇaṇi [*Yājñavalkyaṇi*, as the "Indische Studien" writes it, is probably an error of the press] there [*i.e.* in the commentary of the Calcutta edition to IV. 3, 105], and also in the *Vārtika*, and in IV. 2. 66, there can probably be meant none but the Çatapatha-brāhmaṇa, either the whole of it, or from XI. to XIV., which, therefore, Patanjali even did not consider as purāṇa-proktam [*i.e.* proclaimed by an old

authority]." Again (vol. i. p. 146), "A matter of importance is the distinct separation of Brāhmaṇas composed by the *Old* (purāṇa) IV. 3. 105, by which [expression], in contradistinction, the existence also of such as belong to a more recent time (tulyakālāni, says the *Vārtika*) is necessarily implied; amongst the latter, recent ones, the Yājñavalkyaṇi [the repeated error of the press, "*Yājñavalkyaṇi*," becomes suspicious] (comp. p. 57, note), and the Saulabhāni (otherwise unknown) Brāhmaṇaṇi are mentioned in the *Vārtika*; amongst the old ones, the scholiast there, (is it on Patanjali's authority? ¹²⁹) names the Bhāllavinaḥ and the Çātyāya-

¹²⁸ For this query of Professor Weber, compare note 139. But I cannot help asking how he reconciles the statement of the note to vol. I. p. 57, just quoted, where he speaks of Patanjali in terms of that assurance which can only proceed from personal knowledge,—with his repeated avowal of not having read the *Mahābhāṣya*, and with the text itself of p. 57 to which this note refers, since he is doubtful even there whether the Calcutta editors have taken their instances to IV. 3, 105 from Patanjali or not? As a guess, his attributing the words **याज्ञवल्क्याणि ब्राह्मणाणि** to Patanjali happens to be quite correct; but it would have been certainly much better to give it distinctly as such, than leave us doubtful now as to the nature of other statements of his.

¹²⁹ *Vārtika* of the Calcutta edition to IV. 3, 105 : **याज्ञवल्क्यादिवः प्रतिविद्य-सुखावसानात्**.

ninah." And (vol. i. p. 177, *note*):—"Now we have seen (pp. 57 *note*, and 146) that the Yājñavalkāni-brāhmaṇāni ["Yājñavalkyaṇi" again, which now becomes very suspicious], are considered by the author of the Vārtikas as *contemporaneous* with Pāṇini. The question, therefore, is whether by it [*i.e.* the Yājñavalkāni-brāhmaṇāni] we have really to understand the Ṣatapatha-brāhmaṇa itself, or, in general, Brāhmaṇas only, which were *composed* by Yājñavalkya, or such as merely *treated* of him. In the former case, it would follow, too, from his proved contemporaneity with Uddālaka, and from Uddālaka's preceding Pāṇḍu, that the epoch of Pāṇḍu is later than that of Pāṇini." But (vol. ii. p. 393) he observes: "By the Yājñavalkāni-brāhmaṇāni¹⁰⁰ we, probably, have not to understand those [Brāhmaṇas] which have been *composed* by Yājñavalkya him-

¹⁰⁰ Professor Weber again writes "*Yājñavalkyaṇi*." Being compelled, therefore, to abandon the hypothesis of an error of the press, the more so as the same "*Yājñavalkyaṇi-brāhmaṇāni*" make their reappearance, in their *alphabetical place*, in his Index to the first two volumes of the "Indische Studien"—I must refer him for the correct form "*Yājñavalkāni*," to Pāṇini VI. 4, 151.—It is needless for me to say that

self, but those which merely *treated* of him; and a specimen of these is preserved us in the Yājñavalkyam-kāṇḍam of the Vṛihadarānyaka (see my Akad. Vorles. p. 125-26); therefore, if this [my] second view is correct, the contemporaneity of Yājñavalkya and Uddālaka with Pāṇini, which is the necessary consequence of my first view, would fall to the ground, together with Pāṇini's preceding Pāṇḍu, whose priority in time is again the consequence of such a contemporaneity."¹⁰¹

There is nothing novel or remarkable in the circumstance of

the "*editor*" of Pāṇini likewise writes *याज्ञवल्क्याणि* IV. 2, 66 and 3, 105, intending probably to improve on the Calcutta edition, which IV. 3, 105 writes *याज्ञवल्क्याणि*, but IV. 2, 66 *याज्ञवल्क्याणि*. *Habent sua fata libelli*!

¹⁰¹ The self-quotation of Professor Weber (Akad. Vorles. p. 125, 126) need not be repeated here, since it merely contains the same conjecture that the *Yājñavalkāni* (correctly written in the Akad. Vorles., but re-quoted from this work "*Yājñavalkyaṇi*" in the Ind. Stud. vol. II. p. 390) *brāhmaṇāni* are the same as the *Yājñavalkyam-kāṇḍam* which *treats of* Yājñavalkya.—The text of the quotations given above, it is superfluous for me to mention, is in German. To save space I have confined myself to communicating merely a translation of it, which, I trust, no one will find wanting in strictest

Professor Weber's recanting on one page what he maintained with the most specious arguments on another, or of his leaving the bewildered reader between a chaos of what are to him established facts; but however interesting it may be thus to obtain from him an autobiography of his mind, and an insight into the state of maturity in which he presents us with his researches, I must, this time, defend him against himself, and show that, *within the sphere of his own presumptive facts*, there is not the slightest ground for immolating by his last conjecture the statements contained in the first three quotations from his essays. ✓

The exception made by Kātyāyana to the rule of Pāṇini (IV. 3, 105) is contained in the word *Yājñavalkya*, as we learn from the authentic comment of Patañjali. There is no proof, whatever, that it can extend to any other derivative of *Yājñavalkya*. Whatever, therefore, be the import of the word *Yājñavalkya*, the *fairness and literal accuracy*. The words between brackets, marked [], are my own parenthetical explanations, as the reader will easily see for himself. The italics in the quotation are Professor Weber's own.

Yājñavalkya *kāṇḍam* has nothing to do with the *Yājñavalkya* *brāhmaṇa* mentioned by Patañjali in reference to our Vārttika. But, in the second instance, the word *pratiśedha*, or "exception," used by Kātyāyana necessarily concerns works of the *same category*. As little as an author could, for instance, call geology an exception to astronomy, as little, I hold, could Kātyāyana speak of an "exception" to names of Brāhmaṇas when he had in his mind, as Professor Weber thinks, the name of a particular chapter of an *Āraṇyaka*. And thirdly, this same word 'exception' in the Vārttika must likewise concern the *proclaiming* of such a work by the personage who becomes the base of the derivative; for Pāṇini uses the word *prokta* "proclaimed," distinctly enough in the Śūtra which is criticized by the Vārttika. There would be no "exception," if the formation alluded to by Kātyāyana, meant a work "*treating of*" the personage who is the base of the derivative. But, when Professor Weber, in his "Akademische Vorlesungen" (pp. 125, 126) crowns his syllogism by the remark that he prefers his last conjecture because it "appears, indeed, extremely ticklish (bedenk-

lich)" to him "to consider the whole Çatapathabrāhmaṇa or as much as its last books, as bearing distinctly the name of Yājñavalkya—however much it may contain his system [?]—or as contemporaneous with, or as preceding even by little, Pāṇini's time;" and when he adds, in the fulness of his authority, "but for the Yājñavalkyam-kāṇḍam I have not the slightest hesitation in doing the latter" [*Letzteres zu thun*,—what latter?], I fear I should overstep the limits of *scientific* criticism, if I attached a single remark to a passage like this, which treats its readers as if the personal feelings of Professor Weber had all the weight of scientific arguments, and deals with one of the most important problems of Sanskrit literature in such a manner as if it were matter for table talk.

Before I proceed in my observations on the point at issue, I will state the views of Professor Müller on this Vārttika. He writes (p. 353): "In the same sense Pāṇini, or rather his editor, says in the first Vārttika to IV. 3, 105, that there were modern Brāhmaṇas proclaimed by Yājñavalkya, and that their title differed by its formation from the title given to more ancient Brāhmaṇas,"

and (p. 363): "It is wrong, for instance, to speak of the Yājñavalkyas in the same sense as we speak of the Pāṭiriyas, and the works promulgated by Yājñavalkya, although they are Brāhmaṇas, are called Yājñavalkyaṇi [*sic*] Brāhmaṇāni. And why?" says Kātyāyana; 'because they are of too recent an origin; that is to say, they are almost contemporaneous with ourselves.'

Where, I must now ask, does Kātyāyana speak of Brāhmaṇas "more ancient" than the Brāhmaṇas proclaimed by Yājñavalkya? and where, I must further ask, does he say that the latter are "almost" contemporaneous? Again, what proof has Professor Weber that Kātyāyana meant by contemporaneous, as he says (see above, p. 134), *contemporaneous with Pāṇini*? and what proof has Professor Müller that Kātyāyana implied by this word, *contemporaneous with himself*? Assuredly, all these questions ought to have been settled first, and by very substantial proofs, before an edifice of chronology was allowed to be built on them. Not only does Kātyāyana nowhere indicate a *degree*, either in the relative age of the Brāhmaṇas of Yājñavalkya and those subject to the

Sūtra of Pāṇini, or in the contemporaneousness of the former with him,—but, in my opinion, the word *pratishedha*, “*exception*,” already adverted to, is altogether fatal to the ellipsis supplied by Professors Weber and Müller when they refer to the word *contemporaneous*. This word “*exception*” clearly proves that Kātyāyana could never have held the dialogue with which Müller enlivens the scene of the Vārttika. For if the Brāhmanas spoken of in the Vārttika, were contemporaneous with Pāṇini or with Kātyāyana, the Vārttika would have made an *addition*, not an *exception* to the rule of Pāṇini, since the latter merely treats of such Brāhmanas as are *old* from his point of view, and is no wise concerned with any Brāhmanas of *his* time.

In short, the Vārttika can, on account of the word *exception*, convey no other sense than that Pāṇini himself was guilty of an inaccuracy, by omitting to state that the Brāhmanas which had been proclaimed by Yājñavalkya (and others) were exempt from his Sūtra IV. 3, 105, *these Brāhmanas being as old as those which he had in view when he gave this rule.*

Did the words of the Vārttika, such as they are printed in the Calcutta edition, admit of the slightest doubt—if interpreted properly,—or had the inferences drawn from them been propounded with less consequence, and did not the discussion I have raised concern a principle, viz. the method of examining the relation of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini, the course I should have taken, in refuting the opinion of Professors Weber and Müller would have been a different one. I should have at once stated the fact, that the inadvertence of the Calcutta editors of Pāṇini—(need I repeat that Dr. Boehtlingk's reprint is as conscientious in this case as in all analogous instances?)—has skipped *two words* which belong to the Vārttika,—words, which, indeed, are not absolutely required for a correct understanding of the Vārttika, but the presence of which would have prevented as much as the possibility of a misconception, however inattentive the reader of the Vārttika might be. These words are no other than the words of Pāṇini's Sūtra itself, which Kātyāyana, no doubt with the distinct purpose of obviating the very possibility of a misunder-

standing, has embodied again in his Vārttika in placing them before his own critical remark. In short, the Vārttika runs thus : "Among the Brāhmanas and Kalpas, which are proclaimed by an old one (or by the *old*), there is an exception in reference to Yājñavalkya, on account of the contemporaneousness," viz., of *these latter Brāhmanas with the old Brāhmanas spoken of by Pāṇini*. In this sense, then, Patanjali remarks, after having named the Brāhmanas of Yājñavalkya and Sulabha, "Why (is there an exception to these ?) 'On account of the contemporaneousness ;' that is to say, because they, *too*, are of the same time ;" and Kaiyaṣa adds : '*because they belong to the same time as the Brāhmanas proclaimed by Śātyāyana, and so on.*'" ¹⁰²

¹⁰² Pāṇini, IV. 3, 105 : पुराब्रह्मण्यु ब्राह्मण्युः पुराब्रह्मण्यु ब्राह्मण्यु वाचस्पत्यदिभ्यः प्रतिविधेयुज्ज्वालात्.—Patanjali : पुराब्रह्मण्यु ब्राह्मण्यु वाचस्पत्यदिभ्यः प्रतिविधेयु ब्रह्मण्यु । वाचस्पत्यानि ब्राह्मण्यु । सीकभाषीति । किं कारणम् । तुज्ज्वालात् । एतावत्यि तुज्ज्वालातीति.—Kaiyaṣa : तुज्ज्वालादिति । ब्राह्मण्युदिति मोक्षिर्ब्रह्मण्युज्ज्वालादित्यर्थः. For the sake of greater clearness, and in

The ground on which we now stand is once more the ground we have occupied before. And when I previously asked whether it is likely that Pāṇini could have blundered in conjugating or declining a common word, or whether he was not proficient enough to use the expression "eatable," or whether he could have ignored the meaning of Āraṇyaka,—I must now add the question whether he was likely to give a rule which, by an essential omission, would have vitiated the name of a principal Brāhmana ? Could he have ignored that name which stands foremost amongst all the authors

order to anticipate any objection, I will mention, that the Sūtra of Pāṇini itself precedes the words of the Vārttika in the MS. E.I.H. 330, whence this passage is quoted ; so that there can be no assumption of a meaningless or careless repetition of the words पुराब्रह्मण्यु ब्राह्मण्यु. Moreover, the beginning of Patanjali's commentary on the Vārttika, and his method of commenting, as explained above, is sufficient to remove all doubt—if any still existed—that they belong to the Vārttika.—Professor Benfey, too, is therefore mistaken, when, in his learned and valuable "*Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache*" (§ 519) he says, "it has been explicitly stated [viz. by our Vārttika] that Yājñavalkya and some others do not belong to the *old*."

of Brāhmaṇas? So much so, that we have heard only by name of the Brāhmaṇas of Bhaḷlu, Śātyāyana, and Sulabha; but are full of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, proclaimed by Yājñavalkya?

In my belief there is but this alternative: either Patañjali, who mentions the Bhāḷlavins, together with other Brāhmaṇas, in his comment on the Vārttika 26 to IV. 2, 104, is correct in saying that the Brāhmaṇa of Yājñavalkya is coeval with them, in this case all these Brāhmaṇas must have been unknown to Pāṇini, and other Brāhmaṇas must have been before his mind's eye, when he wrote the Sūtra IV. 3, 105; or Pāṇini *did* know and *meant* to imply in his rule the Brāhmaṇa of Bhaḷlu, and of others named by Patañjali,—then the error must be on Patañjali's side, when he asserts that Yājñavalkya was their contemporary. I say purposely, it must be an error of Patañjali, for there is no evidence to show that Kātyāyana alluded to *Bhaḷlu*, for instance, when he speaks of contemporaries of Yājñavalkya; he may have referred, for aught we know, to proper names belonging to other old authorities—old

from Pāṇini's point of view; and his error would then have consisted in making Yājñavalkya the contemporary of the personages who were the authors of those old works.

Yet both—the error of Patañjali and the error of Kātyāyana—become explainable on the assumption that there is *such a considerable period of time between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, and much more so between Pāṇini and Patañjali* that Kātyāyana even could consider as “old” that which was not only not old, but in all probability did not yet exist in Pāṇini's time.

It is curious, though I lay no stress on this circumstance, that the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* should *pass over in silence the whole Vārttika of Kātyāyana*, but should, in giving the counter-instance, “Yājñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni,” add: “Why does this rule of Pāṇini (restrict the formation of Brāhmaṇa-names with the affix *in*) to those Brāhmaṇas proclaimed by the ‘old?’” Because the Brāhmaṇas of Yājñavalkya, etc., are called Yājñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni, etc.; for, *according to legendary reports, these and similar Brāhmaṇas do not belong to a*

remote time.¹⁸ Thus, on traditional grounds—which we should have thanked Jayāditya if he had designated in more precise terms—the Kāśikā, too, discards the notion of the *Yājñavalkya Brāhmaṇa* being an exception to the much-quoted rule of Pāṇini. On the contrary, it looks, as we see, on the derivative *Yājñavalkya* as a counter-instance, which confirms the statement of Pāṇini; but, I hold that this commentary was wanting in judgment when it passed over in silence the Vārtika of Kātyāyana, since the latter, by its very mistaken reproach, affords us a valuable means of judging on the chronological relation between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.

Before I support with further arguments the conclusions I have drawn with regard to this chronological relation between the two grammarians, it will be expedient to take a cursory view of the

¹⁸ The commentary of the Kāśikā on this Sūtra which, as in general, is much better and more clearly worded than the comment of the Calcutta Pandits, runs thus (MS. E.I.H. 2440): *प्रत्ययार्थविशेषबन्धितत् । गुतीचासमर्थात्तोते विनिप्रत्ययो भवति । यत्प्रतीकं पुराब्रह्मोक्तं चेत् । ब्राह्मणकल्पासौ भवन्ति । पुराब्रह्म चिरन्तनविषया प्रोक्तं पुरा-*

principal categories of known ancient writings not already mentioned; acquaintance with which, on the one hand, is shown by Pāṇini himself; and the existence of which, on the other, may either be assumed to fall within a period not very distant from the time when Pāṇini wrote, or in his time, to be open to doubt, on account of the reasons previously alleged.

Since Pāṇini teaches, in the rule I have so often referred to, that all ancient Brāhmaṇas and Kalpa works bear names which end in the (technical) affix *ṇini*, the names of the former by the common consent of all commentators, ancient and modern, being used in the plural only, we are justified in inferring that none of the works of the category now preserved in manuscript, so far as my knowledge

ब्रह्मोक्तम् । ब्राह्मणेषु तावत् । भाषाविकः । शाखावर्गिकः (should be शाखावर्गिनः) । ऐतरेयिकः । कल्लेषु । पैङ्गी कल्पः । क्षारवर्गपरावी । पुराब्रह्मोक्तविविक्तिं विम् । याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि । याज्ञवः कल्पः । याज्ञवल्कादवो हि न विरकाया इत्याख्यानेषु वार्ता । I may add, that the Siddhānta-kaumudī also makes no mention of the Vārtika of Kātyāyana, but, in reference to our question, merely contains these words (p. 81 b. line 1): *पुरावेति विम् । याज्ञवल्क्यानि (miseditied याज्ञवल्क्यानि) ब्राह्मणानि*.

goes, are ancient works from Pāṇini's point of view. That one of them, at least, the Kalpa work of Kātyāyana, cannot have existed in Pāṇini's time, would be the consequence of the foregoing inquiry; but I should not venture to say more than I have said of the other ritual books of the same category.

Again, if the conclusion I drew as to Pāṇini's not having been acquainted with the *Āraṇyakas* be correct, it would imply, of necessity, that the *Upanishads* could not have existed when he lived, since they are a further development of this class of works; and this conclusion, again, strengthens the arguments I have adduced for the non-existence, in Pāṇini's time, of the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā, arranged by Yājñavalkya; for an important Upanishad, the *Īśa-Upanishad*, is the last portion of this version of the Yajurveda.¹⁴

¹⁴ Pāṇini mentions the word *Upanishad* once, viz. I. 4, 79, but not in the sense of a sacred work. It occurs twice in the Gāṇas, viz., to IV. 3, 73 and 4, 12; in the former it has the sense of such a work, but it is doubtful whether it has in the latter also.—In a note at page 325, Professor Müller gives a detailed account of the history of *Anquetil's*

That Pāṇini was conversant, not only with a *Black Yajur-*

Perron's Oupnekhat, "which contains the translation of fifty Upanishads from Persian into Latin." Since his bibliographical sketch cannot fail to be of much interest and use to many of his readers, it will not be superfluous to correct a mistake of his when he states that the *French translation* of Anquetil du Perron was "not published." It was not published *entirely*; but in the well-known work of Tieffenthaler, Anquetil, Rennell, and Bernoulli: "*Description historique et géographique de l'Inde*, etc. *Berlin*; vol. I. second edition, 1791; vol. II. 1786; vol. III. 1788," the second part of the second volume contains his translation "en français barbare," as the author himself calls it, of the "*Oupnekhat Narāin (tiré de l'Atharva Beid*" (p. 297 ff.); of the "*Oupnekhat tadiv (tiré de Djedjr Beid*" (p. 301 ff.); of the "*Oupnekhat Athar (tiré de l'Atharva Beid*" (p. 308 ff.) and of the "*Oupnekhat Schat Roudri (tiré de Djedjr Beid*" (p. 323 ff.). The same volume also contains an interesting paper of his: "*nouvelles preuves que l'Oupnekhat ne parle nulle part du Kalougum, ni des trois autres Ioungams*" (Table des Articles; p. 548 ff.).—There is another work, published anonymously, which comprises, besides other interesting matter, translations in German of portions of Oriental works; the first volume of this work—the only one that appeared, I believe—bears the title "*Sammlung Asiatischer Original-Schriften.—Indische Schriften.—Zürich*, 1791," and contains, amongst others, a German translation of the first three Upanishads published in the work of Tieffenthaler, Anquetil du Perron, etc. As this volume is curious and of great scarcity, I subjoin a list of its contents, as given by the

veda,¹⁰⁵ but with a *Rig-* and a *Sāma-veda*, is borne out by several author himself : " *Begegnungem. Tractat. Der Telepoeng Reg. Patimuk. Des Fo. Buch. Upackhat. Mahabarat. Ind. Raschah. Amertkend. Bedang Schauten. Dirm Schuter: Neadiren. Götter Verzeichniss. Schattah-Bade. Londa Schauter. Tervamalei. Remessum. Remessum Phil. Gespräch. Sastirum.*"—A note appended to the translation of the "Upackhat Athrbisar," at p. 286 of this work, drew my attention to "A prayer directed by the *Brahmans* to be offered up to the *Supreme Being*; written originally in the *Sanskrit* language, and translated by C. W. Boughdon Rowe, Esq.; from a *Persic* Version of Dara Shikoh, a son of Jah Schah, Emperor of Hindostan"—which prayer is appended to the "Institutes of Timour," by Joseph White (Oxford, 1783); for the note in question says that this prayer is a free and abridged version, from the Persian, of the same Upackhat Athrbisar (or Upanishad Atharvasūtras). But having compared them, I cannot convince myself that such is the case; though the ideas expressed in both compositions have much similarity.—In passing, I may mention, also, that this same prayer attracted the attention of the "Monthly Review of 1783," and, in consequence, that of August Hensings in his interesting work, "*Versuch einer Ostindischen Litteratur-Geschichte nebst einer kritischen Beurtheilung der Aechtheit der Zend-Bücher.*" Hamburg und Kiel, 1786." This work, which is extremely rare, bears testimony to the extensive scholarship of its author; it gives a critical review—more or less detailed—of 114 works, and has an Appendix, entitled "*Grundlage zu einem vollständigen Verzeichnisse aller Schriften die Ostindien und die damit verbundene*

Sūtras of his. We may expect, too, that he, like every other Hindu, looked upon the *Rigveda* as the principal *Veda*; and this assumption is confirmed by the circumstance of his calling a *Páda* of the *Rigveda* simply the "*Páda*," without the addition of the word *Rik*.¹⁰⁶ But there is no evidence to show that he knew an *Atharvaveda*. The word *atharvan*, it is true, occurs three times, but only in the *Ganas* to his rules, and there even only as the name of a priest. We may add, also, that the word *átharvanika* is found in two Sūtras (IV. 3, 133, and VI. 4, 174), where it is ex-

Länder betreffen. In alphabetischer Ordnung als ein Anhang zur Litteratur-Geschichte Ostindiens. Hamburg." This Appendix contains the titles of not less than 1372 works of the 16th, 17th, and 18th century, referring to the history, "antiquities, nations, languages, religions, and the natural history of India," many of which are unknown not only to me, but to several Oriental scholars, librarians, and bibliographers whom I have consulted about them.

¹⁰⁵ See note 153.

¹⁰⁶ For his knowledge of the *Rigveda*, compare VI. 3, 55, 133; VII. 4, 39, etc.; for the occurrence of *páda*, VI. 1, 115; VII. 1, 57; VIII. 1, 18, etc.; for *Sāmaneda*, I. 2, 34; IV. 2, 7; V. 2, 59, etc.

plained by Patañjali as meaning "the office and the sacred record of the Atharvan,"—that Patañjali confirms the occurrence of the word *atharvan* in the Gāṇa to the Sūtra IV. 2, 63, where it can only mean a literary work; and, besides, that the word *átharvāna* occurs twice in the Gāṇas.¹⁵⁷ Yet even the testimony of Patañjali cannot entirely remove the uncertainty which, as we have seen above, must always adhere to the Gāṇas as evidence for or against Pāṇini, with the exception of their first word, mentioned by himself, or such of their words as are referred to by other rules of his. Nor does the occurrence of the word *áthartanika* in the two Sūtras

¹⁵⁷ For *Átharvāna*, see the Gāṇas to IV. 2, 38 and 63; (it occurs, too, in a Vārtika to IV. 3, 133). For *Átharvānika*, IV. 3, 133; VI. 4, 174 and the Gāṇas to IV. 2, 63 and (in the Kāśikā) 60; for *Átharvāna* the Gāṇas to IV. 2, 38 and 63 and (in the Kāśikā) 60.—On IV. 3, 133, Patañjali remarks, after the words of the Sūtra: . . . **आथर्वतो यमः । आथर्वं आवायः । इत्याथर्ववायम् । आथर्वविवाये च चतुर्वहं क्रियते । वसनादिवचनम् आथर्ववचनम्** (comp. IV. 2, 63) **यथा ते वहे ज्याये** (VI. 4, 174) **प्रकृतिमावाये यहं क्रियते** etc.

quoted necessarily confirm the interpretation of Patañjali. It may there only mean the office of an Atharvan priest, who, probably, was employed in the performance of sacrificial acts. In short, there is no valid ground for attributing to Pāṇini a knowledge of the fourth and least sacred Veda, the Atharvaveda; and this doubt derives some additional weight from the fact that, though the word *Angiras*, one of the reputed Rishis of the Atharvaveda, is mentioned in a Sūtra (II. 4. 65), neither the compound *Átharvāngirasas*, nor its derivative, *Átharvāngirasa*, is met with in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, though the former is the name, as well of the two seers of the Atharvaveda, as especially of the hymns of this Veda itself,—while the latter means the observances connected with the Atharvaveda, and would have deserved a place amongst grammatical rules. ✓

In the last chapter of his learned work, Professor Müller gives instances of hymns which he considers as belonging to the oldest portion of Vaidik literature. It seems difficult to follow his arguments so as to arrive at a settled conviction on this point; for the

reasons he gives in assigning these hymns to the earliest portions of Hindu poetry rest on impressions so individual, that assent or dissent of those who read the Rîgveda hymns will depend much on their own disposition. I should, for instance, for my part, hesitate very much to assign to a hymn which speaks of thirty-three gods¹⁰⁰ a place amongst the most ancient hymns, since it betrays, in my opinion, a very artificial and developed condition of religiousness, and a considerable deviation from what I hold to be the primitive feeling of the human mind. The impression I derive from another hymn, a poetical version of which Professor Müller gives (p. 564), and a prose translation of which we owed already to Colebrooke (Misc. Ess. I. p. 33), would be to the same effect,—that it belongs, not to the earliest, but to the very latest hymns of the Rîgveda-Saṁhitā; for it seems to me that a song which begins, "There was no entity, nor non-entity death was not, nor was there immortality;" and concludes: "Then who can

know whence it proceeded, or whence this varied world arose, or whether it uphold itself, or not? He who, in the highest heaven, is the ruler of this universe, does indeed know, but not another can possess that knowledge"—it seems to me that such a song must be already the result of the greatest struggles of the human heart: the full-grown fruit of a long experience in thought,—in other words, that it marks the end, and not the beginning, of a phase of religious development.

I agree with Müller in one important point, viz. (p. 566): that "the evidence of language is the most decisive for settling the relative age of Vêdic hymns," and I should have agreed with him still more if he had said that it is the only safe criterion with a European of the nineteenth century to settle this point. Therefore, when he adds that "the occurrence of such a word as *tadānim* is more calculated to rouse doubts as to the early date of this [last-named] hymn than the most abstruse metaphysical ideas which may be discovered in it,"—though I do not share the opinion expressed in his latter words,—I hold the adverb he men-

¹⁰⁰ Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 531.

tions to be quite sufficient authority for removing this hymn from the earliest portion of Hindu songs.

But setting aside our personal feelings, which, after all, are of no consequence, we cannot be indifferent about learning what Pāṇini considered to be the older or the more recent Vaidik hymns. A direct opinion on this point we can scarcely expect to obtain from himself; but indirect evidence of his own impressions, or, more probably, of the tradition current in his time, I believe may be collected from his Sūtras; and, however scanty it be, and however much we may think we may be able, without his aid, to arrive at a similar result in regard to the hymns I am going to name, it will not be superfluous to advert to it here. The hymns of the Rīg-veda—and, consequently, those collected from it for the version of the Sāma-, and the two other Vedas—were “seen,” as I have shown above (p. 62), by the Rishis, who received them from a divinity. This general belief was, as I there proved, shared in by Pāṇini, who, therefore, was not so unshackled by the inspiration-doctrine as Professor Müller represents him to have been in his

discussion on old and new Brāhmaṇas.¹⁰⁰ But there is a marked difference in the language he uses when speaking at one time of one category, and, at another, of another category of hymns; and it is this difference which induces me to express a doubt whether he looked upon all Vaidik hymns as *immediate* revelations from above.

In his Sūtras IV. 2, 7 to 9, he teaches the formation of words expressing the name of Sāmaveda-hymns, and he applies to the latter the word “*seen*,” *i.e.*, received by inspiration from the divinity. In the Sūtra IV. 3, 101, on the other hand, he heads a chapter, which comprises the next ten rules, with the words, “*promulgated by him*,” which words imply that the Vaidik compositions—the names of which he teaches the student to form in these rules—were *promulgated* by the Rishis, whose names are the bases of the several derivatives.¹⁰⁰ That these two different expressions were

¹⁰⁰ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 361 : “Pāṇini, whose views are not shackled by the inspiration-doctrines which blinded and misled all the followers of the orthodox Mīmāṃsā school, broadly states the fact that there are old and new Brāhmaṇas, etc.”

¹⁰⁰ IV. 2, 7 : दृष्टं साम .—IV. 3, 101 : तेन प्रोक्तम् .—Praudhmanoranā : प्रकृतेर्बोले

chosen by Pāṇini deliberately, results from the contents of the last-named rules. They contain amongst others (IV. 3, 105), names of Kalpa works, which, at no period of the Hindu religion, were "seen" or ascribed to superhuman authorship. This word "proclaimed" has also been noticed especially by Kātyāyana and Patanjali, who judge as follows of its import in these rules:—*Kātyāyana*: "(It might seem that) this word 'proclaimed' is purposeless, since no affix is visible in (certain) derivatives (which imply its sense)."—*Patanjali*: "Why is it purposeless? 'Because,' says Kātyāyana, 'no affix is visible.' That is to say, if 'proclaimed' means that the Vaidik version of the Kalāpas or Kāthas is recited village for village, a derivative implying such a sense has no (special) affix."—*Kātyāyana*: "(It is purposeless, too) if applied to the sense 'book,' for (in this case) an affix is taught (elsewhere)."—*Patanjali*: "There is an affix, if the

प्रोक्तम् । अत्रादनेनार्थवाक्यानि वा प्रकाशितमित्यर्थः । प्रकथयति वचनाद्वेह । द्वेदनेनाधारितम्. Compare the following note.

sense 'composed, as a book,' is implied by it; but such an affix is provided for by another rule of Pāṇini, viz., IV. 3, 116. Could we, then, consider this word 'proclaimed' (in our rule) as used in reference to the Veda? But again, the Vedas are not made (like a book); they are permanent (or eternal)."—*Kātyāyana*: "If (however, one should assert that this word) concerns the Veda, (he would be correct, provided that he meant to impart to the word 'proclaimed') a *figurative* sense."—*Patanjali* (after repeating these latter words): "Is it not said, however, that 'the Vedas are not made, but that they are permanent (i.e., eternal)?' (Quite so); yet, though their sense is permanent, the order of their letters has not always remained the same; and it is through the difference in the latter respect that we may speak of the versions of the Kāthas, Kalāpas, Mudakas, Pippalādakas, and so on."¹⁷ Now, whatever opinion we may entertain of

¹⁷ Pāṇini: तेन प्रोक्तम्.—*Kātyāyana*: प्रोक्तग्रहणमनर्थकं तत्रादर्शनात्.—*Patanjali*: प्रोक्तग्रहणमनर्थकम् । किं कारकम् । तत्रादर्शनात् । अस्मि यस्मि वाचापकं वाठकं च

Patanjali's accounting for the various versions of the Vaidik texts, it is evident that Pāṇini—who comprises Kalpas under the term "proclaimed"—looked upon the works, the names of which

प्रोचन्ते । न तत्र प्रलयो दृश्यते.—Kātyāyana : यन्त्रे च दर्शनात्.—Patanjali : यत्र दृश्यते यन्त्रः स भवति तत्र कृते यन्त्र इत्येव सिद्धम् (IV. 3, 116) । छन्दो-र्थं तर्हीदं यत्तन्त्रम् । न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते । गितानि छन्दांसि.—Kātyāyana : छन्दो-र्थमिति चेपुकारम्.—Patanjali : छन्दो-र्थमिति चेपुकारमिति श्रवति । [The MS. contains here a repetition, which is evidently a mistake of the copyist] ननु चोक्तं न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते गितानि छन्दासीति । यद्यप्यर्थो गितः । या तस्यी यवी-नुपूर्वी यागिता तद्देदीतमवति काठवं कात्यायकं मीदकं घेपकादकमिति । न तर्हीदानीमिदं यत्तन्त्रम् । यत्तन्त्रं च । किं प्रयोक्तव्यम् । यत्नेन प्रोक्तं न च तेन कृतम् । माधुरी [cf. Kātyāyana : माधुरी] युक्तिः । यदि तर्हि (त)स्य निवधनमसि । इदमेव यत्तन्त्रम् । तदयवशं यत्तन्त्रम् । यत्नेन कृतं न च प्रोक्तं वाररुचं कात्यम् । चायूक्षाः शोकाः.—Kātyāyana : प्रपूर्वो यचितः प्रकाशने ऽध्यायनरूपे वा वर्तते करणी वा । तत्राथे ऽर्हे प्रलयो न दृश्यते । द्वितीये तु सूचानरेख (i.e. IV. 3, 116) सिद्ध-मिति मलाह । प्रोक्तयहसमिति याम् इति । सुशमीदीनां प्रतिषामं प्रवक्तुले ऽपि सुशमीनां प्रोक्तं काठकमवीचमिति [probably : काठकम् । सौ०] प्रयोक्तो न दृश्यते

are taught in these rules, not as having been "seen" or received *immediately* from the divinity. They must, in his mind, therefore, belong to a later period than the Sāmaveda hymns which he treats

रत्त्वर्थः । गितानीति । कर्तुरकारणसिधमिति भावः । या स्याविति । महाप्रलयया दिगु यवीनुपूर्वीविनाशे पुनरुत्पत्त्य (MS. पुनरुत्पत्त्य) कृषवः संस्कारातिशयादेदार्ये कुत्वा शब्दरचना विदधतीत्यर्थः (MS. विदधतीत्यर्थः) । तद्देदादिति । चायूवीभिदि-त्यर्थः । ततश्च काठयो वेदानुपूर्वः कर्तार एव ननु खिता एव सुशमीदिवात्मवत्कारः । ततश्च छन्दस्त्वपि कृते यन्त्र इत्येव (IV. 3, 116) सिद्धः प्रलय इति भावः । माधुरीति । माधुरेख प्रथमतः प्रकाशितेत्यर्थः । (IV. 3, 108) कवापिनो ऽखिलान्यहस्यकाधिकविधानार्थं काठुकादयचारमवति (MS. ०र्वकादुक्ता०) । द्विविधं चेह प्रोक्तं युक्तं परकृतं स(क)तं वा यत्प्रकाशितं तेन प्रोक्ताधिकार एव काठदिभ्यो यत्तन्त्राप्रलयविधानम्.—Kātyāyana : तेन प्रोक्तम् । कात्यायककाठकयोर्नोपरकाठुगु (IV. 3, 120) धर्मी-चाययोरीति बोध्यम् । प्रपूर्वो वचिरिति । अध्यायनरूपे प्रकाशने वा [both MSS. of the E. I. H., No. 320 and 1209, in the same order] वर्तते करणे येत्यन्वयः । ननु काठकगितादी प्रलयदर्शनात् प्रलयो दृश्यत इत्यनुपपन्नमत आह । सुशमीदीनामिति । भाष्ये यन्त्रे चेति तेन कृते यन्त्र इत्यर्थः (IV. 3, 116) । यन्त्रः स इति तेन कृतो यन्त्रः स इत्यर्थः । अथेन वेदस्य गितत्वं स्वीकृत्यशेषागितत्वात्माह । यद्यप्यर्थ इति । कृतेन

of in the rules IV. 2. 7-9 as having been "*seen*." Nor would there be anything remarkable in this view, if it merely referred to the Brāhmaṇa works which also are the subject of his rules; for this

वेदसं शब्दाभिमवदुत्तिधनितम् (MS. 1209 °नत्तिधः; perhaps °नत्तिरितिधः) ।
यनु धाता यथा पूर्वमकस्यदितादिभुतिवसेनागुण्यंयि शिवेति नवपूर्वमीमां-
साविवाकात्सा नितिलगुह्यमत आह । महाप्रसवादिधिति । आगुण्योक्तान्तव-
चदितलेनानिलत्वमिति भाव इति केचित् । तत्र । यद्यप्यर्थो नित्य इत्यादिवाक्येष्व-
विरोधात् । अर्थस्वादिभ्योतिदोमादेरनिलत्वात् । प्रवाहाविच्छेदेन नित्यत्वं तुमचोर-
यि तत्तावन्वन्मादेनागुण्यं भिन्नम् । प्रतिमन्वन्तरं यथा भुतिरन्वा विधीयत रसुत्ति-
प्रतिनये । परे तु । अप्यो नित्य एवम् इत्यन्वविरोधनित्यत्वस्यैवाभ्युपगमः पूर्वपक्षि-
तादृशनित्यत्वस्यैव चन्दःसुत्तिः । एवं चार्थशब्देनापेक्षरः । मुक्तातया तस्मैव सर्ववेदतात्प-
र्यविवक्षतात् । इदं च सर्वैरुभेव चेत् इति सीतोत्तेरित्याहुः (XV. 15) । यद्योगुण्यो-
क्तनित्यत्वे सावभाह तद्वेदवेति । अनिलत्ववाक्यभेदेन तत्सिद्धिः । भेदो ऽत्र भावात्तर ।
इदं तु न भावात् (? MSS. यत्तत्त्वं ?) । भेदे सावं व्यवहारमाह । काठकेत्यादि । अर्थ-
को ऽप्यागुण्यमिदादेव काठकावाक्यादिव्यवहार इति भावः । अत्रागुण्यनित्यसुत्तिः
पदानि तावदेति धनितं तदाह । ततश्च कटादय इत्यधिकं मञ्जूपायां द्रष्टव्यम् । यनु
माधुरावृक्षाक्षेप भावमत आह (comp. IV. 2, 114) । अत्रापिनो ऽस्ति (IV. 3, 108) ।

class of inspired literature is looked upon by all the authorities as being inferior in degree, and, I hold therefore, less immediate, as an emanation than the hymns of the Saṁhitās. But there

नन्वेवं कटादिभ्यः प्रोक्ताधिकारे प्रत्ययविधानं चर्चम् । तत्र । यत्प्रोक्तं न च तेन कृत-
मित्यर्थवाचादत्त आह । द्विविधं चेति प्रोक्ताधिकार एवेति । कृतयहमेव साप्रकाशि-
तल्लक्षतस्मैव ग्रहयदिति भावः । [Obvious mis-spellings in the MSS.—especially in
MS. 350, which here is more indifferent than MS. 1209—whence this passage is taken
have been left unnoticed by me. The text here given is, in my opinion, as correct as the
MSS. in question will allow to edit it.]

I have quoted the full gloss of the three principal commentators on this important
Sūtra and its Vārtikas, because it is of considerable interest in many respects and, at
the same time, bears out my statement at page 65. We see Kaiyaṣa and Nāgajibhaṭṭa
wringing under the difficulty of reconciling the eternity of the Veda with the differences
of its various versions, which nevertheless maintain an equal claim to infallibility.
Patanjali makes rather short work of this much vexed question; and unless it be
allowed here to render his expression *seṛya* (which means "letter"), "word," it is
barely possible even to understand how he can save consistently the eternity or per-
manence of the "sense" of the Veda. That the modern Mimāṁsists maintain not
only the "eternity of the sense" but also the "permanence of the text," which is
tantamount to the exclusive right of one single version, we learn, amongst others,
from Nāgajibhaṭṭa. But as such a doctrine has its obvious dangers, it is not shared in

occurs in midst of these rules one (IV. 3, 106) which contains the word *Chhandas*, which, being contradistinguished from the word *Bráhmāna* in the preceding rule (IV. 3, 105), cannot have there any other sense than that of *Mantra*, as I have shown above; or, if it should be thought that it is contrasted there with *Kalpa* as well as with *Bráhmāna* in the preceding rule, it would mean *Veda* in general—*Mantra and Bráhmāna*. And, in connection with this

by the old *Mīmāṃsists*, nor by Nāgoji, as he tells us himself. He and Kaiyaṣa inform us therefore that, *amongst other theories*, there is one, according to which the order of the letters (or, rather, words) in the Vaidik texts got lost in the several *Pralayas* or destructions of the worlds; and, since each *Manwantara* had its own revelation, which differed only in the expression, not in the sense of the Vaidik texts, the various versions known to these commentators represent these successive revelations which were “remembered,” through “their excessive accomplishments,” by the *Rishis*, who, in this manner, produced, or rather reproduced, the texts current in their time, under the name of the versions of the *Kaṣhas*, *Kalápas*, and so on. In this way each version had an equal claim to sanctity. There is a very interesting discussion on the same subject by *Kumārila*, in his *Mīmāṃsā-Pāṭīkha* (I. 3, 10). I forbear, however, quoting it on the present occasion on account of its great length, and because I hope to be able to give it in a more appropriate place.

word Pánini writes, “*Śaunaka*.” Śaunaka, however, we know, from Sáyana’s commentary on the *Rigveda* and the *Anukramanī*, was the *Rishi* who is supposed to be the author of the second *Mandala*, as we now possess it, though in a former version it appears to have belonged to the *Rishi Gritsamada*.¹⁷

Should, then, my view of Pánini’s rule be correct, it will follow that Pánini considered this second *Mandala* as of a later date than the other *Mandalas*; and we cannot but admit that even the first hymn of the second *Mandala* fully confirms this impression, for, by speaking of *Hotri*, *Potri*, *Neshtri*, *Agnídhra*, *Prasástri*, *Adhwaryu*, and *Bráhmaṇ* priests, it certainly betrays a very advanced development of sacrificial and artificial rites.

Mīmāṃsá is a word of special grammatical interest, not in so

¹⁷ Compare *Sáyana* in the beginning of his commentary on the second *Mandala*; Professor Wilson’s detailed account in his translation, vol. ii., p. 207; and Professor Müller’s *Ancient Literature*, pp. 231, 232; as well as the corresponding passage from *Shadguruśishya*, at p. 237.

far as its affix *á* is concerned—for the latter belongs to a general category of derivatives dealt with by Pāṇini in his rule III. 3, 102—but on account of the irregular formation of its base. It must be admitted that the Sūtra I. 3, 62 may be looked upon as including this base also; but whether the instance *mīmāns*, given by the commentators, has there the general sense of *considering*, or the special sense of the philosophical reasoning of the Mīmāṃsā, cannot be inferred from the general tenor of this rule. This latter sense is emphatically expressed by two words derived from *mīmāns*, viz., *Mīmāṃsā*, the name of the philosophy; and *Mīmāṃsaka*, a Mīmāṃsā philosopher. Neither word occurs in Pāṇini.¹⁷³ Nor

¹⁷³ Even Kātyāyana gives no Vārtika to teach the formation of *mīmāṃsaka*, though this word is of some interest from a grammatical point of view. Amongst those words which designate followers of a doctrine or philosophy, it is the only one formed with a *kṛt*-affix. It occurs, e.g. as an instance of Paṇanjalī, to I. 2, 64, v. 17, II. 2, 29, and in a Kāśikā of the latter to III. 2, 123, where it is rendered by Kaiyaṇa *etichāraka*; it occurs, too, as an instance, not in the Mahābhāṣya, but the Kāśikā and Siddh.-k. to II. 1, 53, in the compound *mīmāṃsakuḍḍi*; and it is probably the property of the Calcutta Paṇḍits, as an instance to IV. 3, 9.

does he mention *Jaimini*, the author of the Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra; and it is, perhaps, worthy of our attention, that not even the Gāṇas to Pāṇini contain the formation of this word, which is of as much interest as any other word of the Gaṇa *Bāhuvādi* (IV. 1, 96).¹⁷⁴

The word *Vedānta* having no remarkable grammatical peculiarities, had no claim to the notice of Pāṇini; but had he been aware of the word *Vedāntin*, “one who knows the Vedānta,” it would certainly have required a special rule of his, since there is no Sūtra in his Grammar by which the sense of this derivative could be made out satisfactorily. And as Pāṇini notices but *one single word* in which the base is not a proper name, and the affix *in* (technically *ini*) imparts to the

¹⁷⁴ With regard to Jaimini, I have only to add that the instance *अनिनिवृत्त* or *अनिनिवृत्ति* to II. 2, 38 has not yet found a place in the Bhāṣya or in Kaiyaṇa's commentary; it occurs in the Kāśikā and the Gaṇatanubodhī; but on what authority Jayāditya and Vardhamāna give this handsome epithet to the old Jaimini, or whether it is levelled against another Jaimini, I have no means of stating.

derivative the sense of studying or knowing, viz., *anubrāhmaṇin*, "one who studies or knows a work like a Brāhmaṇa" (IV. 2, 62), the omission of *Vedāntin* acquires increased significance.¹⁷³

Sāṅkhya is a peculiar form. It comes from *sankhyá*, and designates the philosophy which is based on *synthetic* (sam) *reasoning* (khyá). Its very name shows that it is the counterpart, as it were, of *Nyāya* (ni-āya), or the philosophy founded on "*analytical reasoning*." For while the former builds up a system of the universe, the latter dissects it into categories, and "enters into" its component parts. Yet a grammatical rule would have had to explain why the name of the former system is not a *kṛit*-formation,—for instance, its very base, *sankhyá*, analogously to the *kṛit*-formation *nyāya*. It has not been noticed by Pāṇini. Nor does he teach—as he probably would have done had this philo-

¹⁷³ In the Sūtra IV. 3, 111, the affix *is* (technically, *ist*) has a similar purport, but the base implies a proper name; thus, *Karmandin*, *Kṛtistērin* mean "one who studies or knows the works of Karmanda, Kṛtīśāwa."

sophy existed in his time—that the same word means, as a masculine, a follower of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.¹⁷⁴

The word *Yoga* occurs several times in the Sūtras,¹⁷⁵ but never in the sense of a system of philosophy; and the only two derivatives of this word which are taught by Pāṇini, viz., *yogyā* and *yangika* (V. 1, 102) are two words which have no

¹⁷⁴ For the various explanations, given by native authorities, of this term, I need now refer to one essay only, since it probably comprises all the literary information—and not only on this point—which can be obtained in our days on Sāṅkhya writers, and certainly more than any one scholar in Europe would have at his command—I mean the learned and excellent preface of Dr. Hail to his elaborate edition of the *Sāṅkhya-Pravachana*. The latter sense of the word *Sāṅkhya*, "a follower of the Sāṅkhya philosophy," occurs, e.g. in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, III. 3; or, together with the word *Képāśā*, "a follower of the Vaisheshika doctrine," in the commentary of *Śaṅkara* on the *Vedānta-Sūtra*, II. 3, 51: यङ्खाख्यसु सर्वन्तेषु प्रतिशरीरं साङ्ख्यस्यारविशेष संनिहितेषु मनोवाक्कायैर्धर्मैर्धर्मवचनमदृशुताञ्जते । साङ्ख्यानं तावत्तत् । साबादा-नामपि etc.

¹⁷⁵ I. 2, 54. 55.—III. 4, 20.—V. 1, 102; 4, 44. 47. 50. 126.—VI. 4, 74. 75.—VIII. 1, 59.

connection whatever with its philosophical meaning. In the sense of "religious austerity," it *seems* to have been known by Pāṇini, though he has no rule on the formation of this word, apparently because it offers no other grammatical interest than that which would be satisfied by his general rules III. 3, 18 and VII. 3, 52; for he has a rule on the formation of *yogin* (III. 2, 142). But this word means *a man who practises religious austerities*; it does not mean a follower of the Yoga system of philosophy.

That *Nyāya* was known to Pāṇini in the sense of *syllogism* or *logical reasoning*, or perhaps *logical science*, I conclude from the Sūtra III. 3, 122,¹⁷³ where its affix conveys the sense of instrumentality, i.e. that by which analysis (*lit.* entering-into) is effected, for the same form, *nyāya*, is made the subject of another rule (III. 3, 37), where Pāṇini gives as its meaning "propriety, good

¹⁷³ I regret that I must again animadvert on an error of the Calcutta editors. In their gloss on the Sūtra III. 3, 122, they give the following etymology of *न्यायः*, "न्यायः । न्यायने लुकिति । न्यायः." According to them, this word would therefore

conduct," which would lead to its later meaning, "policy." Unless we drew this distinction between the two Sūtras named, the first Sūtra would become superfluous. Nor is it probable that a civilization like that which is traceable in Pāṇini's rules could have done without a word for syllogistic thought. But between this sense of the word *nyāya*, and its designating the special

come from न्याी "to lead," an etymology which, of course, is absolutely impossible. Nor is there any trace of it in any of the commentaries known to me. Patanjali and his commentators have no remark on this easy word. The *Kāśikā*, which explains every Sūtra, writes न्यायने लुकिति न्यायः, but neither allows these words to be preceded by "न्यायः," nor, as this quotation shows, to contain a third person of the plural (न्यायते). Its gloss obviously means, "because entering is made (नि + रयति) by it, the derivative is न्यायः." The *Siddhānta-kaumudī* (fol. 211 a, line 7) has an analogous interpretation: "निरयति . . . न्यायने," etc., which is still more transparent. But what must one think of the proficiency of an "editor" of Pāṇini, who has none of the laborious work—which always gives a title to indulgence—of comparing MSS. and compiling a commentary,—who merely reprints the labour of others,—and yet, even in a simple case like this, does not feel induced to consult the *Kāśikā* or *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, though he *talks* a great deal, even on this occasion, of the *Kāśikā* "A. B. and C," but without mentioning its "a, b, c," simply repeats the gross blunder of the editors of his edition of Pāṇini!

system of Gautama there is a vast difference. Nay, had Pāṇini even written the Gaṇa IV. 2, 60, which implies, in its present version, the formation *naiyāyika*, this latter word would not require us to infer that it means there a follower of Gautama's school; it may only signify a man who studies or knows the laws of syllogism.¹⁷³ To substantiate this conclusion, with all the detail it deserves, would be a matter of great interest; for no philosophical school has dealt more largely with grammatical subjects than the *Nyāya* school, and its branch, the *Vaiśeṣika*. The nature of "sound" and "word," the question whether word is "eternal or transitory," the "power" or purport of words, the relation of base and affix, and such kindred matters are treated of in a vast

¹⁷³ To arrive at the form *नैयायिक* it is necessary to combine with the Gaṇa quoted, the Sūtra VII. 3, 3. The same word *न्याय* in the philosophical sense, occurs in the Gaṇa to IV. 3, 73, where a MS. of the Kāśikā has even the reading *न्यायविद्या*; and probably, in the same sense in the Gaṇa to VIII. 1, 27; but even if Pāṇini himself had written it there, we should not be justified in giving it a more definite sense than the one stated. In the Sūtra IV, 4, 92, and the Gaṇa to IV. 3, 54, it has the sense of "propriety."

literature based on the Sūtras of Gautama; and the controversies of the Naiyāyikas with the Vaiyākaranas or etymologists need not blush before those of our modern philosophers. I must, however, confine myself on the present occasion, as heretofore, to giving a small amount of proof, that Pāṇini could not have known the Sūtras of Gautama.

After having refuted the opinion that the sense of a word conveys either the notion of *genus* or that of *species*, or that of *individual*, each taken separately, *Gautama* continues:—"1. The sense of a word conveys (at the same time) as well the notion of *genus* (*jāti*), as that of *species* (*ākṛiti*), as that of an *individual* (*vyakti*). 2. An individual (*vyakti*) is a bodily form as a receptacle for the particularization of qualities. 3. Species (*ākṛiti*) is called the characteristic mark of genus. 4. Genus (*jāti*) is that which has the property of (intellectually) producing (species) of the same kind."¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ Nyāya Sūtras II. 131—134: **आत्मकतिलकवस्तु पदार्थः । अतिरिक्तविशेषादयो**

Let us now refer to the terminology of Pāṇini, and see how he dealt with similar notions. In the first place, we find that he does not make use of a term *ākṛiti*. We meet, in his Grammar

मृतिः। आकृतिर्वातिविज्ञाका । समावप्रसवविज्ञा वातिः।—The object of Gautama is to show that *individual*, *species*, and *genus* are notions which cannot be conceived, independently of one another, and that a separation of one from the other produces a fallacy. In translating the term *vyakti*, stress must be laid on the word *vīśva*, “particularization;” otherwise there would be but *one* individual. The same consideration induced me to differ, in my translation of *ākṛiti*, from Dr. Ballantyne, who, in his meritorious edition and learned translation of the Nyāya-Sūtras, renders this term “form,” which undoubtedly is its usual sense in *non-philosophical* writings. But when *Vīśvanātha*, in his comment on the Sūtra II. 134, writes: आकृतिरवयवसंज्ञानवशेषः and on II. 133: वातिविज्ञाविज्ञाका यथा वातिर्गोलादेर्हि साक्षाद्विसंज्ञानवशेषो विज्ञानम्,—he intends, in my opinion, to convey the understanding, that *ākṛiti* is “the particularization of organisms,” and “the characteristic mark of ‘cowhood’ is the particularization of the organism of a cow,” which, translated into our philosophical language, would mean that *ākṛiti* is *species*. In my rendering of the fourth Sūtra (II. 134), the parenthetical words are borrowed from *Vīśvanātha*, who comments on them thus; समावः समावाकारकः प्रसवो बुद्धिवचनात्मा स्वरूपं यस्याः सा तथा च समावाकारबुद्धिवचनचोभयसमर्थः. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Gautama meant our term *genus*.

only with the two terms *jāti* and *vyakti*. In the rule I. 2, 52, he speaks of (words which express) “qualities as far as a *jāti* goes;” and the instance of the *jāti*, given by Patanjali, is a tree.¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ I. 2, 52: विशेषणानां वाचातिः.—I must observe here that the Kāśikā and, on its authority, the Calcutta edition, are quite at variance with Patanjali, in explaining the last words of this Sūtra, as if it had the sense च वाचातिः. Patanjali distinctly rejects such an explanation, on the ground that it is impossible to speak of qualities which are not *jāti*s. He rejects, too, such instances as यथावा जलपदं. सुमित्रा संपन्न-पात्रीवः. वज्रमाज्जफलः, which illustrate his *pérvaśakā*; an instance of his conclusion is बदरी मूलकण्टका मधुरा मृषः.—Patanjali: क्वचिदं विज्ञायते । वातिर्विशेष-यमाहोस्त्वित्येवातिनि विज्ञेयवानीति । विं चातः । यदि विज्ञायते वातिर्विशेषवनि-ति सिद्धं यथावा जलपदं इति । सुमित्रा (MS. १००): संपन्नपात्रीवः । वज्रमाज्जफल इति न सिध्यति। क्वचिद्विज्ञायते। वातेर्यनि विशेषवानीति। सिद्धं सुमित्रा (MS. १००): संपन्नपात्री-यः । वज्रमाज्जफल इति । यथावा जलपदं इति न सिध्यति । एवं तर्हि केन विज्ञायते वातिर्विशेषवनिमिति नापि वातेर्यनि विशेषवानीति । क्वचं तर्हि विशेषवानीं युक्तव-ज्ञावो भवति.—Vārttika: का वातिः.—Patanjali: का वातिप्रबोधात् । किमर्थं पुनरि-दमुच्यते.—Vārttika: विशेषवानीं वचनं वातिनिवृत्त्यर्थम्.—Patanjali: वातिनिवृत्त-वो ऽवमारब्धः । किमुच्यते वातिनिवृत्त्यर्थं इति न पुनर्विशेषवानीनामपि युक्तवज्ञावो यथा

At I. 2, 58, he treats of the optional use of the singular or plural: "if the word expresses a *jāti*," (e.g. a Brāhmaṇa or the Brāhmaṇas); at V. 2, 133, he applies the term *jāti* to the elephant,—at V. 4, 97, to herbs,—at V. 4, 94, to stones and iron, a lake and a cart,—at VI. 1, 143, to the fruit Kustumburu,—at VI. 3, 103, to grass;—and IV. 1, 63, is a rule on "*jāti*-words, which are not permanently used in the feminine gender." It is not necessary to multiply these instances, in order to show that Pāṇini understands by *jāti* the same thing that Gautama understands by *ākṛīti*, viz., *species*; ¹⁸² and I may add at once, that he has no word at all for the notion of "*genus*."

आदिति.—Vārttika: समानाधिकारकत्वसिद्धम्.—Patanjali: समानाधिकारकत्वादिशेषानां युक्तवद्भावो भविष्यति । दत्तेषु नावौ ऽनेन युगे ऽव्ययानि आतिर्युक्तवद्भावो न भवति । ज्ञानाच्च । चदरी युक्तकष्टका मधुरा वृष हति । त्विं पुनः आरब्धमव्ययानि आतिर्युक्तवद्भावो न भवति etc.—Kaiyaṇa: अवातिरित्वसमर्पणमात्रः । भवति मानवः संकषात् । उभयवशा आवातिः प्रतिविष्येति प्रश्नः । आ आतिप्रयोगादिति वृष आकः प्रक्षिपः न तु गजः etc.

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As to *vyakti*, it occurs but once in the Sūtras, viz., I. 2, 51, parison which I have made between Pāṇini and Gautama, and which, moreover, has an additional import in affording evidence that Gautama is prior to Patanjali. I mean the Kārikā to IV. 1, 63, which says: अकृतियवद्वा आतिरिक्तानां च न सर्वमायु । सकृद-आतविषयोऽपि नोचं च चरुः स्रष्टु, i.e., "*jāti* has (in Pāṇini) the sense of *ākṛīti*; it does not possess all the genders, and, once determined, is easily recognized (elsewhere); but it is, too, a family with its schools." The following passages from Kaiyaṇa will bear out my translation: आकृतिर्यवद्वा चरुः । सकृदित्यवद्वाचकव्ययसिद्धिविशिष्य-प्रत्ययैः [For these last words compare *Vivaraṇāśā* comment on the *Nyāya Sūtra* II. 133, in note 180.] एतेन नोलादिकातिरिक्ततां प्राकृत्यलादिसु च संगृहीता प्राकृत्यव्यवधानादीनां संख्यानस्य सदृशत्वादिति तत्संग्रहायाह । चिकानामिति, etc. । सकृदिति । अयं नीरिति सकृदुपदिष्टा आतिरिक्त्येहीतुं निवेतुं विख्यातदे प्रत्येकैर्बर्हः । नोचमिति । अपलनित्यवर्हः । परब्रह्मदेव आवाचाव्ययो मुक्तये । नोचस्य सर्वविकृत्यलाप्यनुपादानम् । मादावनं यमुक्तमिति दर्शनात्. And after having explained the Kārikā of "another" quoted by Patanjali, on the same subject, Kaiyaṇa adds, "from this quotation by Patanjali it has been inferred that the former Kārikā expresses his own opinion:" पूर्वोक्तमेष सकृदं भाष्यकारस्य मतम् । अपर आह्वलमिषावादिवाङ्मः.—On another occasion Patanjali, in adapting himself to Pāṇini's use of the term *jāti* (i.e. = *ākṛīti*), observes in a somewhat poetical strain (I. 2, 52, after the last words of the quotation from the Bhāṣya in note 181): आविष्टचिकृषा

Let us now refer to the terminology of Pāṇini, and see how he dealt with similar notions. In the first place, we find that he does not make use of a term *ākṛīti*. We meet, in his Grammar

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यवर्णां युक्तपञ्चावो भविष्यति । यद्येव भावो ऽपि सुतो ऽप्यपि आतिर्दुक्तपञ्चावो न
भवति । आत्मा न चदरी सूक्ष्मवत्ता मधुरा वृष इति । किं पुनः आरयमन्त्रादि
आतिर्दुक्तपञ्चावो न भवति etc.—Kalyāṇa: स्वातिरित्यसमर्पसाधः । भवति
भावनः संवत्सात् । उभयथा स्वातिः प्रतिविष्येति प्रश्नः । आ आतिप्रयोनानिति
सुख आत्तः प्रद्विषः न त भवः etc.

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parison which I have made between Pāṇini and Gautama, and which, moreover, has an additional import in affording evidence that Gautama is prior to Patañjali. I mean the Kārikā to IV. 1, 63, which says : सङ्कतियह्वा सतिचिह्नानां च स्युषेभ्यः । सङ्कत-
नातिर्विरोधा गोचं च परेषु सङ् । i.e., "jāti has (in Pāṇini) the sense of *dhṛtti*; it does not possess all the genders, and, once determined, is easily recognized (elsewhere); but it is, too, a family with its schools." The following passages from Kaṣyapa will bear out my translation : सङ्कतिर्वहं सङ्काः सङ्कतियह्वावसन्निवेशविशेष-
प्रोक्तः [For these last words compare *Vissandha's* comment on the *Nyāya Sūtra* II. 133, in note 180.] एतेन नीत्यादिनातिर्विचिता प्राज्ञवत्सादिसु च संनुरीता
प्राज्ञवचनपिदायीनां संखान्त्य सङ्कश्लादिति तस्यंयहावाह । विद्वानामिति, etc.
..... । सङ्कदिति । अयं नीरिति सङ्कमुपदिष्टा नातिनिर्मणीतुं निवेतुं पिच्छान्तरे
शक्तेत्यर्थः । गोचमिति । अपलमिन्नर्थः । परब्रह्मण्येन प्राज्ञाभाषिणो युज्यते । गोचस्य सर्वेच्छकस्यान्युपुदायनम् । भाषाचयं अंशुकमिति दर्शयत् । And after
having explained the Kārikā of "another" quoted by Patañjali, on the same subject, Kaṣyapa adds, "from this quotation by Patañjali it has been inferred that the former Kārikā expresses his own opinion : " पूर्वोक्तिव्य सचचं भाष्यकारस्य मतम् । अपर
साहेल्लिखानादिश्लाङ्कः. — On another occasion Patañjali, in adapting himself to Pāṇini's use of the term *jāti* (i.e. = *dhṛtti*), observes in a somewhat poetical strain (I. 2,
52, after the last words of the quotation from the Bhāṣya in note 181) सविधिविचिता

and means there "*linga*" generic mark, which, in grammatical and means there "*linga*" generic mark, which, in grammatical
 सतिर्विद्वत्पदाद्य प्रवर्तते । उत्पत्तिप्रमुखा विनाशप्रतिष्ठं न सृष्टिः [Kaiyaṣa:
 खचितं विदुः स्या साविष्टविज्ञा विचलितविज्ञाने, etc.] i.e., "If *jāti* has a fixed
 gender,—whenever it has taken that gender, from birth to death it does not abandon
 that gender."—I must also call attention to another passage from the Mahābhāṣya,
 which likewise shows that *jāti* has, in Pāṇini, Gautama's sense of *ākṛiti*, and which at the
 same time proves that Patanjali not only had a knowledge of the philosophical applica-
 tion of the latter term, but, when speaking in his own name, uses *ākṛiti* in the same
 manner in which it is used by Gautama. In the passage I am alluding to, he
 broaches the same problem which is proposed by the Nyāya-Sūtras, but as a gram-
 marian, and in reference to Pāṇini, who has no term for *genus*, he comprises in his
 question merely the alternative whether the sense of a word in Pāṇini implies "species"
 (*ākṛiti*), or "individuality" (*dravya*). His answer is, that it comprises both, for those
 who maintain the former alternative are justified in their opinion by the Sūtra I. 2. 58,
 and those who incline towards the latter, by the Sūtra I. 2. 64. *Patanjali's Introduction*
 (ed. Ballantyne, p. 40-42): किं पुनराकृतिः पदार्थे साहेत्यिदं च । उभयमिवाह ।
 एवं ज्ञाते । उभयथा ज्ञातव्येव सूत्राणि प्रतीतानि । आकृतिं पदार्थे मत्वा साक्षा-
 त्सावयवविशेषवचनमन्तरसावयववृत्ते । इदं पदार्थे मत्वा सत्प्राधान्येव
 प्रवर्तते ।—Whether *Kātyāyana*, in using the expression अवयवविज्ञा ज्ञातिः (I. 4, 1.
 v. 3, of the Calcutta edition), merely adapted himself to the manner in which Pāṇini
 uses ज्ञाति, or whether he, too, had not yet a knowledge of Gautama's definition would

terminology, is *gender*.¹⁸ The notion of individuality is not repre-
 sented by a special word in the language of Pāṇini; the nearest
 approach to it is his word *adhiḥarana*, as it is used in the rules
 II. 4, 13. 15, and V. 3, 43, where it is rendered by the com-
 mentators by *dravya* "substance." The term *viśeṣya* may be
 compared to *adhiḥarana*; but as it signifies "the object to be

have remained doubtful, had he not availed himself, in another of his Vārtikas, of the
 term *ākṛiti* exactly in the sense in which it is defined by the Nyāya Sūtra—viz., in the
 Vārtika 5 (ed. Calc.) to VII. 1, 74: न वा समानाध्यामाकृतौ भावित्युक्तविज्ञानात्;
 and though Patanjali observes that this Vārtika is superfluous, since its contents are a
 matter of course, we may, nevertheless, be thankful for its word ज्ञाति, and the conclu-
 sions it enables us to draw in our present case.—Patanjali: न वा सत्त्वत् । किं ज्ञातव्यम् ।
 समानाध्यामाकृतौ भावित्युक्तविज्ञानात् । समानाध्यामाकृतौ यज्ञाचित्युक्तम् । ज्ञा-
 तव्यत्वे चैतज्ज्ञावित्युक्तम् । किं सत्त्वमेतत् । न हि सत्त्वमुच्यमानं भवति । एतदवय-
 विदेशात्सिद्धम्; and Kaiyaṣa तच्च पीडयन्तो नृपाकृतौ पुनश्च: क्वाकृतौ
 नपुंसकलिङ्गं रतिं पुंवज्ञावाप्रसङ्गः..

¹⁸ *Vyākṛti* is used in the same sense by Kātyāyana in the Vārtika 1 (of the Calc.
 ed.) to I. 2, 52.

qualified," it is not the counterpart of *jāti*, but of *vīśeṣhaṇa*, "the quality."¹⁸⁴

The result of the foregoing comparison between Pāṇini and Gautama must remove, I believe, every doubt as to the chronological position of both. The expressions of Pāṇini show that he had not even conceived so much as the philosophical problem started and solved by Gautama. The very manner in which Patanjali is compelled to answer the question, whether "the sense of a word" in Pāṇini "implies species or individuality"—viz., that at one time it implies the former, and at another, the latter, shows that philosophical investigations into the "sense of the word" had not yet troubled Pāṇini's mind. A mere difference of opinion between the grammarian and the Nyāya philosopher would be no proof for the posteriority of the latter; but the absence of the problem itself, in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, is, I hold, sufficient ground for this inference. A problem of this kind could not have been slighted

¹⁸⁴ Compare II. 1, 57; also V. 1, 119, v. 5 (ed. Calc.)

by Pāṇini if he had been aware of it; it would have entered unconsciously, as it were, into his terminology, and into the mode of delivering his rules. There is abundant evidence in Patanjali's Great Commentary, that his training must have been a philosophical one; and it is Kātyāyana's superiority, too, in this respect, which inflicts on Pāṇini a quantity of Vārtikas finding fault with his empiric and unphilosophical treatment of grammatical facts.

After this conclusion, it seems needless to add that the Sūtras ignore the word *vaiśeṣhika*, which, from a grammatical point of view, would have had as much claim to being noticed by Pāṇini as any word comprised in his rules IV. 2, 60 and 63. The fact, however, that *vaiśeṣhika* is taught in the Gāṇa to V. 4, 34, but merely in the sense of *vīśeṣha*.

There is an important class of ancient works the chronological relation of which to Pāṇini deserves our peculiar attention here, from the circumstance that their contents are more or less kindred

with those of Pāṇini's work,—I mean the grammatical works known under the name of *Unādi-Sūtras*, *Dhātupāṭha*, *Prātiśākhya*, *Phit-Sūtras*, and we may add to them the *Nirukta*, the exegetical work of *Yāska*. Each of these works, with *perhaps* the exception of one, if I am not mistaken, is unanimously considered by Sanskrit scholars, as prior to the Grammar of Pāṇini.

Before I proceed to examine whether this view can be upheld or not, I will quote Professor Müller's opinion on the age of the *Unādi-Sūtras*. "We do not know," he says, "by whom these Unādi affixes were first collected, nor by whom the Unādi-Sūtras, as we now possess them, were first composed. All we can say is, that, as Pāṇini mentions them, and gives several general rules with regard to them, they must have existed before his time."¹⁴⁵

On the same subject, Dr. Aufrecht, to whom we are indebted for a careful edition of the *Unādi-Sūtras*, together with a

commentary by *Ujjvaladatta*, expresses himself thus¹⁴⁶:—"We have no direct tradition as to the author of the *sūtras*. They were composed before the time of *Pāṇini*, as they are referred to by him in two different passages of his Grammar. The fact, however, that both *Yāska* and the author of the above-quoted *Kārikā* [viz., to III. 3, 1] specify *Ākāśatāyana* as the grammarian who derived all nouns from verbs, speaks in favour of *Nāgeji's* conjecture, that the authorship is to be attributed to *Ākāśatāyana*. Nor is this supposition entirely unsupported by the evidence of the *sūtras* themselves. In one place (II. 38) we are told that the people of the north used the word *kārshaka* for 'a husbandman,' in another (IV. 128), that they employed *kāri* in the meaning of 'an artisan.' This distinction refers to a period of the language

¹⁴⁵ "Ujjvaladatta's Commentary on the Unādi-Sūtras, edited from a Manuscript in the Library of the East India House, by Theodor Aufrecht. Bonn, 1859;" Preface, p. viii.—The Unādi-Sūtras were first published in the Calcutta edition of the *Siddhānta-kauṇḍī*, afterwards reprinted—without any further consultation of MSS., but with deteriorations, by—Dr. Boettlingk. Compare note 53.

¹⁴⁶ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 151.

of which no mention is made by any grammarian after Pāṇini. In another rule (III. 144,) we find the name of *Čákravarmana*, an old grammarian who is only once more quoted, namely, in Pāṇini, VI. 1, 130. It is of some importance also, that the author of the *sūtras* considers *arman* (stone) and *bhuvana* (world) as Vaidic, whereas they are treated by Pāṇini as words of common occurrence. These facts, even when taken collectively, furnish no decisive evidence as to the authorship of the *sūtras*, but they show, at all events, that they were composed a considerable time before Pāṇini."

I have in the first instance, to demur to the correctness of one of these "facts," which, if it were real, would dispense with any further proof of the Unādi-Sūtras having preceded—not, indeed, Pāṇini, for such an inference would always remain hazardous—but his grammatical work. It is true that this grammarian speaks twice of *Unādis*, but he *never* speaks of *Unādi-Sūtras*.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ III. 3, 1: उवाद्यो वज्रवमः; and III. 4, 75: तावामन्वयोवाद्यः.

The former term merely implies a list of Unādi affixes, and may imply, according to analogous expressions in Pāṇini, a list of words formed with these affixes;¹⁵⁸ but it can never imply a work which treats of these affixes and these formations, like the Unādi-Sūtras which we are speaking of. Between a list of Unādis—affixes or words—and Unādi-Sūtras, there is all the difference which exists between a lexicographical and a grammatical work. All the conclusions, therefore, which are based on the identity of both, vanish at once.

With the conjecture of Nāgajibhaṭṭa I shall deal hereafter; but when Dr. Aufrecht quotes the meaning of *kārshaka*, 'husband-man,' and of *kāri*, 'artisan' as proving his conclusion, I candidly confess that I do not understand how the fact of these words having been used by the people of the north, in the sense given, can have the remotest bearing on the point at issue, even if in

¹⁵⁸ *Vaidyandātha* on the *Paribhāṣā* उवाद्यो ऋग्यसामि प्रातिपदिकानि —: उवाद्यः । तद्वानि तदन्तत्वेनाभिमतानि वा.

the *whole stretch of the voluminous* grammatical literature subsequent to Pāṇini, all of which, of course, is covered by his assertion, no grammarian had made mention of the distinction he is adverting to.¹⁰⁰ The Unnādi Sūtras profess to give such information as is not contained in Pāṇini's work; he himself informs us of this character of the Unnādi list in the two rules alleged. It is but natural, therefore, that we should find in these two Unnādi rules, as indeed we find in all the rest, much interesting matter of which no trace occurs in the Sūtras of Pāṇini.

But even assuming that my inability to understand this premiss of Dr. Aufrecht only proves my own incapacity, I might go further and ask—What proof does there exist that these two Sūtras, which have nothing characteristic or peculiar in them, were not added to the original Sūtras at a later time, since Dr. Aufrecht himself has shown that the genuineness of *sixteen* Sūtras was

¹⁰⁰ And has this question—which portion of the grammatical literature is later than Pāṇini?—been so finally settled that, *at present*, any one is allowed to speak of it as a *matter of course*?

suspected by Ujjwaladatta himself? And I may add—Are there not, for instance, in a valuable commentary on more than 300 of these Unnādi-Sūtras, composed by *Nṛsiṅha*, who lived *Samvat* 1577, or 1520 after Christ, at least in the MS. I have consulted, not only many readings which differ from the text of Ujjwaladatta, as edited by Dr. Aufrecht, but three Sūtras the substance of which is now in the Commentary, and three Sūtras which are neither met with in the text of Bhaṭṭoji nor in that of Ujjwaladatta?¹⁰⁰ It seems,

¹⁰⁰ Between the Sūtras III. 60 and 61 we read in the E. I. H. MS. 98 of *Nṛsiṅha's Sūtramānjari* (on accentuation)—where these Unnādi-Sūtras occur—a Sūtra which is neither amongst those of Ujjwaladatta, nor in his Commentary, viz.: धातिर्विक् च । Comm.: धात्यतीति चरवः । दिवो चमे चरवे । चरवः एवविचः । मधोदरातः. Between IV. 2 and 3, it has a Sūtra the contents—but not the wording—of which are embodied in Ujjwaladatta's Sūtra IV. 2: कञे: क्विञ् । Comm.: कञेरागुम्रत्ववः क्विञ् । क्वयतीति क्वानुः । सकारविवि क्वानुवः. Between IV. 90 and 91: तन्निवृक्च (its substance occurs in the commentary on Sūtra IV. 90) ; Comm.: तन्निवृक्च । तुवानमो दीर्घच । (?) । ताव्यति तेनेति तावृत्तम् ; and मुवातिर्दुम्बिच (embodied also in the Commentary of Ujjwaladatta) । Comm.: मुवातिस्त्वप्रत्ययः । दुम्बिच । मुवातीति यादूचः । नववः यादूचाव राचः. Before V. 28, it mentions a Sūtra which is neither

therefore, that with the actual doubts we must entertain as to the originality of several Unādi-Sūtras, it is by no means safe to appeal to two or any such Sūtras for chronological evidence, unless they be able to show cause why they should not be ranked amongst the additions of later times.¹²⁴ ✓

amongst those of Ujjvaladatta nor embodied in his Commentary : ग्राह्यः । Comm. : ग्राह्येति निपातते । यो तन्मूलरसे । ग्राह्यः स्थाप्यः । Before V. 52 which precedes V. 70, and follows V. 69 and the new Sūtra (i.e. V. 69—the new Sūtra—52. 70) : दिवैर्विद्विषत् । Comm. : दीवतीति योः । दिवो । दिवः । this Sūtra, too, is neither amongst the Sūtras nor in the Commentary of Ujjvaladatta.

¹²⁴ Dr. Aufrecht himself observes (p. ix) with perfect accuracy : “ the upādisūtras have not been handed down to us in their original form. It was not the intention of the author to give a complete list of all the unādi-words, but merely to collect the most important of them. Hence we frequently meet with the sentence : वृद्धसमन्वयापि ‘in various other words, too,’ or नन्वेवो ऽपि वृद्धेति ‘the same suffixes are found in other words, too.’ ” The former of these expressions, quoted by Dr. Aufrecht, occurs, indeed, five times and the latter once ; and Patanjali says in his Kārikā to III. 3, 1, and in his comment on it : वाडस्यं प्रकृतिसमुद्भूतः । तन्वीचः प्रकृतिश्च उवाच यो वृद्धो न सर्वोऽथो वृद्धो । प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् । प्रायेण खलपि समुच्चिताः । न सर्वे समुच्चिताः । कार्यस्यैवविधेयं तदुक्तम् । कार्यैषि खलपि समुच्चयि क्षतानि । न

And again, what possible conclusion as to the chronological relation of the Unādi-Sūtras to Pāṇini can be drawn from another quotation made by Dr. Aufrecht ? *Chākravartīya*, he says, is once quoted by the Unādi-Sūtras, and “ *only once more, namely, in Pāṇini.* ” I will make no remark on these latter words. That they are quoted by both is undeniable ; but since it happens that both Dr. Aufrecht and I have quoted Pāṇini, does it follow that either of us lived a “considerable time” before the other, or before any other writer who may also have quoted Pāṇini ? When, however, Dr. Aufrecht points out that the author of the Unādi-Sūtras “considers *arman* (stone) and *bhuvana* (world) as Vaidic, whereas they are treated by Pāṇini as words of common occurrence,” I, too, lay much stress on the statement contained in this passage of the Unādi-Sūtras, but by it arrive at the

सर्वोऽपि सच्येन परिसमाप्तानि । Since, then, the Unādis are admitted, even by Patanjali, to be an incomplete list, and if there is evidence to prove that at recent periods writers permitted themselves to supply the deficiencies, it will be admitted that my hesitation is not a hypercritical one.

very opposite inference to that which has suggested itself to him. For, if Pāṇini treated these words which occur in the Vedas as words of common life, and, on the other hand, the author of the Sūtras in question had ceased to use them in his conversational speech, and records the fact that they belong, not only to literary language, but to that of the very oldest literature,—I do not conclude that such facts “show, at all events, that they (the Unādi-Sūtras) were composed a considerable time before Pāṇini;” but I conclude that Pāṇini lived in that Vaidik age when *āśman* and *bhuvana* were as well Vaidik as common words, and therefore required no distinctive remark of his; that, on the contrary, the author of the *two* Unādi-Sūtras in question belonged to a period when these words had become obsolete in common life,—in short, that Pāṇini lived a considerable time before this grammarian.

An inference, however, of such importance as this could not be considered as resting on sufficiently solid ground if there were no other means of establishing it than two Sūtras of a work

avowedly open to interpolations at various periods of Sanskrit literature.

In order to support it with stronger arguments, I must raise a previous question, which does not concern the Unādi-Sūtras alone—the question, *whether or not Pāṇini was the originator of all the technical terms he employs in his work?* Since he adverts, several times, in his rules, to grammarians who preceded him,¹²⁷ it would probably—not necessarily—be possible to answer *this* question if we possessed the works of these grammarians. *Sākaśāyana's* grammar seems indeed, to have come down to us, but *though*, in such a case it would be within my reach, it must still remain at present a sealed book to me, and I must treat it like the works of Gārgya, Kāśyapa, and the other predecessors of Pāṇini who merely survive in name and fame.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ See note 97.

¹²⁸ The knowledge that Sākaśāyana's Grammar exists, and is preserved amongst the treasures of the Library of the Home Government for India, we owe, like so much of our knowledge of Sanskrit literature, to the lamented Professor Wilson, who speaks of

There are, in my opinion, two Sūtras of Pāṇini which may serve as a clue through the intricacies of this problem.

In five important rules of his, Pāṇini states that, on principle, he will exclude from his Grammar certain subjects, as they do not fall within his scope. But since he gives reasons for doing so, he at the same time enables us to infer what he considered his duty, as a grammarian, to teach.¹⁴ Amongst these rules, one

it in his *MacKenzie Collection*, vol. I. p. 160. Many years ago I obtained sight of the precious volume; but as it is written on palm leaves in the Hāṭṭa Kernāta character, and as I could not attempt to make it out without a magnifying glass, and then only with much difficulty, I was compelled to abandon my desire of mastering its contents. It is to be hoped now that a learned, laborious, and competent Sanskrit scholar will transcribe and publish this awkward MS., and thus relieve Sanskrit studies from a suspense which no one can feel more keenly than I do in writing these lines. I must add, at the same time, that doubts have been lately expressed to me whether this MS. contains really the original work of Śākṣyaṇa, or merely a Grammar founded on his.

¹⁴ These rules are I. 2, 53-57. They contain Pāṇini's grammatical creed, and are the key-stone of his work. But all that the "editor" of Pāṇini has to offer with respect to them is the following attempt at an epigram (vol. II. p. 47): "Pāṇini makes an expedi-

(I. 2, 53) referring to a subject touched on by him in a previous Sūtra, says: "Such matter will not be taught by me, for it falls under the category of conventional terms, which are settled (and tion against his predecessors." And thus, in taking up that which is merely incidental, and, compared with the subject itself, quite irrelevant, he completely leads the reader away from the real importance of these rules. The *Kāśikā*, it is true, mentions that Pāṇini differs in the principles he lays down in these rules from previous grammarians; but it is far from making a joke or concentrating the essence of its comment on so futile a point. It shows, on the contrary, the full bearing of these rules, and, I believe, it would have done still better had it embodied in its gloss the remarks of Patanjali on some of these Sūtras. At all events, the commentary of the *Kāśikā* on them was deemed important enough even by Dr. Boehtlingk to be quoted by him on this occasion in its full extent, though his reason for doing so is merely to show the "expedition of Pāṇini against his predecessors." "The whole," (viz., this expedition) he writes in introducing the *Kāśikā*, "*becomes sufficiently clear through an excellent commentary, I mean the Kāśikā-ṭīṭī, which will make any other remark superfluous.*" As the quotation he then gives from the *Kāśikā* is the only one, of any extent, in his whole second volume, and as he assumes all the appearance of treating it with that minute and critical and conscientious circumstantiality which even in an incidental quotation must be extremely welcome,—I mean by giving the various readings of his MSS. ("A" = MS. 829; "B" = MS. 2440 of the East India House—strongly

therefore do not require any rule of mine; *literally*: for it has the authority of a *sanjñā* or conventional term)." To these words *Patanjali* appends the following gloss: "When Pāṇini speaks of *described by him* at p. liv.), by recording the omissions in either of them, even so far as the omission of a "च" is concerned,—in short, as he gives us in his lengthened and highly valuable extract from the Kāśikā a specimen of his *editorial character*, I considered it my duty to make a comparison of his edition of this portion of the Kāśikā with the two MSS. named and used by him. For though I was perfectly well acquainted with his so-called Commentary on Pāṇini, and though it has been my thorough conviction for very many years that his curtailed reprint of the Calcutta edition—I will not qualify it now otherwise—by suppressing important texts and by propagating errors which, even in a reprint, are not excusable, has been more an impediment to a *conscientious* study of Sanskrit grammar, and of Pāṇini in particular, than his very imperfect commentatorial remarks may have done service to beginners,—though my opinion of the literary activity of Dr. Boehdtingk was the result of a careful study of his works, and was by no means founded on occasional errors of his, or formed in disregard of all the difficulties he had to contend with;—in short, though not all the imperfections of his writings—if they amounted only to such—would ever have induced me to stint the share of indulgence which I hold ought to be always and largely awarded to *laborious* and *honest* work, whatever be its failings, I have considered it my duty to make this comparison since, within the chain of the peculiar circumstances which weigh

conventional terms which he will not teach, because they are settled, does he mean, by this expression, such technical terms as *tī*, *ghu*, *bla*, and the like? ~~sanjñā~~ *sanjñā* is here the on his edition of Pāṇini and on some of his other "editions," too, the point I wanted to ascertain, once more, did not so much concern a question of scholarship as one of scientific reliability. The result of my comparison was this. Dr. Boehdtingk records at his quotation from the Kāśikā to I. 2, 53, the various readings of MS. A: निर्दिष्टे (for B प्रतिनिर्दिष्टे), क्स्मात् (for B कुतः), वरखावर (for B वरखा), लिङ्गवचन (for B लिङ्गवचन च), and यथा च (for B यथा); but he does not say that A reads the last words: आपो द्वारा गुहा: सिता (sic) वर्षा इति.—At I. 2, 54 he mentions that MS. A has omitted the word शुब्द; but he does not state that A reads वक्त्रः instead of B's reading वक्त्रवः, nor that B has a marginal note on the word अप्रख्यानात् which runs thus: योगजनपदादि: चचियादिभि: संबन्धः। तस्याप्रख्यानाद्गुणव्यतिरिक्तः. And he edits on his own authority—without any remark whatever—युषयोव यदरे— which is perfectly meaningless—while both MSS. read युषयोव यदरे.—At I. 2, 55, he mentions that A has omitted यदि and तस्त्व; moreover that B reads: चचियसंबन्ध जनपदे पक्षावशब्दः। ततो; but he does not say that A omits also योगमावे before तस्त्व, and adds तच्च before the last words प्रयुक्त इति. And what is much worse, he not only edits तक्षावसमुपगतवक्त्रम्, while both MSS. read तक्षावसमेवासुपगतवक्त्रम्, but नायं निमित्तकः—*which is simple nonsense*—while both MSS. have the intelligible reading नायं योगनिमित्तकः.—At I. 2, 56, he observes that इति is omitted in B and

same as *sanjñāna*, 'understanding' (i.e. a name which has a real meaning, that may be traced etymologically)." And *Kaṇḍikā* enlarges upon these words in the following strain:

तत् in *A*; but he does not mention that instead of *B*'s 'प्रमाणात्'। अथ, etc., *A* reads: 'प्रमाणादित्यत्र, etc.; nor does he mention that *B* reads 'अर्थसिद्धयश्च किं चिन्न' while *A* reads 'अर्थः सिद्धः किं तच्च यत्नेन'; but, again, he edits, without any remark whatever, 'अर्थाव्यप्रमाणात्', which is *agrammatical*, in spite of the concurrent and correct reading of both MSS.: 'अर्थस्याव्यप्रमाणात्' (or *A* 'स्तादिति', see before).—His remarks at I. 2, 67, are that *A* omits 'अशेष' — भवतः, and that *B* reads 'हि' (for *A* च), परिभाष्यः (for *A* परिभाष्यते), and सत्ये (for *A* सत्यपदार्थः). Yet he does not record the various inaccuracies of *A*, which are essential for those not acquainted with this MS., in order that they may form an opinion on it and on its relation to the readings of *B*. Thus he omits stating that *A* reads the commencing words 'अशेषमिति वर्तते', that it omits 'इदं चः कर्तव्यं', and reads 'पुनराकर्तव्यं' for *B*'s more correct reading 'पुनराकर्तव्यं'. But Dr. Boehtlingk likewise does not mention that *B* has a marginal note to the word 'आजात', viz., 'अजो' (*sic*); that *A* reads 'आशेषे' ते for *B*'s 'आशेषे' (in the commencement); that *B* adds 'तु' after 'अपरे' (last line of his page 48); that *A* reads 'तथा उपसर्जनं' for *B* 'तचोपसर्जनं' (first line of his page 49), and 'तत्र खुप्तावन्ते' for *B* 'तत्र खुप्तावन्ते'. And to crown the edition of this portion of the "excellent commentary, I mean the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, which will make all further explanation superfluous," Dr. Boehtlingk prints, without a single remark (p. 49, line 4), 'तचोपसर्जनमप्रधानमिति

"The question of Patanjali is suggested by the rule of analogy. His answer is in the negative, because context itself has a greater weight than (mere) analogy. Now, though such terms as *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, and the like, are settled terms, this circumstance would not have been a sufficient reason in an *etymological* work (like that of Pāṇini) for leaving them untaught, for they have no etymology.' 'Understanding,' (as Patanjali paraphrases *sanjñā*) means mentally entering into, understanding the component parts of a word, [or it means the words which admit of this mental process.]"¹⁹⁵

नस्यते; when *A* has the following passage: तचोपसर्जनं वयमत्र गृहे यामि वा । उपसर्जनमप्रधानमिति गच्छे (*sic*), whereas *B* gives the complete sentence in this way: तचोपसर्जनं । प्रकावादयवोचित्वादिशकान्वितानतः । शब्देरर्थः प्रतीयते न शब्दादिव केवलात् । वयमत्र गृहे यामि वा उपसर्जनमप्रधानमिति नस्यते.—And such is his edition of even an easy text of a commentary to *only* *five* Sūtras of Pāṇini,—of a commentary, too, so pompously announced by himself, and laid before the public with so much appearance of rare and conscientiousness!

¹⁹⁵ Pāṇini, I. 2, 53: तदशेषं संज्ञाप्रमाणात्.—Patanjali: किं वा ह्यतः कश्चि-

From this rule of Pāṇini and the commentaries alleged we learn therefore—

1. That his Grammar does not treat of those *sanjñās* or conventional names which are known and settled otherwise.
2. That this term *sanjñā* must be understood in our rule to concern only such conventional names as have an etymology.
3. That it applies also to grammatical terms which admit of an etymology, but not to those which are merely grammatical symbols.
4. That such terms as *tī*, *ghu*, and *bha*, were known and settled before Pāṇini's Grammar, but that, nevertheless, they are defined by Pāṇini because they are not etymological terms.

Having thus obtained, through the comment of Patanjali on

मादिभुमादिसंज्ञाः तन्नामाकादशियन् । नेत्वाह । संज्ञानं संज्ञा—Kāṣṭhāṣṭha: kiṁ
 वा एता इति । प्रत्यासत्तिव्यावाचयेव प्रज्ञः । नेत्वाहेति । प्रत्यासत्तेः सामर्थ्ये नल-
 यत् । न हि टिपुमादिसंज्ञाणां प्रमादत्वं युक्तवन्नायशास्त्रस्याग्निबले हेतुव्यपयते ।
 संज्ञाभावात् । संज्ञानमिति । नववमः संप्रत्यय इत्यर्थः.

the Sūtra in question, a means by which to judge of the originality of Pāṇini's terms, we must feel induced to test its accuracy before we base our inferences on it; and the opportunity of doing so is afforded not merely by the technical symbols which Patanjali himself names,—we easily ascertain that Pāṇini has given a definition of them,—but also by another of these important five Sūtras. This Sūtra (I. 2, 56) says: "Nor shall I teach the purport of the principal part of a compound (*pradhāna*), or that of an affix (*pratyaya*), because they, too, have been settled by others (*i.e.* people know already from other authorities, that in a compound the sense of the word gravitates towards its principal part, and in a derivative towards the affix.)"¹⁸⁶

Thus we learn here from Pāṇini himself that the term *pratyaya* (affix) was employed before he wrote his work; and if Patanjali's interpretation be correct, Pāṇini, who also makes use of this term,

¹⁸⁶ Pāṇini, I. 2, 56: प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्वयमात्रात्. There is no Bhāṣya on this rule.

must have left it undefined, since it has an etymology and was "settled" in his time. And such, indeed, is the case. Pāṇini uses the word *pratyaya* many times (e.g. I. 1, 61. 62. 69; 2, 41. 45; 3, 63. etc.), he heads with it a whole chapter which extends over three books of his work, yet he gives no definition whatever of its sense. Finding, then, that Patanjali's comment is confirmed by Pāṇini's own words, we may proceed; and we then obtain the result that the Sūtras employ but do not explain such terms, for instance, as *prathamā* (nominative), *dvitīyā* (accusative), *trītiyā* (instrumental), *chaturthī* (dative), *pañchamī* (ablative), *ṣaṣṭhī* (genitive), and *saptamī* (locative). And the commentators apprise us that these words were technical names used by the eastern grammarians, which are referred to by Pāṇini in some of his rules.¹⁸⁷ We likewise meet in his work with such terms as *samāsa* (compound II. 1, 3), *śatpuruṣa* (II. 1, 22), *avyayabhāva* (II. 1, 5), *bahuvrīhi* (II. 2, 23), *krīti* (III. 1, 93), *taddhita* (IV. 1, 76), etc. etc.: he

¹⁸⁷ II. 3, 46. 2. 3. 13. 30. 7 etc.

enumerates all the special compounds or affixes which fall under these heads, but does not give any definition whatever of the meaning of these names. Again, the commentaries, in adverting to them, tell us that the terms expressing compounds, for instance, belong to "older grammarians."

When, on the other hand, we see that he *does* give a definition of *karmadhāraya* (I. 2, 42), or of *saṃyoga* (I. 1, 7), or of *anunāsika* (I. 1, 8), terms which are conventional and admit of an etymological analysis, we are at once compelled to infer that he was the first who employed these technical names *in the sense stated by him*. And this conclusion would apply with equal force to all other terms of a similar kind which do not merely head an enumeration of rules but are clearly defined by him, e.g. to *savarna* (I. 1, 9), *pragṛhiya* (I. 1, 11), *lopa* (I. 1, 60), *hrasva*, *dirgha*, *pluta* (I. 2, 27), *udātta* (I. 2, 29), *anudātta* (I. 2, 30), *swarita* (I. 2, 31), *apṛikta* (I. 2, 41), etc. etc. Nor do I believe that this conclusion becomes invalidated in those instances in which Pāṇini gives a definition, while yet there may be a strong presumption that the term defined was already

used in his time, for it seems to me that, in such a case, his definition either imparted an additional sense to the current term, and, in reality, thus created a new term of his own, or had a special bearing on the technical structure of his own work. When, for instance, he defines the term *dwandwa*,¹⁹⁸ though there is a *probability* that this term was used by previous grammarians,¹⁹⁹ his definition may have corrected the current notion on the subject implied by it, as I infer from the lengthened discussion of Patanjali. Or, when he uses the term *upasarjana* in one of those five rules

¹⁹⁸ II. 2, 20 : चाचै द्वन्द्वः.

¹⁹⁹ Kāśikā (M.S. 829, E.I.H.) on I. 2, 57 : तथा च पूर्वोच्चार्योः परिभाषन्ते । स्वल्प-
दाचौ वञ्चनीतिः । पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानो ऽव्ययीभावः । उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषः ।
उभयपदार्थप्रधानो द्वन्द्व इत्येवमादिः. MS. 2440, E.I.H., reads मत्वै instead of
स्वल्पदाचौ, but both readings are objectionable, as we may infer from the Mahā-
bhāṣya on II. 1, 20 : एह कचित्समासः पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानः । क्वचिदुत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः ।
क्वचिदुभयपदार्थप्रधानः । क्वचिदुभयपदार्थप्रधानः etc. ; and these identical words re-
occur in the Mahābhāṣya to II. 1, 49. Neither of the terms *bahuvrīhi*, *argyaśbāṣa*,
or *tatparyasūtra* is explained by Pāṇini.—Compare also note 44, and my Dictionary, s.r.
स्वल्पपदार्थप्रधान.

already mentioned, thus allowing us to conclude that it was a current term in his time,²⁰⁰ and still appears to define it in two other rules,²⁰¹ his definition is in reality no definition at all ; it merely instructs the pupil how he may recognize an *upasarjana*-rule in his work.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ I. 2, 57 : कालोपखर्गे च तुल्यम्.

²⁰¹ I. 2, 43 : प्रथमानिर्दृष्टं समास उपसर्जनम्.—I. 2, 44 : एवविमक्ति वापूर्वनिपति-

²⁰² In the foregoing remarks I have drawn a distinct line between the *definition* which Pāṇini gives of a term,—as when he says “*abhyasta* are the two syllables constituting a reduplicated base” (VI. 1, 5), or “*prétipadika* is that which has a sense but is neither a verbal root nor an affix” (I. 2, 45) ; and the *enumeration* he makes of the matter comprised under a term, as when he says “*dhatu* is called *bhā*, etc.” (I. 3, 1), or “*pratyaya* (affix) is that which is treated from the beginning of the third book up to the end of the fifth” (III. 1, 1). For I hold that Pāṇini could not, at one time, feel the necessity of defining the linguistic properties of a grammatical category, and at another leave unexplained the notion, for instance, of a verbal root, an affix, a particle, and so on, while using these terms extensively, unless these notions were sufficiently clear at the time he wrote, and his grammatical purposes were attained by stating what application he gave to these terms in his work. An evidence of the plausibility of this view is afforded e.g. by the terms *śmanepada* and *paramśaipada*.

To extend this inference to purely grammatical symbols like those mentioned by Patanjali, e.g., *gha*, *shash*, *luk*, *ślu*, *lup*, etc. etc., would be wrong, after the remark of this grammarian; for, as we learn from him, that they are not *sanjñās*, in the sense in which Pāṇini uses this word in his rule I. 2, 53, we cannot decide to what extent he may have invented these names, or whether he even invented any of them, since Patanjali distinctly tells us, as we have seen, that *tī*, *ghu*, *bha*, were terms already known to Pāṇini.

If, then, we apply the test we have obtained to the UṆnādi-Sūtras, we shall have, in the first place, to observe that the technical, and, at the same time, significant names which would fall under the category of Pāṇini's rule (I. 2, 53), and which are not only used in, but are indispensable to, the mechanism of these Sūtras are the following: *abhyāsa*, *avyaya*, *udātta*, *upadhā*, *upasarga*, *dirgha*,

In rules VI. 3, 7 and 8, Pāṇini mentions that these terms are used by "grammarians," which expression can only mean that they were in use before he wrote; and in rules I. 4, 99 and 100 he enumerates the conjugation endings comprised under these denominations, but gives no definition of the terms themselves.

dhātu, *pada*, *viddhi*, *lopa*, *samprasāraṇa*, *hraswa*.²⁰³ Amongst these, Pāṇini gives no definition whatever of *dhātu*; for his explanation is merely an enumeration (I. 3, 1); and the same remark applies to *upasarga* (I. 4, 59), and perhaps to *viddhi* (I. 1, 1) and *avyaya* (I. 1, 37. 38, etc.). It is probable, therefore, that Pāṇini did not invent these terms, but referred to them as of current use. On the other hand, he distinctly defines *hraswa*, *dirgha*, *udātta*, *upadhā*, *lopa*, *samprasāraṇa*, and *abhyāsa*.²⁰⁴ The term *pada* is also defined by him, but it seems that he merely extended its current application for his own purposes, since the commentaries tell us that "the former grammarians" gave a definition of the terms for compounds, and this definition contains the word *pada*. That the UṆnādi-Sūtras contain no definition of any technical word requires no confirmation from me.

²⁰³ E.g. I. 12. 15. 27. 32. 48.—II. 16. 59. 65.—III. 114.—IV. 55. 136. 144.—V. 19, etc.

²⁰⁴ I. 2, 27: *अभातो ऽम्लदीर्घसुतः*.—I. 2, 29: *उदीरदातः*.—I. 1, 65: *चलो ऽन्त्यायुर्व उपधा*.—I. 1, 60: *चदर्शनं लोपः*.—I. 1, 45: *इत्यबः सप्रसारबन्*.—VI. 1, 4: *युवो ऽन्वासः* (comp. also note 44).

Although it follows from all these premises that the *treatise* on the UṆnādi-words, the existing collection of UṆnādi-Sūtras, is later than the Grammar of Pāṇini, there still remains the question : What relation exists between the latter work and a *list* of UṆnādi-affixes or words which Pāṇini twice quotes in his rules ?

Yāska relates, in an interesting discussion on the derivation of nouns, that there were in India two classes of scholars, the one comprising the *Nairuktas*, or etymologists (his commentator *Durga* adds : except *Gārgya*), and the grammarian *Sākaṭāyana* ; the other

Aufrecht on Vimala ? The latter says, "To illustrate (or to make clear) the UṆnādi affixes, *Vararuchi* composed the (UṆnādi) Sūtras as a separate work." He draws a distinction therefore, as I have already done, between the UṆnādi list and the Sūtras on them ; but where does he say that *Vararuchi* is older than Pāṇini ? Dr. Aufrecht evidently mistook his own conclusions, quoted above, which precede this passage from *Vimala's Rāpanadīd*, for the opinion of the latter work. Having first established his conclusions in the manner we have seen, he seems never to have doubted that any writer can differ from his view. Therefore, when meeting with Vimala, who reports that *Vararuchi* is the author of the UṆnādi Sūtras, he upbraids this poor grammarian with having made *Vararuchi* older than Pāṇini.

consisting of some of the *Vaiyākaraṇas*, or grammarians, and the etymologist *Gārgya*. The former maintained that all nouns are derived from "verbal roots;" the latter that only those nouns are so derived in which accent and formation are regular, and the sense of which can be traced to the verbal root, which is held to be their origin. They denied, as *Yāska* tells us, the possibility of assigning an origin to such words as *go*, "cow," *aśva*, "horse," *puruṣa*, "man."²⁰ Now, it is this latter description of words which is the subject of the UṆnādi list : they are the UṆnādi words. We must ask, therefore, did Pāṇini belong, as regards his linguistic notions, to the *Nairuk*(as or to the "some of the *Vaiyākaraṇas*?"

²⁰ See Roth's *Nirukta*, I. 12 ; Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 164 ; and Aufrecht's *UṆnādi-Sūtras*, p. vi. vii. *Yāska*, according to the present edition, adds to the three instances given the word *हस्तिन्* also. He can scarcely have meant the word "elephant," which is not a kṛit, but a regular taddhita derivative of *hastā* : nor does this word occur in the UṆnādi-Sūtras. It seems therefore probable that he said, or at least meant, the real UṆnādi word *hastā*, "hand." But as *Durga*, too, at all events in the MS. at my command, writes *हस्तीति*, I do not venture upon more than a conjecture that the latter words are to be corrected in the text of the *Nirukta* : *हस्त इति*.

Since the former designation is chiefly applied to the exegetes of the Vaidik texts, and the latter is emphatically used by the grammarians, it seems probable that Pāṇini, in this question of the derivability of Unnādi words, would stand on the side of these Vaiyākaranas. And this unquestionably is the opinion of Patanjali, as may be judged from the following facts:—In the rules VII. 1, 2, Pāṇini teaches, amongst other things, that when an affix contain the letters *ḍh*, or *kh*, or *chh*, these letters are merely grammatical symbols, the real values of which are severally *ey*, *in*, *iy*. To this rule *Kātyāyana* appends the remark that the Unnādi affixes form an *exception*, when Patanjali explains this view of the author of the Vārtikas by the instances *śankha*, *śandha*; for though these words are formed with the affixes *kha* and *ḍha*, the letters *ḍh* and *kh*, in their affixes, are real, not symbolical. “And,” continues Kātyāyana, in two subsequent Vārtikas, “though Pāṇini speaks himself, in Sūtra III. 1, 29, of an affix *īyāṅ* (not *chhāṅ*, as might be expected according to rule VII. 1, 2), this does not invalidate my exception, for the latter is based

on the circumstance that Pāṇini treats in his rule VII. 1, 2, not of verbal but of nominal bases.” “True,” rejoins Patanjali; “but Kātyāyana might have spared this discussion, for “*nominal bases formed with Unnādi affixes are bases which have no grammatical origin.*”²⁰⁹

In rule VII. 3, 50, Pāṇini teaches that the letter *th* in the affix *tha* has the value of *ik*; that *tha*, therefore, means in reality *ika*;²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ VII. 1, 2: आचनेयीनीचिवः षडखरुचां प्रत्ययादीनाम्.—A Vārtika: तसोबादिप्रतिषेधः.—Patanjali: तसोबादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः यङ्कः यङ्कः (comp. Up. S. I. 101. 104).—Vārtika: धातोर्वैयङ्कुचनात्.—Patanjali: खचवा यदयमुत्तरीयकुत्ति (III. 1, 29) धातोरीयङ्कं शास्त्रि etc.—Vārtika: प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च याचिनेः सिद्धम्.—Patanjali: प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च भगवतः याचिनेराचार्यस्य सिद्धम् । उखादयो ऽनुत्यस्यानि प्रातिपदिकानि.

²¹⁰ VII. 3, 50: ठस्येकः.—A Vārtika: संचातयहसं चेदुखादिमाषितिकादीनां प्रतिषेधः.—Patanjali: उखादीनां तावत् । खङ्कः यङ्कः (comp. Up. S. I. 105; IV. 104) etc.—Vārtika: तस्माद्विशिष्टग्रहणम्.—Patanjali (after a lengthened discussion asks and answers): एवमनुखादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । न वक्तव्यः । उखा-

3, 59 would not justify it there. But Patanjali, who supplies us with all these instances, in order to establish, first, the sense of the

to certain Unādi words. Compare also the Commentary on the Unādi-Sūtra III. 62.—It is needless to observe once more that in this, as in *all similar instances*, the reprint of Dr. Boehtlingk has simply continued the mistake of the Pañḍits, though it always assumes the air of having taken its information from the MSS. Thus, in this very Vārtika, the Calcutta edition has a misprint **सरक्षप्रतिविधः**., and Dr. Boehtlingk writes—not “the Calcutta edition,” but—“*Eia edrīka*: **सरक्षप्रतिविधः** (sic),” as if this reading were an original one. But the E. I. H. MS. of the Mahābhāṣya reads quite correctly: “**सरक्षः प्रतिविधः**.”; and Kaiyaṣa has even a special remark to the effect, that though the Unādi-Sūtra III. 73 (comp. also 70) teaches the affix **सरक्ष**, the Vārtika and Bhāṣya write **सरक्ष्** (of which **सरक्षः** is the gerundive), because this affix is **क्विप्** viz: **क्वैः सरक्षितः सरक्ष्यः** (MS. ०यो) **ऊधुमदिशः क्विदिशच-बुवतेति** (Un. S. III. 73). **क्वित्वादिशाच्च क्वित्वायबाभाज्ञाथामिकयोः सरक्षपठितः**. In all these instances, and others too (e.g. to VII. 2, 8, v. 1 of the Calc. ed.), the E. I. H. MS. of the Mahābhāṣya, and the Calcutta edition—as often as it gives this passage—write: **उषादयो ङुप्यज्ञानि प्रातिपदिकानि** (the MS. of the Mahābhāṣya without the §; the correctness of the reading given, however, does not only result from the commentaries, but from the Paribhāṣā works; MS. 778 of the Paribhāṣenduśekhara e.g. writes **उषादयो ङुप्य**); when the first word, though literally meaning “the affixes **ङ**, etc.” has the sense, “the words formed with the affixes **ङ**, etc.” (comp. I. I. 72), in con-

Vārtikas, always rejects the criticism of Kātyāyana, and defends Pāṇini with the same argument which he used before, viz., in saying that “*nominal 'bases' formed with Unādi affixes, are bases which have no grammatical origin*,” and therefore do not concern an etymological work like that of Pāṇini.

But if Kātyāyana were really wrong in his censure of Pāṇini, can the argument used by Patanjali in defence of Pāṇini be right? Let us imagine that there existed amongst us two sets of grammarians, the one contending that the words *red, bed, shed*, are derived from radicals *re, be, she*, with an affix *d*; and another refuting these etymologists, and asserting that their derivation is

formity with the use which Pāṇini makes of the words **छत्** and **तद्धित** (in the *masculine* gender), e.g. I. 1. 38; 2, 46; VI. 2, 155. Compare also *Vaidyaśāstra's* explanation, in note 188. The reading “**उषादीन्ङुप्यज्ञानि प्रातिपदिकानि**,” which is given by Dr. Aufrecht, p. vi., I have *never* met with, though I have frequently met with the phrase quoted above, not only in the grammatical commentaries, but in all the Paribhāṣā-works, which give it as a Paribhāṣā. I, therefore, very much doubt its correctness, *even if it should really be found in any MS.*

absurd; that *red*, *bed*, *shed* are “bases without a grammatical origin.” Is it probable, on the same supposition, that a member of the last-named category, in writing a grammar and in dealing with these words, would ascribe to them an affix *d*? Yet, if Patanjali were right, Pāṇini would belong to this latter category, and he would have committed such an incongruity. He has not only spoken of an Uṇādi affix *u*, but he calls it by its technical name *u*, which means that he bore in mind a distinct form of a radical, the vowel of which would become subject to the Vṛiddhi increase if it is joined to this affix *u*. The Uṇādi words must, consequently, have been to Pāṇini words in which he perceived a real affix and a real radical,—words, in short, with a distinct etymology. There is other evidence to the same effect besides the two rules of his which contain the word *uṇādi*. In rule VII. 2, 9, he mentions the affixes *ti*, *tu*, *tra*, *ta*, *tha*, *si*, *su*, *sara*, *ka*, *sa*; all these are Uṇādi affixes, and consequently represent to him as many radicals as are capable of being combined with them for the

formation of nominal bases.²¹⁵ That there is a flaw in the defence of Patanjali, must have been already perceived by *Kaiyyāṭa*, for this commentator tries to reconcile the fact I have pointed out with the assertion of Patanjali. I will quote his words, but merely to show that it was a desperate case to save Pāṇini from the Nairukta school, and to give him the stamp of a pure-bred Vaiyākaraṇa. On the occasion of Patanjali's commenting on the Vārttika to VIII. 3, 59, and repeating the remark already mentioned, *Kaiyyāṭa* says: “Though the Uṇādi words have been derived for the *enlightenment of the ignorant*, their formation is not subject to the same grammatical influence as it would be if they had an origin;” and, after having endeavoured to prove the correctness of this view through rule VIII. 3, 46, he winds up with the following words: “Therefore in the Uṇādi formations, *kṛisara*, etc., *sara* etc. do not fall under the technical category

²¹⁵ VII. 2, 9: तितुवतचसिसुसराकसेषु च.

of affixes, so that the rule which concerns the change of an affixal *s* to *śh*, would have to be applied in their case."²¹⁶

²¹⁶ Patanjali to VIII. 3, 59 (comp. note 213) : उखादयो ऽनुत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि.—Kaiyyaṭa : उखादय इति । अनुत्पन्नोपनाय नुत्पावमाना अनुत्पादयो नुत्पत्तिविभिनं कार्यं न सम्भवे । अतः छकमिच्छेत्तलच (VIII. 3, 46) प्रत्यक्षयहवात् । न चा एतदिति चलं नुत्पत्तिहेतुकमुखादीनामवस्थानुपेयम् । सर्पिषा वृष इत्यादिविद्वर्धमिबर्धः । एवं तर्हीति छसरादिषु वले कर्त्तव्ये प्रत्ययसंज्ञा न भवति.—I here subjoin the interesting comment of Śrādeṇa, in his *Paribhāṣā-ṭīṭī* (MS. E.I.H. 593), on this Paribhāṣā, as it is appealed to by other authors of Paribhāṣā-works : उखादयो ऽनुत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि । अयं चावो ऽवैवत्प्रत्ययनादस्तीत्याहुः । अथवा सर्वेषामुखादीनां आनुबले छदन्त्यात्मातिपदिकसंज्ञाविधौ तच्च कुर्वीत । अथैव स्तः छकमीत्यच (VIII. 3, 46) कमियहव छत्वा कंसयहवादितामाहुः । तेन छनुकुटिविदिभ्याश्च (sic. comp. Uṇ. S. IV. 142) इः क्तिदितीकारप्रत्ययानयोः क्तिरिक्तिरिग्रद्वयोरौष यखादेरे छते आगुलामावाञ्चि चेति (VIII. 2, 77) दीर्घत्वं न भवति । क्विथोः । नियोरिति । एतच्च न सम्यक् । अचः परस्मिन्निति (I. 1, 57) खानिवत्सादीर्घाप्रसङ्गात् । न चास्मि दीर्घविधिं प्रति न खानिवदिति । खरदीर्घयलोपेण लोपावादेश एव न खानिवदिति वचनात् (comp. I. 1, 58) । यथा प्रतिदीप्ति । एवं तर्ही जीयेतिधेतोर्जीयेतिः क्तिन् रच न इति (Uṇ. S. V. 49) क्तिन्प्रत्यय इले रपरले व रेफस यकारे छते किन्निरिति आगुलामावादीर्घो न भवतीति ।

That Kātyāyana, when he found fault with Pāṇini, must have taken my view, is obvious. He must have looked upon Pāṇini as judging of the Unnādi words in the same way as Śākaṭāyana did: otherwise his "*pratiśedhas*" *exceptions*, or even his *additions* to the rules in question, would have been as irrelevant as if he had increased them with matter taken from medicine or astronomy.

The conclusion, however, at which I have thus been compelled to arrive, viz., that Pāṇini shared in the linguistic principles of Śākaṭāyana, is of importance, if we now consider the relation in which he is likely to have stood to the original Unnādi list and to the criticisms of Kātyāyana. ✓

Nāgajibhaṭṭa, who wrote notes on Kaiyyaṭa's gloss on Patanjali, conjectures from the Kārikā to III. 3, 1, that the Unnādi *Sūtras* were the work of Śākaṭāyana.²¹⁷ His conjecture rests on the statement of Yāska, alluded to by Patanjali, that this grammarian con-

²¹⁷ See also Dr. Aufrecht's Preface to the Up. S. p. vii, where the Commentary of Nāgajibhaṭṭa is quoted, and translated by him.

tended for the possibility of deriving all nominal bases from verbal roots. Now, I have shown before, that the opinion of Nāgojibhaṭṭa cannot be adopted so far as the *Sūtras* are concerned, for they were written *after* Pāṇini's work, and Śakatāyana wrote before Pāṇini.²¹⁸ It may, at first sight, however, appear to be consistent with fact, if only the Unṇādi *list* were meant, for Śakatāyana's views are such as would admit of nominal derivation by means of Unṇādi affixes. Yet, since Nāgoji's conjecture is purely personal, and is not supported by any evidence, I may be allowed, after the explanation I have given, to assume that the Unṇādi list is of Pāṇini's authorship. Indeed, how could Kātyāyana take *exception* to the *technical* application or to the *working of a rule of Pāṇini's*, and supply this defect by pointing to the Unṇādi list, unless he looked upon Pāṇini as being the author of both? Had he thought that the Unṇādi list was written by Śakatāyana, he would have laid himself open to serious reflections, in censuring the *anubandhas* of

²¹⁸ See note 97.

Pāṇini for not fitting the system of Śakatāyana. We might make an assumption, it is true, by which we could reconcile Śakatāyana's authorship of the Unṇādi list with Kātyāyana's strictures on Pāṇini,—the assumption that Pāṇini's work represented, as it were, besides its own property, that of Śakatāyana's too,—that both grammarians owned one set of technical signs, and that perfect unanimity reigned between their works. The *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* of *Vardhamāna* gives numerous quotations from the Grammar of Śakatāyana, but as several of them merely give the substance of his rules, it would scarcely be safe to judge of his system on the authority of this valuable Gaṇa work.²¹⁹ Unless, therefore, it can be shown that there was no

²¹⁹ Relative to this work, which is of the greatest importance for the study of Sanskrit grammar, Dr. Boehdligk gives the following information (vol. II., p. xxxix.—xli.) :—“A third work, which contains the *Gaṇas*, is the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* (the great Ocean of the Gaṇa-pearls). In London there exist two MS. copies of this work : the one in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, the other in that of the East India House. [He adds some remarks on the age of the former MS., and continues] : The work

difference whatever and, much more so, if it can be shown that there *was a difference* between the technical method of both these grammarians, common sense would lean in favour of the consists of eight chapters (अष्टाध्याय) and about 450 double verses. Its author is *Crā-Varāhamāna*, a pupil of *Crā-Gosāda*, and, as it is stated in the introductory verses, it owes its origin to the request of his pupils, three of whom he names in the commentary on his work, viz., Kumārāpalla, Haripalla, and Munīkandra. Text and commentary are so corrupt in both Manuscripts, that at the very best only a tolerable text could be made up. Besides, this collection was not intended for the work of Pāṇini, but for some more modern grammar. There occur *Gaṇas* in it which are neither mentioned in the *Sūtras* nor in the *Vārtikas*. Then, again, we find two *Gaṇas* which are separate in our collection [Dr. B. means the *Gaṇas* edited by him] combined into one, when the derivatives formed according to two different rules, differ from one another only in accent. The various readings of the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī* (G. R. M.) I have indicated merely at the *Gaṇa* ~~वर्तिका~~.—To this statement I have to append the following remarks:—

1. When Dr. Bochtlingk tells the public that there are but two MS. copies of this work in London, his readers will no doubt believe, if they believe him,—indeed, they cannot draw any *other* inference from his words than—that there are in London only two texts of the *Gaṇas* collected by Vardhamāna in his work, the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī*. I cannot suppose that there can be any one who would interpret the meaning of his words in the

conclusion that Kātyāyana, in his *Vārtikas*, hit at but one of his predecessors, and that this predecessor was the author as well of the eight grammatical books as of the Unnādi list,—Pāṇini.

sense that there are only two catalogued Nos. of this work in the libraries he is speaking of. Yet I am compelled to take this favourable—though very unreasonable—view of his statement, in order not to be compelled to qualify it otherwise. For, the fact is that the bound volume No. 949 of the Library of the E. I. H., which he is speaking of, is, indeed, one volume only, but contains *two distinct copies* of the work in question, written in *different* handwritings, and constituting, therefore, *two separate* MSS. These, added to the *copy* in the R. A. S., form, therefore, at first sight, *three* MSS., not *two*, as he says. But I should trifle with my readers if I considered this correction as sufficient to illustrate the character of Dr. Bochtlingk's statement. The first MS. of No. 949 contains the text of the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī* only, on 30 leaves. The second MS. of the same No. 949, which is a commentary, by the same author, on his work, contains, first the text, and afterwards the comment, which repeats *every word* of the text, either literally or impliedly, by stating the derivatives from the word or words as they occur in the text. The same method is observed in the MS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society. Hence we possess, in London, not *two texts*, nor yet *three*, but in reality *five* texts of this work.

2. The MSS. in question are, no doubt, open to correction, as, indeed, probably every Sanskrit MS. in existence is, but I hold that at all events the ancient copy of the R. A. S.

The proof that such a difference existed between Pāṇini and Śākātāyana, indeed, between him and all the grammarians who preceded his work, is afforded by a statement of Patanjali, which

will, in spite of its inaccuracies, be ranked by every one conversant with MSS., amongst the best *Sanskrit MSS. in existence*. And having considered it incumbent on me to study this book carefully, I have no hesitation in maintaining that even a tolerable Sanskrit scholar would be able to make a perfectly good edition of at least the text of this work, with the aid of these five copies of the text, the two copies of the commentary, and, as a matter of course, with the aid that may be got from Pāṇini and his commentaries.

3. As to the nature of this work : I must allow the reader to draw his own conclusions with regard to the credit that may be attached to the information given by Dr. Boehlingk, when I state that there is not one single Gapa in the *Unparatnamahodadhi*, the contents of which may not be referred either to Pāṇini's Sūtras or to the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana, the Kāśikā, etc., and the commentaries on them, or to the Gaps connected with these works, though the latter frequently do not contain so much matter as the Gaps of Varḍhamāna, who is later, and, as we may expect, made his own additions to previous lists. The substance of its Gaps, increased sometimes in the manner stated, is often contained in several rules of, and in the commentaries on, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, which have been brought into Gapa shape, while, at other times, several of its Gaps, also increased, as the case may be, differ

is so important that it settles definitely, not only the question of the authorship of the Unnādi list, but of all the other works which follow the *anubandha* terminology of Pāṇini. In his comment on

from the Gaps to Pāṇini merely in so far as the heading word of the one occurs in the middle of the other, and *vice versa*. Thus the two combined Gaps *तुष्टादिपचादी* of the G. R. M. do not occur in the Gaps to Pāṇini, but give the substance of Pāṇini's Sūtra, and the commentaries on, IV. 1, 42; its Gapa *तुष्टारकादि* that of the commentaries on II. 1, 62; *अतश्चिवादि* that of the comm. on II. 1, 66; *अधूनादि* that of the comm. on II. 1, 63; *अथाकादि* that of VI. 3, 75; *आवादि* that of Vārtika I. to IV. 1, 97; *कैरादि* that of IV. 2, 39, 40; *खवादि* that of the Vārtikas to V. 1, 77; *खवादि* that of IV. 3, 72, etc. etc.—On the other hand, the Gaps of the G. R. M. *उत्तापनादि* is equivalent to the Gaps to Pāṇini *अनुप्रवचनादि* (V. 1, 11), its Gapa *देवव्रतादि* to *आवाकादीषादि* (V. 1, 94, v. 3); *अनपलादि* to *अनपलादि* (IV. 1, 84); *अरसादि* to *आकादी* (V. 2, 64); *विमुक्तादि* to *इक्षुवचनादि* (IV. 3, 88); *वत्सवादि* to *सुमुदादि* (IV. 2, 80); *मिषादि* to *खिचिकादि* (IV. 2, 45), etc. etc.—There are omitted, *on principle*, in the G. R. M., all the Gaps (1) which have reference to the enumeration of affixes, e.g., *तश्चिवादि*, *अवादि*, etc.; (2) of radicals which are referred to by Pāṇini in rules on conjugation, such as *स्यादि*, *चदादि*, etc.; *भुतादि*, *पुषादि*, etc.; (3) those which concern Vaidik words; and (4) those appended to Pāṇini's rules on accentuation.—Of other Gaps to Pāṇini and the Vārtikas, mentioned in the Kāśikā, Siddhānta-kaumudī, and the Gapa lists, which do not fall under

the Sūtra VII. 1, 18, which makes use of the technical declension affix *anāg* (= *au*), he shows that the mute letter *ṅ* has none of the properties which inhere in this *anubandha* in the system

any of these categories, there are omitted in the G. R. M. the Gāpas to Pāṇini or the Vārttikas: *अवादि* (III. 3, 94. v. 1), *इस्वादि* (V. 2, 29. v. 5), *उपस्वादि* ? (IV. 3, 58. v. 1), *अमवादि* (IV. 2, 51. v. 1), *अस्वादि* (III. 3, 3), *इवादि* (IV. 2, 51. v. 2), *वावादि* (II. 3, 17. v. 2), *निष्वादि* (V. 1, 20), *अङ्गुवादि* (VII. 3, 53), *पाञ्चवादि* (III. 2, 15. v. 1), *प्रक्षस्वादि* (II. 3, 18. v. 1), *प्रतिषेधादि* (VI. 3, 122. v. 3), *म्रादि* (I. 4, 59), *अवादि* (IV. 3, 164), *अवदादि* (V. 3, 14. v. 1), *भीमादि* (III. 4, 74), *युवादि* (VIII. 4, 11. v. 1), *चौषेवादि* (IV. 1, 178; V. 3, 117), *रसादि* (V. 2, 95), *वरवादि* (IV. 2, 82), *विस्वादि* (VI. 4, 153), *गुषवादि* (V. 3, 68. v. 5), *शाकपाचिवादि* (II. 1, 69. v. 1), *संक्वादि* (IV. 2, 75), *स्यत्वादि* (IV. 1, 35), *सवनादि* (VIII. 3, 110), *युवास्वादि* (IV. 2, 77), *खोवादि* (VI. 3, 2), *हरीतस्वादि* (IV. 3, 167), and perhaps *बङ्गदि* (IV. 1, 45), since only some words of this Gāpa are included in the Gāpa of the G. R. M. *शोवादि*.—These omissions will be excused, if a report, current at Benares, be true, that the author died before he completed his work; but I have no doubt, whether this report be true or not, that they will be looked upon with the *greatest indignance* by Dr. Boehtlingk, as he himself, in his so-called "Alphabetical Gaṇapāṭha," has omitted *not less than about 90 Gāpas to the Sūtras and Vārttikas*.

4. That a work so conscientiously described by Dr. Boehtlingk can have no value in his eyes is very obvious. Others, however, may think differently, when they become

of Pāṇini. After some discussion on the various modes in which this *anubandha* could be dealt with, so as not to interfere with the consistency of the method of Pāṇini, he concludes with

acquainted with the real character of the *Geṇaratnamahodadhī*. Its Gāpas, as I mentioned before, are all based on rules of Pāṇini, which very frequently are literally quoted for their authority; while even, when they are not literally quoted, the reference made to their contents plainly shows their close relation to them. The commentary not only enumerates every derivative formed,—thus securing in most instances, beyond a doubt, the reading of the text,—but often gives instances from other works—grammatical, lexicographical, and poetical, several not yet published; as, for instance, those of *Gaṇa*, *Chandra*, *Jayāditya*, *Jivādvabaddhī*, *Durga*, *Bhāṣa*, *Sāketīyana*, *Halāyudha*, etc. And, above all, it supplies us with the meanings of a considerable portion of such Gāpa-words as have been hitherto either not understood at all, or understood imperfectly. Of the 12,000 words and upwards, which I have collected from this work for grammatical and lexicographical purposes, there are at least 3,000 which would fall under the latter category; and they have signally avenged themselves on the detractor of this work, as, in his own Dictionary, he is now compelled to leave, in a great many instances, a very telling blank space, which would have been filled up if he had really read the *Geṇaratnamahodadhī*, while in other instances he would have obtained additional meanings to those which he assigns to certain words. When I mention, moreover, that this *Geṇaratnamahodadhī* is the *only known work* in existence which gives a

the following words: "Or this rule belongs to a Sūtra of a former grammarian; but *whatever anubandhas occur in a Sūtra of a former grammarian, they have no anubandha effect in this work.*"

Hence we learn from Patanjali, who is the very last author that can be suspected of having made such an important assertion without a knowledge of the works anterior to the Grammar of Pāṇini, that,

commentary on the Gāpas to, or connected with, Pāṇini—so obscure in many respects,—comprising also, as I before observed, many Sūtras of, and Vārtikas to, Pāṇini; and when, thus, it becomes evident that a conscientious editor of Pāṇini ought to have *eagerly* availed himself of the instruction afforded him by this unique work, it will, perhaps, be intelligible why a certain Nemesis has induced Dr. Bochtlingk to divert the attention of the scientific public from the MSS. of this work, by describing their condition and contents as he has done. As a matter of curiosity, I may, in conclusion, add, that the only Gāpa of the G. R. M., the various readings and meanings of which he has registered in his "Alphabetical Gāpāpāṭha"—the Gāpa अक्षुद्धि—occurs *very near the end* of the whole work, viz., at fol. 28, in the text of MS. 9.49 of the E. I. H., which ends on fol. 30; and at fol. 119 of the combined text and commentary of the same MS., which ends on fol. 121. In the palm-leaf MS. of the R. A. S., which ends on fol. 178, this Gāpa stands at fol. 168. The title of a Sanskrit book, I need not mention, is always given at the end of a manuscript.

though Pāṇini adopted from his predecessors such technical symbols as *ti, ghu, bha*, and though he availed himself of other terms of theirs which have a meaning and an etymology (see page 166),—he did not adopt their technical *anubandhas*; and if he avails himself of such an anubandha, as that in rule VII. 1, 18, we must look upon it as a quotation made by him, but not as influencing the rule in which it occurs.²²⁰

Now, all the Unādi affixes have *anubandhas*, which are exactly the same, and have the same grammatical effect, as those used by Pāṇini. They cannot be later than his work, for it refers to them: they cannot have preceded it, for Patanjali says that "whatsoever *anubandhas* occur in a Sūtra of a former grammarian, they have no *anubandha* effect in Pāṇini's work." Consequently the Unādi list *must be of Pāṇini's own authorship.*

²²⁰ VII. 1, 18: ऋतु ऋपः.—Patanjali (towards the end of his discussion): ऋषा पूर्ववृत्तिर्दोऽवस। पूर्ववृत्ते न वेऽनुबन्धः। न तैत्तिरीयकारोऽपि विचक्षते.—Kalyāṇa: ऋषेति पूर्ववृत्तिर्दोऽपि विचक्षते इति यदिते न वेऽनुबन्धोऽवसवो विद्वत्सि सामान्यग्रहणार्थं च पूर्ववृत्तिर्दोऽवस। etc.—For पूर्ववृत्त, compare also note 46.

Having settled this point, we may now ask, whether the criticisms of Kātyāyana do not lead to a further inference? When Kātyāyana finds fault with Pāṇini for having overlooked the fact that the vowel *ā* remains long in *rāka*, *dhāka*, or for having given an inadequate rule for such derivations as *kṛisara* and *dhāsara*, *varsha* and *tarsha*, such criticism applies to omissions which may occur in the case of an author, even a Pāṇini. But when he reproaches him with having spoiled the consistency of his *anubandhas*—so dear to a Hindu grammarian—this blemish seems to me so important, and would probably appear so much more important to a Hīndu Pandit, that it compels my conclusions to take another course. For it was obviously so easy for him to modify his rules VII. 1, 2, and VII. 3, 50, in order to meet the objections raised by Kātyāyana,—to do, in other words, that which he has done in an analogous case;²¹ and the matter he is reproached with

²¹ Nominal bases derived with the *kṛit* affixes *तृच्* or *तृण्* have certain properties of declension which are taught by Pāṇini. The Unādi say (II. 96) that some of the bases *बभू*, *वेद्*, *लद्*, *हीतृ*, *पीतृ*, *धातृ*, *जामातृ*, *मातृ*, *पितृ*, *दुहितृ* are derivatives

in the Vārtikas must have been so deeply impressed on his mind that it seems almost impossible not to draw another result from the strictures of Kātyāyana. And this result is no other than that either the words which are alluded to by the author of the Vārtikas in these criticisms did not yet exist when Pāṇini wrote, or that they had in his time another etymology than that stated by Kātyāyana. And if this view be correct, it would also add another fact to those I have advanced in favour of the argument that Pāṇini and Kātyāyana cannot have been contemporaries.

The passage just now quoted from Patanjali's Great Commentary, and the conclusions which had to be drawn from it, enable us at once to see that Pāṇini must also have been the author of the Dhātupāṭha frequently referred to in his rules. This list makes

formed with *तृच्* and others with *तृण्*. But since all of them do not share in the declension properties of the *तृच्* and *तृण्* bases, Pāṇini gives a rule, VI. 4, 11, which obviates an objection that might have been made, like that brought forward by Kātyāyana in his Vārtikas to VII. 1, 2 and VII. 3, 50.

use of the same mute letters which are the *anubandhas* of Pānini's Grammar, and their grammatical value is exactly the same in both works. According to Patanjali's statement, therefore, the Dhātupātha of Pānini cannot have been arranged by any one else than Pānini.²² Whether another Dhātupātha existed previously to Pānini does not concern us here, since it is not known to us; nor does it belong to my present purpose to examine whether the Dhātupātha, which has reached us has received additions from those who wrote, and commented on, it, and if so, to what extent. There is the same probability for such additions having been made to the original list as in the case of all other Gaṇas; and we may fairly, therefore, ascribe the present Dhātupāthas to various authors, who also, perhaps, added meanings to the list composed by Pānini, since there is no *direct* evidence to show that Pānini did more than arrange this list with the *anubandhas* attached to the radicals. All these questions, however, are foreign to the

²² Compare my previous observations at page 54 and the following pages.

present subject. It is quite enough for the settlement of this question that the groundwork of the only Dhātupātha we now possess, is, like the groundwork of the Unnādi list, the work of Pānini.

The problem which concerns the chronological relation between Pānini and the *Prātiśākhya*s, more especially those of the *Rigveda* and the *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā*, has a still greater claim to our attention than that discussed in the foregoing remarks.²³ The

²³ I can here only speak of those two *Prātiśākhya*s which have become generally accessible—the Rik P. through the valuable and learned edition of Mr. Reguler, and the *Vājasaneyi* P. through that of Professor Weber—because I am not sufficiently acquainted with the two others, which are not yet published, and are not met with in the libraries of London, so as to feel justified in uttering opinions which I could not fully substantiate. But as I have no ground for doubting the *master-of-fact* statements concerning these two latter works, for which we are indebted to the industry of Professor Weber in his preface to his edition of the *Vājasaneyi* P., I should infer from them that the *Atharvaveda* P. must be more recent than the Rik P., and that, in all probability, the *Taittirīya* P. also is posterior to the same *Prātiśākhya*. So far, therefore, as this latter inference—but this latter inference only—is concerned, and with

immediate connection of these grammatical writings with the collections of Vaidik hymns, gives to them an appearance of importance which some may deny to the *Dhātupāṭha* and the *Uṇādi* list. Besides, the speculations to which they have been subjected by several authors show that in spite of the seeming unanimity of their results, there is no work of Hindu antiquity which has caused more uncertainty, as respects the question of date, than these Prātisākhya works.

There are, I conceive, two ways in which the solution of the problem of which I am here speaking, may be attempted, the one *literary*, the other *historical*. But before I offer from the evidence at my disposal such facts as may enable us to arrive at a settled conclusion on this point, it is my duty to state the prevalent opinion as to the relation of these works to Pāṇini, and the reasons with which this opinion has all the reservation which is implied by the source whence my information has been obtained. I shall feel free to speak of *all* the Prātisākhya. Otherwise I shall merely treat of the two former.

hitherto been supported. I take for this purpose the works of those authors who have dealt more comprehensively than others with subjects which concern the Vaidik literature, and whose conclusions express, I believe, on this point, the creed of actual Sanskrit philologists. ✓

Professor Müller writes in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (p. 120), as follows: "The real object of the Prātisākhya, as shown before, was not to teach the grammar of the old sacred language, to lay down the rules of declension and conjugation, or the principles of the formation of words. This is a doctrine which, though it could not have been unknown during the Vedic period, has not been embodied, as far as we know, in any ancient work. The Prātisākhya are never called Vyākaranas, grammars, and it is only incidentally that they allude to strictly grammatical questions. The perfect phonetic system on which Pāṇini's Grammar is built is no doubt taken from the Prātisākhya; but the sources of Pāṇini's strictly grammatical doctrines must be looked for elsewhere."

Thus, according to this author, all the Prātisākhya "no doubt" preceded Pāṇini's Grammar; and we must infer, too, from Professor Müller's words, that he meant by Prātisākhya those either edited or preserved in MSS., since his conclusions cannot *consistently* have been founded on any imaginary Prātisākhya which may or may not have preceded those that we now possess,—which may or may not have dealt with the same subjects in the same manner as the works we are here alluding to. Nor can it have been his object merely to state what is sufficiently known, that there were other grammarians, though not authors of Prātisākhya, before Pāṇini who gave rules on Vaidik words, since Pāṇini himself makes mention of them.

Professor Roth, whom we have to thank for an edition of Yāska's Nirukta, states his view to the same effect in the following words: ²⁴ "Grammar, therefore, took the same natural course of develop-

²⁴ In the Preface to his edition of the Nirukta, p. xliii.—The original text of this quotation, it is superfluous to mention, is in German, and in *very good* German, too.

ment as we find it has taken elsewhere. It did not proceed from the foundation of the living language, but owed its origin to the observation of that difference which exists between certain forms of language in the actual intercourse of life and those of written works; and, at first, it confined itself to pointing out chiefly these differences. Then, again, it comprised, not the whole mass of literature, but only single books, especially important to certain classes of society (*einzelne in den betreffenden Kreisen besonders wichtige Bücher*). Thus the path was opened to a general grammar treating as well of written as of spoken language; we meet this first in Pāṇini, and from this time all those special grammars gradually disappear from general use."

There is but one thing wanting to this very interesting statement of Professor Roth's, viz., that he should inform us whence he obtained this invaluable historical account of the rise and progress of Sanskrit grammar. No doubt he has some voucher of high authority for the important fact that grammar began and proceeded in India in the manner he describes; and that these special gram-

mar, the Pratīsākhya, which he enumerates immediately afterwards, were the pioneers of Pāṇini's work. But as he has forgotten to give us the name of his authority, we must, for the present at least, be permitted to look upon this graphic narration of his as a contribution to Vaidik poetry.

Professor Weber, with a caution that almost startles one in so bold a writer, who, as we have seen above (p. 77), has witnessed the progress of the Arians in their conquest of India 1500 B.C., does not sweep over *all* the Pratīsākhya with his chronological brush, but merely records his views of the relation of Pāṇini to one of them, the Pratīsākhya of Kātyāyana, or that of the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā.

"We now come to Pāṇini himself," he says in his preface to his edition of this work, "that is to say (*"resp."*) to the description of the relations which exist between him and the Vājas. Prāt. These relations are, on the one hand, very close, — since a great number of the rules contained in it re-occur, individually, either literally or nearly literally in Pāṇini, and since the Vāj. Pr., like Pāṇini, now and then makes use of an algebraic terminology; but, on the other

hand, there is again a vast gulf between them, since this algebraic terminology does not entirely correspond, like that of the Ath. Pr., with that of Pāṇini, but, on the contrary, partly thoroughly (*zum Theil ganz*) differs from it. The particulars on this point are the following:—There correspond with Pāṇini—*tin* I, 27, *ān* VI, 24 (MS. A, however, reads merely *ā*), *lpa* III, 12, *lpa* I, 114 (*✓* *lpa* — "*resp.*" — *lpa* occur several times, but already, *jop*, in the Rik Pr. and Taitt. Pr.); the use of *t* in *et* and *ot*, V, 114, IV, 58, may likewise be added, and, amongst other expressions which are not algebraic, *upapadam* VI, 14, 29; *yadyritam* VI, 14 (compare Pāp. VIII, 1, 48, *kivritā*); *anudeca* I, 143, *dhātū*, verbal root, V, 10; *anyataras* V, 15 (Pāṇ. *anyetarasām*); *linga*, gender, IV, 170 (only in *BE.*); *saṁjñā* IV, 96.—But there belong exclusively to the Vāj. Pr., and there have been nowhere shown to exist the algebraic terms: *sin* I, 44, IV, 50, for the eight simple vowels; *jit* I, 50, 167, III, 12, IV, 113, for the tenues inclusive of the sibilants (except *h*); *mud* I, 52, III, 8, 12, IV, 119 for *ṣ*, *sh*, *s*; *dh* I, 53, IV, 35, 37, 117, for the sonant sounds; and to

these may be added—bhāvin I, 46. III, 21. 55. IV, 33. 45. VII, 9, for the designation of all vowels except ā; rit = rīḥita IV, 33. VI, 9, and samkrama III, 148. IV, 77. 165. 194; for they, too, are peculiar to the Vāj. Pr. alone.

“If thus, then, the independence of this Pr. of Pāṇini be vouched for with a tolerable amount of certainty (*mit ziemlicher Sicherheit*), we shall be able to look upon the numerous literal coincidences between both, either as [the result of their] having drawn [them] from a common source, or of Pāṇini having borrowed [them] from the Vāj. Prāt., just as we have the same choice in the case of the rules which are common to the Kāṭiya-ṣrauta-sūtra I. 8, 19. 20, and Pān. I. 2, 33. 34. In the latter case the former conjecture may be preferable (compare also Vāj. Pr. I. 130); but in our present case I should myself, indeed, rather (*in der That eher*) prefer deciding for Pāṇini's having borrowed [them] immediately [from the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya], on account of the great speciality of some of these rules. For, a certain posteriority (*eine gewisse Posteriorität*) of the latter—independently

of [his] having made them developed the algebraic terminology—seems to me to result with a tolerable amount of certainty (*mit ziemlicher Sicherheit*), from the circumstance also, that the pronunciation of the short *a* was in his time already so much (*gerade so sehr*) *schwächer*, covered, that it does not make this vowel, but *u*, the type of the remaining vowels, whereas the Vāj. Pr. (and likewise the Ath. Pr.), it is true, agrees with him in the *Samyuktata* of the vowel *a*, but still retain it as the purest vowel, compare the note to I. 72. But it is true that local differences might have been the cause of this, since Pāṇini seems to belong to the North-West, but the Vāj. Pr. to the East of India.

“For the posteriority of the Vāj. Pr. to Pāṇini (*für eine Posteriorität des Vāj. Pr. nach Pāṇini*) it might be alleged, at the very utmost (*höchstens*), that the author of the Vārtikas to Pāṇini bears the same name as the author of the Vāj. Pr. There are, indeed, between both some direct points of contact,—comp. III. 13. 41. 46,—but then again there are also direct differences; comp. (III. 85) IV. 119. In general, sameness of names, like that of

Kātyāyana, can never prove the identity of persons [who bore them]; there is nothing proved by it, except that both belonged to the same family, or ("resp.") were followers of the same school,—the Kātās.

"Amongst the Sūtras which are identical in the Vāj. Pr. and in Pāṇini, we must now point out, first, some general rules which are of the greatest importance for the economy of the whole arrangement of both texts, and which, indeed, are of so special a nature that they seem to claim with a tolerable amount of force (*mit ziemlicher Entschiedenheit*) [the assumption of the one] having borrowed from the other. They are the three following (called *paribhāṣā* by the scholiast to Pāṇini): tasminn iti nirdishte pūrvasya, Vāj. Pr. I, 134. Pān. I, 66;—tasmād ity uttarasyādeḥ, Vāj. Pr. I, 135. Pān. I, 1, 67 (without ādeḥ, but see 54);—śaśthī sthāneyogā, Vāj. Pr. I, 136. Pān. I, 1, 49.—There are very remarkable also: saṁkhyā-tānām ānudeṣo yathāsaṁkhyam, Vāj. Pr. I, 143, compared with Pān. I, 3, 10 yathāsaṁkhyam anudeṣaḥ samānām; and vipratishedha uttaram balavad alope, I, 159, compared with vipratishedhe paraṁ

kāryam, Pān. I, 4, 2. But both [passages] do not require [the supposition of] such a special relation (*beide bedingen indess nicht ein so specielles Verhältnis*), for they might be brought home to a common source in the general grammatical tradition (*sondern könnten auf gemeinsame Quelle in der allgemeinen grammatischen Tradition zurückgeführt werden*) (the samānyam of the Ath. Pr. I, 3, evam iheti ca vibhāṣā-prāptam samānye). Likewise, varṇasyādarṇam loṇaḥ, I, 141, Pān. I, 1, 60 (without varṇasya);—uccair udāttaḥ—nīcāir anudāttaḥ—ubhayavān svaritaḥ I, 108-110; Pān. I, 2, 29-31 (where samāhāraḥ stands for ubh.);—tasyādita udāttaḥ svarārdhamātram, I, 126, Pān. I, 2, 32 (where ardhahrasvam);—udāttao cānudāttaḥ svaritam—nodātta svaritodayam IV, 134. 140, udātta anudātasya svaritaḥ—nodātta svaritodayam, Pān. VIII, 4, 66. 67;—samānasthāna-karṇasya prayatnaḥ savarṇaḥ, I, 43, tulyasya prayatnaḥ savarṇam, Pān. I, 1, 9;—āśīṣd iti cottaraṁ vicāre, II, 53, upari svid āśīd iti ca, Pān. VIII, 2, 102 (97);—nuṣ cāmredite, IV, 8, kām āmredite, Pān. VIII, 3, 12.—There are besides these a very great number (*eine sehr grosse Zahl*) of coincidences [between them]; for instance,

IV, 49 (Pān. VI. 1, 84), VI, 19-23 (Pān. VIII. 1, 58-63), which, however, may be accounted for simply (*einfach*) by the similarity of their subject. In some of these instances the Vāj. Pr. is decidedly inferior (*steht entschieden zurück*) to Pāṇini (comp. the note to II, 19, 20). Its grammatical terminology does not appear to have attained the survey and systematic perfection represented in Pāṇini;²³ but compare also my former general statement on the want of skill or ("*resp.*") probably want of practice of the author (*vgl. indess auch das bereits im Eingange—p. 68—über die Ungeschicklichkeit resp. wohl Ungeübtheit des V/s. im Allgemeinen Bemerkte*). In most instances, however, from being

²³ The words of the text are: "Die grammatische Fixirung scheint eben daselbst noch nicht zu der in Pāṇini repräsentirten Uebersicht und systematischen Vollkommenheit gelangt gewesen zu sein." I confess my utter inability to guarantee the correctness of the translation of this passage. What is the "grammatical fixing?" and of what? I have assumed that these words may have been intended for "terminology;" but for aught I know they may mean anything else. And what "survey" is represented in Pāṇini?

restricted to the one text of the Vājas. Sāṃhitā, he is in a better position than Pāṇini, who has to deal with the whole linguistic stock; and therefore he is enabled to give rules with a certain safety and precision, when Pāṇini either wavers in indecision (*bahulam*) or decides in an erroneous and one-sided way (comp. the notes to II, 30. 55. III, 27. 95. IV, 58).²⁴

Two distinct reasons have induced me to give a full hearing to Professor Weber on this important question. I do so, in the first

²⁴ *Indische Studien*, vol. IV. pp. 83—86. Once more, and considering the possibility of a reproach which may be made to my translation of his words, I must express the conviction that I have not only brought the original before the English reader literally and faithfully, but even favourably. Professor Weber's mode of composition, in all his writings, is not only grammatically incorrect and illogically elliptical, but devoid of the very smallest amount of that care which every reader is entitled to expect in his author. I could have wished that he, not I, had been compelled to undergo the agony of rendering his original into English, with a view of combining the consideration due to my readers with a scrupulous faithfulness, in the version of his words and thoughts. The words between [] have been added by me in order to make something like sense of some of his sentences.

place, because the lengthened passage I have quoted from his Preface to the *Vājasaneyi-Pratísākhya*—in *my opinion*, *his most important literary work*—is a thorough specimen of the manner and of the critical method—of the scholarship also, as I shall show hereafter—in which he deals with, and which he brings to bear on, all his learned investigations; in the second place, because to give him a hearing at all—and his great industry and his merit of having touched, with no inconsiderable damage to himself, upon all the burning questions of ancient Sanskrit literature, entitles him to one—was to give him a *full* hearing, in the fullness of all his words. For, though it be possible to perceive the qualities of a clear spring by taking a draught from it, however small, a whirlpool can only be appreciated by seeing it entire and in the condition in which it happens to exist.

If I had attempted, for instance, to maintain that Professor Weber looks upon the algebraic terminology of Kātyāyana's *Pratísākhya* and Pāṇini's Grammar, "on the one hand as very close to, and on the other hand as thoroughly differing from, one

another" (p. 186, lines 15-21), he would have justly upbraided me with not representing him faithfully, for he really says: the one differs "partly thoroughly" from the other. Again, should I have ventured upon the statement that he considers Pāṇini's work as later than this *Pratísākhya*, because he says that it has borrowed a good deal from it; he would have pointed at p. 187, line 18, where he speaks of a "certain posteriority" of Pāṇini, which kind of posteriority is just as intelligible to my mind as the answer which some one, whom I asked about his travels, gave me, viz., that he had been, but not exactly, on the Continent. Or, if I had said that his chief argument for this "certain-posteriority" is the difference in the pronunciation of the short *ā*, between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, since this difference led to his conclusion with "a tolerable amount of certainty" (p. 187, line 20), he would reply: "You are mistaken. I stated that this difference may have been caused by local reasons (line 27); it has, therefore, not the slightest conclusiveness." Or, if I gave his opinion on the relative proficiency of both authors to this effect, that he considers the *Vājasaneyi-*

Pratīśākhya as being "*decidedly inferior*" (p. 189, line 4) in this regard to Pāṇini's work, he would have pointed to line 15, in showing me how much I erred in attributing to him the idea of such "a decided inferiority;" for it is the Pratīśākhya, on the contrary, which, "in most instances, gives the rules with a certain amount of safety and precision, when Pāṇini either wavers in indecision, or decides in an erroneous and one-sided way."

We must, therefore, leave the whirlpool, such as it is; and in doing so we cannot but appreciate the immense advantage which an author enjoys, when he is impartial enough to arrive at his conclusions unbiased by a knowledge of the subject of which he is speaking. Professor Weber has made up his mind that the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya *must* be anterior to Pāṇini, probably because it "appears extremely ticklish" to him to decide otherwise; hence he is not troubled with any of those cares which are likely to disturb the minds of scholars who would first endeavour to study both works before they drew their inferences from them. He meets with an overwhelming amount of identical passages in the two

works: he finds that their terminology is likewise identical to a certain degree,—hence he concludes: either Pāṇini has borrowed these passages and this terminology from Kātyāyana, or both authors have borrowed them from a common source. For, as to a third alternative,—that Kātyāyana may have borrowed such passages from Pāṇini, it is dispatched by him "with a tolerable amount of certainty," as ranging amongst things impossible, because Pāṇini is later than the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya; and this posteriority, again, he chiefly bases on the argument that the pronunciation of the short *ā* was, in the time of Pāṇini, "already so much covered," that he had to take the vowel *u* for his type of a vowel sound, whereas Kātyāyana could still make use of the vowel *a* as the typical vowel in his Vaidik rules. Now, though I have already mentioned that this great argument is strangled by him as soon as it is born, I must nevertheless take the liberty of asking for the authority which supplied him with the circumstantial account of this phonetic history of the vowel *ā*? Pāṇini and Kātyāyana both state and imply, as he himself

admits, that the vowel *ā* is pronounced *saṃvṛita*, or with the contraction of the throat; they do not say one single word more on the pronunciation of this sound; nor is there any grammarian known to me who does so much as allude to the fantastical story narrated by Professor Weber relative to this vowel *ā*. An ordinary critic, then, would content himself with the authentic information supplied him by both grammarians; and if he perceived that Pāṇini, in his rule I. 2, 27, gives the vowel *ā*, as a *specimen* vowel, and not as a type, while Kātyāyana chooses the vowel *ā* for such a *specimen*, he would conclude that, even should there be a real scientific motive for this difference, it cannot be founded on a different pronunciation of the vowel *ā*, since it is repudiated by both grammarians. But a critic like Professor Weber, who looks upon facts as worsted if they do not agree with his theories, concludes that this vowel *ā* was "*already so much saṃvṛita*" in the time of Pāṇini, that he must needs throw it overboard, and receive *ū* into the ark of his grammatical terminology.

And here I may, in passing, advert once more to a practice sometimes met with in literary arguments. It consists in quietly introducing into the premises some such innocent words as "more," or "almost," or "already," or "so much," of similar adverbs of small size, which have not the slightest claim to any such hospitality; and then, suddenly, these little interlopers grow into mastership, and sway the discussion into which they had stealthily crept. Thus, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, as I have just said, speak of the vowel *ā* simply as *saṃvṛita*; and upon these words Professor Weber reports that "*ā* in the time of Pāṇini was *already so much saṃvṛita*"—that important secrets may be extracted from this grand discovery.

The foregoing illustration of Professor Weber's critical remarks does not embrace the arguments in which he splits into two, Kātyāyana, the author of our Prātisākhya, and Kātyāyana who wrote the Vārtikas to Pāṇini; for I shall first quote the observations of Professor Müller on this treatment of Kātyāyana. In speaking of the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya he expresses himself

thus :—“ It was composed by Kātyāyana, and shows a considerable advance in grammatical technicalities [viz., in comparison with the Prātisākhya of the Black Yajurveda]. There is nothing in its style that could be used as a tenable argument why Kātyāyana, the author of the Prātisākhya, should not be the same as Kātyāyana, the contemporary and critic of Pānini. It is true that Pānini's rules are intended for a language which was no longer the pure Sanskrit of the Vedas. The Vedic idiom is treated by him as an exception, whereas Kātyāyana's Prātisākhya seems to belong to a period when there existed but one recognised literature, that of the Rishis. This, however, is not quite the case. Kātyāyana himself alludes to the fact that there were at least two languages. ‘There are two words,’ he says (I. 17), ‘*om* and *atha*, both used in the beginning of a chapter ; but *om* is used in the Vedas, *atha* in the Bhāshyas.’ As Kātyāyana himself writes in the Bhāshya, or the common language, there is no reason why he should not have composed

²⁷ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 133.

rules on the grammar of the profane Sanskrit, as well as on the pronunciation of the Vedic idiom.”

In other words, Professor Müller sees that in no *grammatical* work known to him—and I may safely add to anyone else—mention is made of two Kātyāyanas ; he sees, no doubt, too—though he does not state the fact adverted to by Professor Weber himself—that several Vārtikas to Pānini correspond in substance with the Sūtras of the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya ; he deducts, moreover, from very correct and plausible premises, that there is nothing in either work to discontinue the possibility of the author of the Vārtikas having also written a work on the pronunciation of Vaidik words ; and since he doubtless coincides with me in the opinion that even Sanskrit philology can neither gain in strength nor in esteem by freeing itself from the fetters of common sense,—he arrives at the result that the hypercritical splitting of the one Kātyāyana into two, as proposed by Professor Weber, is utterly *fantastical*. I shall support his view with stronger proof than may be gathered from the quotations I have made ; but in leaving for a while the

whirlpool of the Indische Studien, I must now take up Professor Müller's own theory.

After the words just given, he continues as follows: "Some of Kātyāyana's Sūtras are now found repeated *ipsissimis verbis* in Pāṇini's Grammar. This might seem strange; but we know that not all the Sūtras now incorporated in his grammar came from Pāṇini himself, and it is most likely that Kātyāyana, in writing his supplementary notes to Pāṇini, simply repeated some of his Prātisākhya-sūtras, and that, at a later time, some of these so-called Yārttikas became part of the text of Pāṇini."

Thus, in order to establish the theory that Pāṇini's work is later than the Prātisākhya of Kātyāyana, whom Müller, as we know, conceives to be a contemporary of Pāṇini, he presents us with this very plausible sequence and chain of works:—1. The Prātisākhya of Kātyāyana. 2. The Grammar of Pāṇini. 3. The Yārttikas of Kātyāyana. And since some rules of the second work are identical with some of the first, he assumes that such rules marched from the first into the third, and they then gradually in-

vaded the second work. Now even supposing that such a migration of rules could be supported by a particle of evidence, what becomes of those stubborn Prātisākhya-Sūtras and Yārttikas of Kātyāyana which are identical in their contents—as I shall hereafter show—and which have not ventured to walk into the Sūtras of Pāṇini? They become the stumbling-block of the whole theory; for since Pāṇini, and especially Pāṇini the contemporary of Kātyāyana, could not have written rules of which the defects must have been apparent to him, if he had seen rules so much better in a work written before his own, the substance of these Sūtras of Kātyāyana could not have simultaneously preceded and followed the Grammar of Pāṇini. But I need not go further in showing the weakness of this theory, for I have already explained (p. 29, etc.) that out of the 3996 Sūtras which form the present bulk of Pāṇini's Grammar, only three, or perhaps four, may be ascribed to Kātyāyana, on *critical* and *tenable* grounds. A mere supposition, unsupported by any *proof*, that the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya is older than Pāṇini's work, can certainly not justify the sweeping doubt which

is levelled by Professor Müller against the whole work of Pāṇini, and which is not even substantiated—as we might have expected it to have been—by a distinct enumeration of all or any of those Sūtras which he would propose to restore to their rightful owner, Kātyāyana.

In now proceeding to state the reasons which induce me to look upon all Prātisākhya-Sūtras, not only as posterior to Pāṇini's Grammar, but to Pāṇini himself, and separated from him by at least several generations, I must, in the first place, point out the general fallacy which has led to the assumption that these works are anterior to Pāṇini. It consists in applying the standard of the notion of *grammar* to both categories of works, and having done this, in translating the result obtained, which is less favourable to the Prātisākhyas than to Pāṇini's work, into categories of time—priority and posteriority. An analogous fallacy would be too apparent to require any remark, if it premised conclusions concerning the chronological relation of works of a totally different

nature and character. It may assume however, as it has done, a certain degree of plausibility if it be applied to works of a similar category.

I must observe, therefore, in adverting to Professor Müller's own words, as before quoted, that the term *vyākaraṇa*, grammar, though constantly and *emphatically* given to Pāṇini's work, has not been applied by any author within my knowledge to a *Prātisākhya* work.²³ This circumstance, however, implies an important fact which must not be overlooked. Tradition, from immemorial times, as every one knows, connects with the Veda a class of works which stand in the most intimate relation to it—the *Vedāṅga* works. One of them is the *Vyākaraṇa*. The *Prātisākhyas* do not belong to them. Thus, tradition even in India, and on this kind of tradition probably the most squeamish

²³ I may here observe that the full title of Patañjali's Great Commentary is not simply *Mahābhāṣya*, but *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*. The end, for instance, of a chapter in the sixth book of the Great Commentary runs thus: इति श्रीमद्भगवत्पतञ्जलिर्विरचिते व्याकरणशब्दाभाष्ये षष्ठीव्याख्यानं.

critic will permit me to lay some stress,—does not rank amongst the most immediate offsprings of the Vaidik literature, those works which *apparently* stand in the closest relation to it,—which have no other object than that of treating of the Vaidik texts of the Śaṅhitās;—but it has canonized Pāṇini's Vyākaraṇa, which, on the contrary, would seem to be more concerned with the language of common life than with that of the sacred hymns. Is it probable, let me ask, even at this early stage, that tradition would have taken this course if it had looked upon these Prātisākhyaś as prior to the work of Pāṇini?

But this question will receive a more direct answer if we compare the aim and the contents of both these classes of works. *Vyākaraṇa* means “*un-doing*,” *i.e.*, analysis, and Pāṇini's Grammar is intended to be a linguistic analysis: it *un-does* words and *un-does* sentences which consist of words; it examines the component parts of a word, and therefore teaches us the properties of base and affix, and all the linguistic phenomena connected with both; it examines the relation, in sentences, of one word to another, and

likewise unfolds all the linguistic phenomena which are inseparable from the meeting of words.

The *Prātisākhyaś* have no such aim, and their contents consequently differ materially from those of the *Vyākaraṇa*. Their object is merely the ready-made word, or base, in the condition in which it is fit to enter into a sentence, or into composition with another base, and more especially the ready-made word or base as part of a Vaidik hymn. These works are no wise concerned in analyzing or explaining the nature of a word or base; they take them, such as they occur in the Pada text, and teach the changes which they undergo when they become part of the spoken sentence, *i.e.*, of the spoken hymn. And the consequence implied by these latter words entails, moreover, on the Prātisākhyaś the duty of paying especial attention to all the phenomena which accompany the *spoken* words; hence they deal largely with the facts of pronunciation, accent, and the particular mode ~~of~~ ^{of} sounding a syllable or word in connection with ritual acts.

This brief comparison will already have hinted at the point

of contact which exists between Pāṇini and the authors of these Prātisākhya works. Leaving aside the wider range of the domain of the former, and the narrower field of the Vaidik pursuits of the latter, we may at once infer that both will meet on the ground of phonetic rules, of accentuation, and of the properties of sound; but we shall likewise infer that any other comparison between both would be as irrelevant as if we compared Pāṇini with Sūsruta, or the Prātisākhyas with the Jyotisha.

The aim of both categories of works being entirely different, there is neither a logical nor an historical necessity, nor does there exist a fact or a circumstance which would enable us to conclude, from the absence in these Prātisākhyas of certain grammatical matter, that their authors were not as much conversant with it as Pāṇini, who treats of it, because it is his object, and therefore his duty, to treat of it.

These facts being beyond the reach of doubt, we may again raise an *a-priori* question whether it is more probable that the

plan of Pāṇini's work preceded in time the *plan* of a Prātisākhya work, or the reverse?

Throughout a great portion of his admirable Introduction to Pāṇini, Patanjali endeavours to impress on the reader the great importance of grammatical study for promoting the objects of religion and holiness. He shows that a knowledge of language is necessary to a proper understanding of the sacred texts; that no priest is safe in the practice of rites without a thorough comprehension of the grammatical laws which define the nature of sounds and words,—in short, that nothing less than eternal bliss depends very much on the proper and correct use made of words, and, as a consequence, on the study of Pāṇini.

Here, then, we have a distinct definition of the relation of Pāṇini to the Vaidik texts,—a distinct statement of the causes which have produced the *Vyākaraṇa*. And what do they show else, than that Pāṇini must have stood in the midst of a *living* religion, of a creed which understood itself, or at least had still the vigour to try to understand itself?

In Pāṇini there is organism and life. In the Prātisākhya there is mechanism and death. They do not care for the sense of a word. A word *antaḥ*, for instance, is to them merely a combination of five sounds, nothing else; for whether it represent the nominative of *anta*, "end," or the adverb *antar*, "between," is perfectly indifferent to them. The rule of Kātyāyana's Prātisākhyā on this word (II. 26), is, therefore, as dreary as a grammatical rule could ever be imagined to be, and the critical remarks which Professor Weber has attached to this rule merely prove that, on this occasion, also he beats the air.

It does not follow, as I have before observed, that, because linguistic death reigns in these Sūtras, Kātyāyana or their other authors must have been as ignorant of grammar as it would seem if these works made any claim to be grammars at all. It merely follows that, in the period in which they were written, there existed a class of priests who had to be drilled into a proper recital of the sacred texts; and it may follow, too, that this set of men had none of the spirit, learning, and intelligence, which

Patanjali would wish to find in a man who practices religious rites.

In other words, it seems to me that between Pāṇini's living grammar and these dead Prātisākhya, there lies a space of time sufficient to create a want, of which a very insignificant trace is perhaps perceptible in some of Pāṇini's Vaidik rules, but which must have been irresistible at the period of the Prātisākhya works.

In substantiating with material proofs the priority of Pāṇini's work, I may dispense with giving evidence that Pāṇini meant, in his eight grammatical books, to concern himself with Vaidik language as well as the language of common life. For I should have simply to quote hundreds of his rules which are entirely devoted to Vaidik texts, and I should have to carry the reader through the whole Introduction of Patanjali, which proves, as I have already mentioned, that one of the chief objects of grammar is the correct apprehension of the hymns. I will merely therefore compare, first some matter treated by Pāṇini with some matter treated

by the Rik-Pratīśākhya,—such matter, of course, as admits of a point of contact between both, and therefore of a comparison at all. ✓

The fifth chapter of the latter work treats of the cases in which the consonant *s* becomes *śh*; the same subject is comprised in the latter part of the third chapter of Pāṇini's eighth book; but this book does not contain the smallest number of the cases mentioned in the Rik-Pratīśākhya. The same work enumerates in the same chapter the words and classes of words in which *n* becomes *ṇ*, and very few only of these instances are taught by Pāṇini in the last chapter of his work. A similar remark applies with still greater force to a comparison of Pāṇini's rules on the prolongation of vowels with those given by the Rik-Pratīśākhya in its seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters. In short, there is not a single chapter in this work which, whenever it allows of a comparison between its contents and the contents of analogous chapters of Pāṇini's Grammar, must not at once be declared to be infinitely more complete than the rules on them delivered by Pāṇini.

In addressing myself for a like purpose to the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya, I might seem to do that which is superfluous. For, as I have shown before that Pāṇini was not acquainted with a Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā, it would require no further proof that he must have preceded a work which is entirely devoted to this collection of hymns. But as such a comparison, being extended also to the Vārtikas, would involve at the same time the question whether the author of the Vārtikas and the author of the Pratīśākhya is the same person or not; and as it would, too, bear on the very appreciation of the character of this Vaidik work, I will enter into it with greater detail than was required for the conclusions which follow from a comparison between the Rik-Pratīśākhya and Pāṇini.

It is a remarkable feature in the explanatory gloss which Professor Weber has attached to his edition of the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya, that he evinces much pleasure in schooling Kātyāyana for introducing irrelevant matter into his work; now upbraiding him for his remarks on the common dialect, which

ought not to have concerned him in a Sūtra of this kind ; then finding fault with him for treating of words which do not occur in the Vājasneyi-Saṁhitā, and which, likewise, ought not to have troubled him. Professor Weber has given us too, in the beginning of his preface, a valuable collection of instances, which in his opinion prove either that Kātyāyana must have had before him a different version of the White Yajurveda than the one known to us, or that he has botched on to his Prātisākhya a number of rules which, for his purpose, were out of place ; or, to sum up in the words of the *Indische Studien*, already referred to, that Kātyāyana shows neither skill nor practice in his treatment of the matter edited and commented upon by Professor Weber. But what would the latter think if Kātyāyana applied this very reproach to him ? if he told Professor Weber that he did not even understand the character of the Prātisākhya which he was editing and subjecting to all this learned criticism ?

Let me, then, take the place of Kātyāyana, and maintain for him, that he is not only the very same Kātyāyana who wrote the

Vārttikas to Pāṇini, but that his Vājasneyi-Prātisākhya has the double aim of being a Vaidik treatise as well as of containing *criticisms on Pāṇini*. And let me, therefore, tell Professor Weber that since there is abundant proof of this view in Kātyāyana's Vaidik work, all his handsome epithets are put out of court. And this, I hold, will also settle the question why we meet with so many Sūtras in Kātyāyana which are identical with those of Pāṇini ; for we shall presently see that this identity is merely an apparent one, and, in reality, no identity at all.

I will take this point up first, and show that Kātyāyana merely repeated the words of Pāṇini in order to attach his critical notes to them, just as I sometimes literally repeated the words of Professor Weber himself, merely for the purpose of improving on him.

Pāṇini says (I. 1, 60) *adāriṇaṁ lopah*. "This is not distinct enough," I hear Kātyāyana say ; hence he writes (I. 141) *ṛasjūlarīṇaṁ lopah*.—Pāṇini gives the definition : (I. 2, 29. 30) *uchchhair udāttaḥ and nīchhair anudāttaḥ*. "So far so good," I suppose Kātyāyana to say ; "but you give the necessary com-

plement of these two rules in the words (I. 2, 31) 'samāhārahā svaritāḥ'; I object to this definition, for the svarita would better have been defined thus, "ubhayaṛān svaritāḥ" (K. I. 108-110).—P. I. 2, 32: *tasṃdāḍita udāttaṃ ardhakrasvam*; but K. I. 126: *tasṃdāḍita udāttaṃ svarārdhamātram*.—P. VIII. 4, 67, 68: *nodāttaṃ svaritodayam* (with the quotation of a dissent on the part of Gārgya, Kāśyapa, and Gālava); *udāttaḍ anudāttaṃ svaritāḥ*. The former rule is approved of by Kātyāyana, who repeats it literally, but the latter he words thus: *udāttaḥ chānudāttaṃ svaritāṃ* (IV. 140, 134).—P. I. 1, 8: *mukhanāsikāvacchano 'nunāsikāḥ*; but K. I. 75: *mukhanāsikākarano 'nunāsikāḥ*.—P. I. 1, 9: *tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarnam*. "Would it not be clearer," we hear Kātyāyana say, "to give this definition thus: (K. I. 43) *samānasthānakaranāṃsyaprayatnaḥ savarnāḥ*."—P. VI. 1, 84: *ekāḥ pūrvaparayoh*; but K. IV. 49: *athaikam uttarach cha*.—P. I. 1, 66: *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*. "This rule I adopt," Kātyāyana probably thought, (I. 134) "but for your next rule (I. 1, 67), *tasmād ity uttarasya*, I prefer the clearer wording" (I. 135) *tasmād ity uttarasyādeḥ*,

"and your *ślokaḥ sthāneyogā* (I. 1, 49), evidently a rule which you ought to have put with those two preceding Paribhāṣā rules which are its complement, instead of separating it from them by seventeen other rules, I place it, therefore, immediately after these" (I. 136).

I will not add more instances of the same kind; they have all been carefully collected by Professor Weber; but he is far from perceiving that the identity between the language of both authors is merely an apparent one, and that the additional words of Kātyāyana, either in the same Sūtra or in one immediately following, but intimately connected with it, are so many criticisms on Pāṇini, which are even made more prominent by the repetition of a certain amount of Pāṇini's words. For to assume, even without any of the further proofs which I shall adduce, that Kātyāyana first delivered his clearer and better Sūtras, and that Pāṇini hobbled after him with his imperfect ones, is not very probable.

The following synopsis of rules is an extract from those I have collected for the purpose of determining whether it could be

a matter of accident that the Pratisākhya Sūtras of Kātyāyana are, to a considerable extent, nothing but Vārtikas to Pāṇini.

Pāṇini writes (VIII. 2, 87), "*om abhyādāne*," which rule proves that in his time *om* was not confined to Vaidik use only; but Kātyāyana writes (I. 18 and 19), "*omkāram vedeshu*" and "*athakāram bhāshyeshu*." No doubt if Kātyāyana had not written with a direct glance at Pāṇini, this latter rule would be out of place, but in this combination its origin becomes intelligible. P. says (VIII. 1, 46), "*ehi manye prahāse lṛi*." Though this rule does not treat of the accent of *manye*, it nevertheless would follow from other rules of Pāṇini, that *manye* is ādyudātta in its combination with *ehi*. This inference is emphatically corrected by K. 2, 15 : *manye padapūrvam sarvatra*. Professor Weber, it is true, says that this word *sarvatra*—which embodies the *emphasis* of the censure of Kātyāyana—is meaningless : once more, no-doubt, Kātyāyana has bungled through "want of practice and skill." How much Pāṇini's rules VIII. 1, 19 and 72, *āmantrīkasya cha*, and *āmantrīam pūrvam aridyamānavat*, are the torment of com-

mentators, may be seen from many instances in Sāyana's Commentary on the R̥gveda. K. improves them considerably by II. 17 and 18 : *padapūrvam āmantrīam anānārthe 'pādādan* and *tenānantarā shashṭy ekapadavat*.—K. writes II. 22 : *bhūtir ādyudātām* : this rule again rouses the critical indignation of Professor Weber. "Why," he exclaims, "is this word singled out (by Kātyāyana)? Assuredly, it is not the single *kīu* formation in the V. S." My answer is, because Kātyāyana had studied Pāṇini, and Professor Weber, it is clear, has not; for Pāṇini says, III. 3, 96, that *bhūti* is *antodātta* in the Veda; and Kātyāyana therefore singled this word out with the decided intention of stating that in the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā Pāṇini's rule would be erroneous. This instance, I hold, moreover, is one of those which add some weight to the proof I have already given, that Pāṇini did not know, and therefore preceded, the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā.—K. says, II. 48, *devatādwandwāni chānāmantrīāni*; and his words are a distinct criticism on P. VI. 2, 141, *devatādwandwe cha*.—In rule VIII. 3, 36, Pāṇini teaches that Visarjaniya may remain such (or, as

the Sūtra expresses itself, on account of previous Sūtras, may become Visarjanīya), before sibilants, or may become assimilated to the following sibilant. But he committed the venial offence of not stating that this latter alternative rests on the authority of Śākāṭyana, and the former on that of Śākalya. Could Kātyāyana, therefore, forego the opportunity of writing (III. 8): "*pratyaya-sacaranam mudi Śākāṭyānanah*," and (III. 9), "*avikāraṁ Śākālyah śashaseshu*"?—In VI. 1, 134, Pāṇini gives a comprehensive rule on the elision of the final *s* in regard to the Vaidik use of the nominative of *taḍ*. "No," says Kātyāyana (III. 14), "in the V. S. this elision occurs before vowels only in two instances: *sa ośadhīmāyoh*."—K. (III. 22) says *āvīr nir īḍa īḍāyā vasatīr varivah*, and thus criticises the imperfection of P.'s rule VIII. 3, 54, *īḍāyā vā*.—In III. 27, *adhvano rajaso riśah sprīṣas pātāu*, he shows the clumsiness of P.'s rule VIII. 3, 52, *pātāu cha bahulam*; in III. 30, *parāv arasāne*, the imperfection of P.'s VIII. 3, 51, *pañchamyāh parāv adhyarthe*; in III. 55, *bhāvi-bhyah saḥ śhaṁ samānapade*, that of P.'s VIII. 3, 59, *ādesapratya-gayoh*.—In the Sūtras III. 56 and 57, Kātyāyana teaches that the

intervention of *anuswāra*, *k* and *r* do not prevent *s* from becoming *śh*, if this change would have to take place otherwise. "These rules," says Professor Weber, "have no business here, for Sañhita and Pada-text agree in this respect, and these rules are quite general grammatical rules;" and in support of this argument he quotes Uvata, who also points out the superfluity. The latter consoles us for it, it is true, by the remark that a man should not complain if he found honey though he intended only to fetch fuel, or a fish though his object were to fetch water, or fruits though he went out merely to pluck flowers. But as Professor Weber is not so easily consoled, and not so leniently disposed towards Kātyāyana as Uvata is, I may tell him that these rules are levelled against Pāṇini's rules VIII. 3, 57 and 58, which omit to include *r*. At II. 55, *dvandvaṁ cendrasomapūrvam pūshāgnivāyushu*, Professor Weber discharges a witticism. "None of the compounds" (referred to in the Sūtra), he says, "occur in the V. S. or the Śat. Br. . . . How is that to be explained? Did our Homer nod when he composed this rule? or did he have before him passages

of the V. S. which it no longer contains [Professor Weber probably meant to say, 'which was not the V. S. we now possess']? or is the text of our Sūtra corrupt, and have we to read another word for *sōma*?" I will try to relieve his anxiety by expressing the belief that this Sūtra and the next, II. 56, are criticisms on Pāṇini's general rule VI. 2, 141, and on his special rule VI. 2, 142.—The rule of Pāṇini VIII. 3, 107, *suñah*, is criticised in three Sūtras of Kātyāyana III. 59, 60, 61, *okātāt su*; *och chāprikātāt*, and *abheś cha*.

The Vārttika 3 to III. 3, 108 says *varnat kārāḥ*; K. I. 37, *kāreṇa cha*; both are identical in their contents, and complete Pāṇini's rule III. 3, 108. The same remark applies to the Vārttika 4 to P. III. 3, 108, *rād īphah*, and to K. I. 40, *ra ephena cha*, in reference to the same rule of Pāṇini.—K. III. 38, *aharpatau repam*, points out an omission in P. VIII. 2, 70: the same criticism is conveyed by the Vārttika 2 to this Sūtra of Pāṇini, *aharādnām patyādīshu*.—K. III. 12, *luṅ mudī jītpare* fills up a blank in P. VIII. 3, 36, *vā śiri*; and likewise a Vārttika on this Sūtra to the same effect, *vā śarprakarane kharpare lopah*.—P.'s rule VI. 3, 109,

prishodarādñi yathopadisham, is criticised by K. III. 41 and 42, *ukāram dur de* and *nāse cha*, as well as by a Vārttika to the former rule, which has the same contents: *duro dāsanāśadabhadhyeshūtvaṁ* *vaktaryam uttarapadādes cha śhūtvaṁ*.—A Vārttika to the same rule of P., *shasha uvam datridāśasūttarapadādeḥ śhūtvaṁ cha*, is identical in contents with K. III. 46, *śhaḍ dāśantanayoh saṁkhyā-vayorthayoś cha*: both are criticisms on P. VI. 3, 109.—The first Vārttika to III. 2, 49 (improperly marked, like the two others, in the Calcutta edition, as if these Vārttikas did not occur in the Mahābhāshya), *dārāv āhano 'ṇantiyasya cha ṭaḥ sanjñāyam*, is similar in contents with K. III. 47, *ta āghād anādāmbarāt*: both complete P. III. 2, 49, *āsish hanah*.—The important omission in P.'s Sūtra VIII. 4, 1, *rashābhyān no naḥ samānapade*, is, with almost a literal reference to these words, criticised by K.'s III. 83, *ṛisharebhyo nakāro nakāraṁ samānapade*, and by his Vārttika to the former rule, *rashābhyāṁ natva ṛikāragrahaṇam*.

I need not increase the foregoing quotations by a comparison of the contents of whole chapters of the Vajasaneyi-Pratīśākhya with the

analogous contents of whole chapters in Pāṇini. For, though the result would be exactly the same as it has been in the case of our comparison between the *Rik-Prātisākhya* and Pāṇini's work, even the isolated Sūtras which I have contrasted in these quotations sufficiently show that Pāṇini could never have laid his Grammar open to such numerous criticisms as he has done, if the work of Kātyāyana had been composed before his own. My synopsis, moreover, shows that many rules of Kātyāyana become utterly inexplicable in his Prātisākhya work *unless they be judged in their intimate connection with the Grammar of Pāṇini*. And, as it is simply ridiculous to assume that "Homer constantly nodded" in writing an elaborate work, which evidences considerable skill and practice in the art of arranging the matter of which he treats, there is no other conclusion left than that the Prātisākhya of Kātyāyana had the twofold aim which I have indicated above.

There might, however, remain a doubt as to whether Kātyāyana first wrote his Prātisākhyas or his Vārttikas to Pāṇini. Two reasons induce me to think that his Prātisākhya preceded his

Vārttikas. In the first place, because the contrary assumption would lead to the very improbable inference that a scholar like Kātyāyana, who has given such abundant proof of his thorough knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, left a considerable number of Pāṇini's rules without those emendations which, as we must now admit, are embodied in his Prātisākhya work. If we made a supposition of this kind, we should imply by it that he belongs to that class of authors who present their writings in a hurried and immature state, and, upon an after thought, make their apology in an appendix or an additional book. If we assume, on the other hand, that he first wrote his Prātisākhya Sūtras, which neither imposed upon him the task, nor gave him an opportunity, of making a thorough review of Pāṇini, we can understand that they might have seduced him now and then into allowing himself to be carried away by the critical tendency which he afterwards fully developed in his Vārttikas; and we can then, too, understand why these Vārttikas treat merely of those Sūtras of Pāṇini which were not included in his former work.

My second reason for this view is derived from a comparison between such of his Sūtras and such of his Vārttikas as are closely related to one another. For if we examine the contents and the wording of either we cannot fail to perceive that some of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas show an improvement on some of his Sūtras, and we may infer that they were given on account of this very improvement. Thus the Vārttika to VIII. 3, 36, quoted before, contains the word *vá*, which is not in the Sūtra III. 12; the Vārttika *śaśo*, &c., to VI. 3, 109 embraces more formations than the Sūtras III. 41 and 42; the Vārttikas 1-3 to III. 2, 49 do not contain, it is true, the word *śāmbhara* alluded to in III. 47—perhaps because it was already contained in this Sūtra—but increase considerably the contents of this rule; the Vārttika 2 to VIII. 2, 70 treats of a whole Gana, while the Sūtra III. 38 merely names its heading word; and so on. Nor could we forego such a comparison on the ground that there is a difference of purpose in the Sūtras which are attached to the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā, and in the Vārttikas, which are connected with Pāṇini,—that,

consequently, an improvement of the Vārttikas on the Pratisākhya need not tell on the chronological relation between both. For we have seen that Kātyāyana's Pratisākhya does *not* strictly confine itself to the language of his Samhitā or even to that of the Vedas in general. Already the instances given before would suffice to bear out this fact, in the appreciation of which I so entirely differ from Professor Weber's views; and a striking instance of this kind is afforded by Kātyāyana's Sūtra III. 42, quoted before. It treats of a case entirely irrelevant for the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā; this case is taken up again and enlarged upon in a Vārttika to VI. 3, 109, and there is no reason why the additions made in this Vārttika might not have been entitled with equal right to a place amongst Kātyāyana's Sūtras, as Sūtra III. 42 itself. Their not standing there shows to my mind that this Vārttika is later than this rule of the Pratisākhya work.

It will readily be seen that I have arrived at the result of the priority of Pāṇini's work to the Pratisākhya of Kātyāyana, in entire independence of all the assistance which I might have

derived from my previous arguments. I have hitherto abstained from availing myself of their aid, because an inference must gain in strength if it be able to show that two entirely distinct lines of argument necessarily lead to the same goal. Such is the case with the question before us. For if we now appeal, once more, to the important information which Patanjali supplied, viz., that the “*anubandhas* of former grammarians have no grammatical effect in the work of Pāṇini :” in other words, that if a grammarian uses *anubandhas* employed by Pāṇini in the same manner as he did, his work must have been written after Pāṇini’s work,—we need only point to the *pratāyāhara tīg*, in Kātyāyana’s Sūtra I. 27, in order to be relieved from any doubt that Pāṇini’s grammar is prior to the Sūtra of Kātyāyana. That Kātyāyana added in his Sūtras other technical terms to those of Pāṇini, cannot be a matter of surprise; indeed, it is even less remarkable than it would be under ordinary circumstances if we consider that he made—either as inventor or as borrowing from older grammarians—such additions to the terminology of Pāṇini in his very Vārtikas, where

one would think there was the least necessity for them,—where, for instance, he might have easily done without such new terms as *sit*, *pit*, *jīt*, *jhit*, *ghu*, in the sense in which he uses them.²²

Thus far my *literary* argument on the chronological relation between Pāṇini and the Prātisākhya works. The *historical* proof, that not only the work of Pāṇini, but *Pāṇini himself*, preceded, by at least two generations, the author of the oldest *Prātisākhya*, requires in the first place, the remark that by the latter designation I mean the Prātisākhya of the R̥gveda hymns.

Since Professor Weber, in his introduction to his edition of the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya has given proofs that this work as well

²² Vārtika 1 to Pāṇini I. 1. 68: *विततिद्विषावां युषावर्धम्*; Vārtika 2: *द्विषावो यववत्स च स्वावर्धम्*; Vārtika 3: *द्विषावो यववत्सो व रावावर्धम्*; Vārtika 4: *द्विषाव च तद्विषावां च मत्स्यावर्धम्*.—In his Kārikā to VII. 1, 21 (compare note 114) Kātyāyana uses the term *घु* in the sense of उत्तरपद, as results from the commentary of Patanjali.—Kārikā: *सोयवो* etc.—Patanjali: *सोयवाविति वत्सव्यम् । द्विषिदमवाविति । अनुत्तरपद इति* etc.—The same term *घु* occurs in Patanjali’s Kārikā to VI. 4, 149 (see note 121): ... *सो सोपो ऽतिवदित्व च* etc., when Kaiyaṣa observes: *घुवद्वेनोत्तरपद पूर्वाचार्यप्रविकीर्तते*.

as the Atharvaveda-Prátisākhya—and I infer too, that of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā—are more recent than the Rik-Prátisākhya, and since these reasons are conclusive to my mind, I need not, by the addition of other proof to that which he has afforded us on this point, weaken the great pleasure I feel, in being able, for once in a way, to coincide with him in his views.

It is necessary, however, that I should first touch in a few words on the question of the authorship of this Rik-Prátisākhya. It is adverted to in the first verse of this work, in a passage which contains all the information we possess on this point. The passage in question runs thus: "After having adored Brahma, Śaunaka expressed the characteristic feature of the Rik-veda verses."

Now, as it is not unusual in Sanskrit writings for the author to introduce himself in the commencement of his work by giving his name, and speaking of himself in the third person, this verse alone would not justify us in looking upon the words quoted as *necessarily* containing a mere report of Śaunaka's having delivered certain rules which another later author brought into the shape of the Rik-

Prátisākhya as we now find it. But it must be admitted, also, that it does not absolutely compel us to ascribe this work to Śaunaka himself. It leaves us free to interpret its sense according to the conclusions which must be derived from the contents of the work itself.

These contents have already required us to establish the priority of Pāṇini's Grammar to this Prátisākhya work. If, then, we find that Pāṇini speaks of Śaunaka as of an ancient authority,²⁰ while there is no evidence to show that the Śaunaka named in both works is not the same personage, there is from the point of view of my former '*literary*' argument, a certainty that Śaunaka was *not* the author of the Prátisākhya here named.²¹

²⁰ IV. 3, 103: पुराणमिति ब्राह्मणकथ्ये; 106: दीपवादिभ्यश्च. Compare also page 149.

²¹ This is the view, too, of *l'raja*, the commentator on this Prátisākhya. He says that Śaunaka's name is mentioned for the sake of remembering him: शाणक्यं स्मरणाय. See Mr. Regnier's edition of the Rik-P. in the Journal Asiatique, vol. VII. (1856), p. 183.

This inference, however, it must be admitted, is only entitled to be mentioned thus at the beginning of the *historical* argument, in so far as it may *afterwards* strengthen and corroborate it, but not, if it had to be used in order to premise the conclusions which will have to be drawn.

Another preliminary remark, also, must be devoted to the sweeping assertion of Professor Weber, already quoted, which is to this effect, that "sameness of names can never prove the identity of the persons" who bear these names. It is true he qualifies this *dictum* by adding after "names," "like Kātyāyana;" but, even with this restriction, I cannot convince myself that literary criticism gains in strength by carrying Pyrrhonism beyond the confines of common sense. If great celebrity attaches to a name in certain portions of Sanskrit literature; and if the same name re-occurs in other and *kindred* portions of this same literature, I believe we are not only free, but compelled, to infer that the personage bearing this name in both such places is the same personage, unless there be particular and *good* reasons which

would induce us to arrive at a contrary conclusion. I thus hold that a critic has no right to obtrude his doubts upon us until he has given good and substantial reasons for them.

After this expression of dissent from the critical principles of Professor Weber, I may now recall the fact I have mentioned on a previous occasion (p. 80), that there is a grammatical work, in a hundred thousand Ślokas, called *Sangraha*, whose author is *Vyāḍi* or *Vyāḍi*. I know of no other grammatical work bearing this name or *Sangraha*, nor of any other celebrated grammarian named *Vyāḍi*. Both names, however, are not unfrequently met with in the grammatical literature. *Vyāḍi* is quoted several times in the *Rik-Pratishākhya*,²² and there is no valid reason for doubting that he is there the same person as the author of the *Sangraha*. This same work and its author are sometimes alluded to in the illustrations which the commentators give of the Sūtras to Pāṇini or the

²² Rik-P. III, 14. 17; VI, 12; XIII, 12. 15. See Mr. Regnier's *Index des noms propres* to his edition of the Rik-Pratishākhya, s.v. Vyāḍi.

Vārttikas of Kātyāyana;²²³ and both, indeed, as I shall show hereafter, appear to have stood in a close relation to the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. We are, however, only concerned here with one instance with which Patañjali illustrates the second Vārttika of Pāṇini's rule II. 3, 66.

It is this: "*beautiful indeed is Dākshāyana's creation of the Sangraha.*"²²⁴

From it we learn, then, in connection with the information we already possess of the proper name of the author of the Sangraha, that Vyādi and Dākshāyana are one and the same grammatical authority. Dākshāyana, however, is not only a descendant of

²²³ Patañjali's commentary on v. 6 (of the Calcutta edition) to IV. 2, 60 gives the instances: सर्वदेहः । सर्वतलः । सर्वात्तिवः । सर्वयहः । or the Kāśikā to VI. 3, 79: सर्वयहं खाकरसमधीति.

²²⁴ This instance follows another which says: "beautiful indeed is Pāṇini's creation of (his) Sūtra."—Vārttika 2 to II. 3, 66: श्रेवे विभावा .—Patañjali: शोभना खलु पादिति: सूत्रस्य कृतिः । शोभना खलु पांखिमिना सूत्रस्य कृतिः । शोभना खलु दाचाय-स्य संवहस्य कृतिः । शोभना खलु दाचायसेन संवहस्य कृतिः.

Dāksha, but of *Dākshi* also,²²⁵ and of the latter, at least in the third generation, while he may possibly have held a far more distant place in the lineage of this personage who is so often named in the ancient literature. For Pāṇini, who defines the term *yuvan* as the son of a grandson or of a more remote degree in the lineage of a family chief,²²⁶ gives a rule in reference to this term, which the principal commentators illustrate by the name of *Dākshāyana*.²²⁷

²²⁵ Pāṇini, IV. 1, 95: खत एव .—Kātyāyana: एनो युवायुवाभ्यां किञ्चिकनो विप्रति-वेधेन .—Patañjali: एनो युवायुवाभ्यां किञ्चिकनो भवतः विप्रतिवेधेन । एनो एवकाशः । दाचिः etc.—Kāśikā: दक्षसायनं दाचिः.

²²⁶ Pāṇini, IV. 1, 162: अपलं यौचप्रमृति नोचत्; 163: यौवति गु वंजे युवा; 164: भातरि व व्यायसि; 165: यान्चिस्सायके खविरतरे यौवति.

²²⁷ IV. 1, 101: यञिचोख . This Sūtra has no direct commentary by Patañjali, and I shall therefore first quote the Kāśikā on it: यञकादिचकासायले एकप्रलयो भवति । नार्थोचखः । वात्सायनः । एचकात् । दाचायवः । झाचायवः । शीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ (IV. 3, 10) । (IV. 2, 80) सुतंनमादिय एचिलतो य भवति । नोचयसेन यञिचो वि-श्रेयेते । तदक्षावुवेवायं प्रलयः (comp. IV. 1, 94).—But there is no occasion for doubt-

If we now turn to Pānini himself, we have it on the authority of Patanjali that his mother bore the name of *Dākṣhī*.²²⁸ And

ing the genuineness of this *Sūtra* on account of there being no *Blāshya* to it (compare note 139), for Patanjali refers to it in his comment on the fifth *Paribhāṣā* (in the *Calc.* ed.) to I. 1, 72 and has also, amongst others, the instance *दाषायबः*; viz. (ed. Ballantyne, p. 795); *Paribhāṣā*: *प्रत्ययवहं चाप्यस्याः* । *प्रत्ययवहं च अप्यस्याः* *प्रयो-ज्यम्* । *यजिषोः परमवति* । *गार्गीयबः* । *वात्स्यायनः* । *परमगार्गीयबः* *परमवात्स्यायनः* । *दाषायबः* । *परमदाषायबः* etc.—That *Dākṣhīyāna* is the *gurus*, not the son of *Dākṣhī* is sufficiently clear from the *Kāśikā* itself, since it refers to IV. 1, 94. For this reason it also gives as an instance of a *gurus* to I. 2, 66, besides *गार्गीयबः* and *वात्स्यायन* (omitted in the *Calc.* ed.), the word *दाषायबः*—Patanjali contents himself with the instance *गार्गीयबः*; but it commences its counter-instance to II. 4, 58 in this way: *खिञ्जोरिति किम्* । *दाक्षेपत्वं युवा दाषायबः*. We must, consequently, consider it an inaccuracy when the same *Kāśikā* gives its counter-instance to II. 4, 60 in these words: *प्राचाभिति किम्* । *दाक्षिः पिता* । *दाषायबः पुत्रः*. The *Calcutta* edition continues it, and Dr. Boehtlingk, of course, reprints it without a single remark. In short, whenever we open his discreditable reprint, we understand perfectly well why he writes in his preface, p. xxxviii.: “The *Calcutta* edition is very correct, so much so that only on the very rarest occasions have I had an opportunity of preferring the readings of the Manuscripts.”

²²⁸ *Kāśikā* to I. 1, 20: *सर्वे सर्वपददिया दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः* etc.

Dākṣhī, again, is, on the faith of all commentators on a rule of Pānini, the female family head of the progeny of *Dakṣha*, standing in the same relationship to *Dakṣha* as the male family chief *Dākṣhī*; she is, in other words, the oldest sister (*priddhā*) of the latter personage.²²⁹ Vyādi, therefore, was a near relative of Pānini, and Pānini must have preceded him by at least two generations.

²²⁹ Pāpini, VI. 4, 148: *यस्मैति च*.—Patanjali: *एवर्षान्मस्मैति किमुदाहरणं हे दाक्षा दाक्षेयः* । *हे दाक्षि इति यदि सोपो न स्मात्* etc.—*Kāśikā*: *एवर्षान्मस्मैति* । *हे दाक्षी-ति* । *दाक्षिप्रत्ययवहो मनुष्यजातेरिति* (MS. *हे दाक्षेविदिषिषः*) (IV. 1, 65) *जीवि-कृते तस्य संजुषो ब्रूते* etc.—IV. 1, 65: *इतो मनुष्यजातेः*—*Kāśikā*.... *दाक्षी*....—IV. 1, 94: *गोचाबून्ब्रूयाम्*—*Kāśikā*.... *चस्त्रियमिति किम्* । *दाक्षी*....—I. 2, 66: *स्त्री पुत्रस्य* (where *स्त्री* implies in reference to the preceding *Sūtra* *युवा स्त्री*, i.e. the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant, considered as the female head of the family).—*Kāśikā*: *युवो युनेति* (I. 2, 66) *च सर्वम्* । *स्त्री युवा युवा सह यवने विषति* । *तद्वचस्येदिव विधेवो भवति* । *पुंश्च एवास्माः* (thus MS. 829; MS. 2440 *एवास्माः*) *कायै भवति* । *स्यैवः पुमर्भवन्नवति* । *गार्गी च गार्गीयवच गार्गी* । *वात्सी च वा-त्स्यायवच वात्सी* । *दाक्षी च दाक्षावच दाक्षी* (thus MS. 2410; MS. 829 *दाक्षी*).

Now since the Rik-Pratīśākhya quotes Vyādi, as we have seen, on several occasions, and since the Pratīśākhya of Kātyāyana is more recent than this work, I must leave it to the reader to determine how many generations must, in all probability, have separated Pāṇini from the author of the Rik-Pratīśākhya on the one hand, and from the author of the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya and the Vārttikas on the other.

After this statement, which, I fear, is entirely fatal to a great many chronological assumptions which have hitherto been regarded as fully established, and to the critical and linguistic results which have been built on these assumptions, it is not necessary—but it will nevertheless be interesting—to see that modern and ancient grammatical authorities contain additional testimony to the conclusion I have here arrived at.

When explaining the uncritical condition of the Paribhāṣā collections, I pointed out that if they were looked upon as an indivisible whole, there could be no doubt that they must be later than Pāṇini,—since one of them uses the word *Pāṇinīya*. I

pointed out, too, that the compilers of these collections, Vaidyānātha, for instance, must have taken this view of their chronological relation to Pāṇini. Now at the end of the *Laghu-paribhāṣā-vṛtti* we read that “some ascribe the composition of all the Paribhāṣās to the Muni Vyādi.”²⁴⁰ They must consequently have considered him as posterior to Pāṇini.

I will at once, however, ascend to the author of the Great Commentary. In illustrating the first Vārttika to Pāṇini's rule VI. 2, 36, Patanjali writes down the following compound: *Āpīsala-Pāṇinīya-Vyādiya-Gautamīyāh*.²⁴¹ It tells its own tale: it names first the disciples of *Āpīsali*—of whom we know, through Pāṇini himself, that he preceded him,—then those of *Pāṇini*,

²⁴⁰ *Laghu-paribhāṣā-vṛtti*: इदं मनुर्विरचयत् । केचित् वाक्यान्त (the first Paribhāṣā) इत्यादिपद्यावा चादिमुनिविरचिता इत्याहुः.

²⁴¹ Pāṇini, VI. 2, 36: आपादौपसर्जनादिवाची.—Kātyāyana: आपादौपसर्जने निबन्धापि पूर्वपदत्वात्संदेहः.—Patanjali: आपादौपसर्जने निबन्धापि पदस्य पूर्वपदत्वात्संदेहो भवति । आपिपदवाचिणीचवाचीवनीमीवाः.

afterwards those of *Vyādi*, and ultimately those of *Gautama*. There can be no doubt that we have here a sequence of grammarians who wrote one after the other; but, if any doubt still existed, it would be dispelled by the grammatical properties of the compound itself; for a *Vārttika* to II. 2, 34, teaches that—unless there be reasons to prevent it—the name of the more important part must come first in a *Dwandwa* compound; and for a similar reason other *Vārttikas* teach that, for instance, in forming such a compound of the names of seasons, the name of the earliest season in the year must precede that of a subsequent one; or in compounding the names of castes, they must follow one another in their natural order; or in making a *Dwandwa* of the names of two brothers, the name of the older has precedence of the name of the younger.²³ But as none of the grammatical reasons taught

²³ Pāṇini, II. 2, 34: *अन्त्याध्वरम्*.—*Vārttika* 3 (of the Calc. ed.) *अन्वर्हितं च*.—*Patanjali*: *अन्वर्हितं पूर्वं विपततीति वक्तव्यम् । मातृपितरौ ब्रह्मर्षे*.—*Vārttika* 2 (of the Calc. ed.) *अनुवचनानामनुपूर्वेण समानाचारात्*.—*Patanjali*: *अनुवचन-*

by Pāṇini in previous rules would compel the component parts of the compound alleged to assume another order than that which they have, we can only interpret their sequence in the manner I have stated.²⁴ ✓

The descent from the height of the *Pratīśākhya*s to the level plain of the *Phitsūtras* would almost seem to require an explanation. Before I give it, however, I will refer to Professor Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, and state its opinion on the rela-

सामानुपूर्वेण समानाचाराणां पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः । त्रिचिरवसनी.—*Vārttika* 5 (of the Calc. ed.) *वर्षानामनुपूर्वेण*.—*Patanjali*: *वर्षाणां चानुपूर्वेण पूर्वनिपातो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । ब्राह्मणविद्विदमुद्राः*.—*Vārttika* 6 (of the Calc. ed.) *आनुव च्छाब्दव्यः*.—*Patanjali*: *आनुव च्छाब्दव्यः पूर्वनिपातो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । दुचिधिरानुनी*.

²⁴ Such a reason would be, for instance, if one part of the compound belonged to the words technically called *चि* (I. 4, 7—9); for in such a case the base *चि* would have precedence of a base ending in *च* (compare II. 2, 32). On this account the names of the three grammarians, Śākalya, Gārgya and Vyādi, form in the *Pratīśākhya*, XIII. 12, the *dwandwa*: *वाकिशाक्यगार्ग्यः*.

tion of these Sūtras to Pāṇini. It is contained in the following words : ²⁴

“As to Śāntana's Phitsūtras, we know with less certainty to what period they belong. A knowledge of them is not presupposed by Pāṇini, and the grammatical terms used by Śāntana are different from those employed by Pāṇini,—a fact from which Professor Boehtlingk has ingeniously concluded that Śāntana must have belonged to the eastern school of grammarians. As, however, these Sūtras treat only of the accent, and the accent is used in the Vedic language only, the subject of Śāntana's work would lead us to suppose that he was anterior to Pāṇini, though it would be unsafe to draw any further conclusion from this.”

Once more I am unable to assent to the arguments of my learned predecessor on this subject. If the knowledge of a work, as he admits, is not presupposed by Pāṇini, it would seem to follow that such a work is not anterior but posterior to him, since it is scarcely

probable that he could have ignored the information it contains. Nor has Professor Müller given any evidence to show that the contents of the Phitsūtras are restricted to the Vaidik language only. On the contrary, the great bulk of the words treated of in these Sūtras belongs with equal right, and, in some respect, with much greater right, to the classical language, in preference to that of the Vaidik hymns or Brāhmaṇas. And as no word can be pronounced without an accent, it is not intelligible why such a treatise should not be of as great importance for the student who recites the Mahābhārata as for the priest who reads the R̥gveda poetry. Pāṇini himself has, indeed, embraced in his rules on accentuation a great number of words no trace of which occurs in the Saṁhitās. But even if the statement made by Professor Müller were unobjectionable, why should it follow that an author who— and because he—writes on a Vaidik subject, must, or is even likely to, be anterior to an author who treats of the classical literature? And Pāṇini moreover treated of both.

As little as I can adopt, on these premises, the conclusions Prof.

²⁴ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 152.

Müller draws, so little can I join in the compliments he pays to the ingenuity of Dr. Boehtlingk.²⁴⁵ For since Pāṇini himself, as I have

²⁴⁵ As in the case of the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini, and of the Uṇṣādī-Sūtras, the edition of the Phitsūtras also was entrusted by Dr. Boehtlingk to his compositor, who reprinted the text of these Sūtras from the Calcutta edition of the Siddhānta-kaumudī.—The difficulties offered by these Sūtras are not inconsiderable, and might have yielded good materials for many remarks. Dr. Boehtlingk's Commentary on them consists of 32 lines, which contain the substance of about 12, nearly all of which are insignificant. Even his very small Index to the Sūtras is imperfect; for it omits the Sūtra चचेति पादानि which he mistook for a part of the commentary on IV. 13, and the Sūtra उपसर्गोच्चा-भिवर्णे which also he has reprinted as if it were a portion of the commentary on IV. 12, though he himself is doubtful as to its proper position there. He professes, too, to have given an Index of the contents, "for those who mean to pursue the subject." But as one of the latter, I had to make a thorough Index of all the technical symbols in the Sūtras, and also of a good number of real words which occur in the commentary and text, but which, in accordance with his notion of an Index, or through his usual inaccuracy, are omitted in his Index: e.g. संयत्त II. 13; अदिति IV. 15; अभि IV. 13; चत्वा I. 2; चत्वा I. 4; चाचर्वत्त IV. 11; दृष्ट्वा III. 19; चतु II. 22; छक्-चात्त II. 22; छत्तिवा I. 21; छत्ति II. 8, and very many more. Of compounds he has never enabled the reader to find the latter part; and such general terms as चदात्त, सत्ति, अनुदात्त, चत्त etc., which are as indispensable for a student as the

shown before, makes use of the terms *prathamā*, *dvitīyā*, *tritīyā*, *chaturthī*, etc., and of *auṅ*, *āṅ* (in the sense of an instrumental in the singular),²⁴⁶ all of which are terms of the eastern grammarians, and, as everyone knows that Pāṇini did not belong to them, I can see no ingenuity in assigning Śāntana to this school on the sole ground of his having used terms which differ from those of Pāṇini; especially when these terms have no grammatical influence whatever, like the anubandhas of Pāṇini, and are not distinctly defined in the commentary as terms of the eastern grammarians.²⁴⁷

individual words themselves, are of course, also omitted. And all these remarks are suggested by the *edition* of a text which comprises no more than 88 Sūtras. It is, of course, needless for me to add that the trouble of consulting or using a very valuable commentary on these Sūtras, the *Phitsūtra-rīti*, does not enter into the plan of an editor whose activity in editing grammatical Sanskrit texts only consists in putting the printed Calcutta works into different type.

²⁴⁶ See notes 197, 220, and Pāṇini, VII. 3, 105.

²⁴⁷ Dr. Boehtlingk enumerates the terms which induced him to draw the inference alluded to by Müller, that Śāntana belonged to the eastern grammarians; and he adds, also the Sūtras where they occur, viz. चत्त II. 4, 19, 26; अप् II. 3; चिप् I. 1; दसत्तव्

✱The real reasons for this assumption, which I share in, must, in my opinion, be sought for elsewhere; and as they are connected with the question of the chronological relation of the Phitsūtras to Pāṇini, I will first explain why I speak of them after the Prātisākhya works.

It is because they stand on the same linguistic ground as the latter writings, and because it was safer to survey this ground in the wider field of the Prātisākhya literature than in the narrow precincts of the Sūtras of Śāntana. This having been done, we need now merely recall the results obtained.

II. 18; शिद् ॥ ६; सिक् ॥ १६; इय् ॥ २५. Amongst these, सिक् does not occur in the text of the Sūtras of Bhaṭṭoji, but is a *various reading* mentioned by him in his commentary, which reports on *this various reading* that it is a term of the eastern grammarians. The text of his Sūtras has *सुप्* instead of सिक्. As to the other quotations given by Dr. Boehtlingk, *not one* tells us that these terms are terms of the eastern grammarians. There was, consequently, not a particle of evidence to draw from *them* that inference which he so positively draws. It is a mere guess, the probable correctness of which is corroborated, but by such evidence as never occurred to him.

We have seen that the Prātisākhyas represent the mechanic treatment of the language, unlike Pāṇini's method, which is organic and shows the growth and life of the language he spoke. The same is the case in these Phitsūtras. Whereas Pāṇini endeavours to explain the accent of words by connecting it with the properties of the word,—whereas he seeks for organic *laws* in the accents of uncompounded or compounded words and, only reluctantly, as it were, abandons this path whenever he is unable to assign a general reason for his rules,—the Phitsūtras, like the Prātisākhyas, deal merely with the ready-made word,²⁴ and attach to it those mechanical rules which bewilder and confuse, but must have been well adapted for an intellectual condition fitted for admiring the Prātisākhya works. They belong, in my opinion, like the Prātisākhyas, not to the flourishing times of Hindu antiquity, but to its decadence.

²⁴ Phitsūtra, I. 1: किंो ऽन्त उद्गातः.—Phitsūtravṛttī: चर्चयद्वागुत्तरमन्वः (comp. Pāp. I. 2, 45) किद् । क्तचित्तवमावाचैति (comp. Pāp. I. 2, 46).—Compare also the end of note 253.

In the second place, we have seen that on the ground which is common to both, the Prātisākyas possess a far greater amount of linguistic material than Pānini does; and we had to conclude that Pānini could on no account have ignored the knowledge they conveyed, had they existed before his time. Precisely the same remark applies to the little treatise of Śāntana; for, brief as it is, it is richer in many respects than the *analogous* chapter which Pānini devoted to the same subject; and it would be inconceivable that Pānini should bring forward his rules, so much more incomplete in *substance* than the Phitsūtras, had they been the precursor of his work.

But, thirdly, we were compelled to admit that, at least, one of the Prātisākyas, that of Kātyāyana, was written with the direct intention of completing and criticising Pānini; and I may here observe, that Professor Weber has, with very good reasons, assigned to this grammarian a place within the Eastern school. These features, too, characterise the tract of Śāntana.

Some of his rules are delivered with the evident purpose of criticising Pānini, and we meet on one occasion with the remark of the commentator that the *eastern grammarians* point out the difference between a rule of Pānini and one of Śāntana, when the context in which this passage occurs leaves no doubt that they meant a criticism on Pānini. And from this remark alone I should conclude that Śāntana was one of their school, while, from all these reasons combined, I draw the inference that he must have written after Pānini.

I will give some proof to substantiate this view, and to show, moreover, that there are grammatical authorities in India who expressly imply the view here taken of the posteriority of these Sūtras to Pānini.

According to Pānini's rule, VI. 1, 213, a word *ibhāya* would have the *udatta* on the first syllable; Bhaṭṭojidīkshita, in his comment on the *Phitsūtras*, quotes this rule in order to show that Śāntana gave his Sūtra I. 5, with a view of stating that Pānini's

rule would not apply to this word.²⁰ He quotes the same rule of Pāṇini for a similar purpose when he comments on I. 18,²⁰ for, according to this rule, *arya* is not udātta on the first, but on the last syllable; and also in his comment on IV. 8, for, according to this Sūtra, the words *tilga*, *śikhya* (*martya*), *dhātaya* and *kanyā*, are not udātta on the first, but swarita on the last syllable.²¹ On the rule I. 7, Bhaṭṭoji reports that, in the opinion of certain grammarians, Śāntāna gave it in order to “kill” Pāṇini’s rule VI. 2, 2.²²

²⁰⁰ Pápiál, VI. 1, 213: यतो जगवः—Phaisátra, I, 5: अपूर्वेण स्त्रीविषयसः—Bhattojiid.: विषयव्याचं किम । इभा यतो जगव रत्नासदात्त इत्यशब्दः.

²⁰⁰ *Pratipātra*, I. 18: चर्यस्य साव्याका येत्.—Bhaṭṭajīd.: वाचसाङ्गात्पूर्यमिति (III. 13)। यतो ज्ञाव एति याबुदातो प्राप्ति वचवम् (where the word प्राप्ति sufficiently indicates Bhaṭṭajī's view of the chronological relation between Śāntana and Pāṇini. The same rule is given by Kāśyapa in his *Vārāṇsa* to Panini, III. 1. 108).

²⁸¹ *Phaistos*, IV, 8: तिष्ठतिष्ठास्यैषावकनाराजवसमुपावासावतः—Bhattachajid.: स्मृतिः स्मृतः। तिष्ठानां भवन्नेव तिष्ठानः। यतो ज्ञाव एति प्राप्तिः—*The Phaistos*—*primiti reads this Sutra*: तिष्ठतिष्ठानावकनाराजवसमुपावासावतः००.

²² Phisútra, I. 7: विद्यत्सरतिश्रत्वाकानाम्.—Bhattojīd.: . . . संवत्सरः । अथ-
चतुर्वेदप्रकृतिसरो (comp. Pāṇ. VI. 2, 2) एव वाच्यत इत्याहुः.

Sántana's rule I. 23, Bhattoji says, contravenes Páṇini's rule VI. 1, 197.²³ And it is the same grammarian who, when explaining, that *saha*, as a part of Sántana's rule IV. 13, is udátta on the last syllable, reports: "The eastern grammarians inform us that *saha* in PÁṆINI's rule VI. 3, 78, is udátta on the first syllable;" and he adds the advice: "*think on that*."²⁴ But I find no evidence in the arguments of Dr. Boehtlingk, as regards the relation of Sántana.

²³ *Philsūtra*, I. 23: लोहवनिहोर्ध्वसि.—Bhaṭṭajid.: वन उदात्तः खात् । लोह

²⁵⁴ *Phisútra*, IV. 14 (not 13) : एवादीनामकः.—*Bhāṭṭajīd.* : एवादीनामिति खः ठात्ताम् । एव । एवम् । युगम् । सह । ते पुष्पूरिणिः सह । षडस्य युतीति सहस्य स इति (Pāp. VI. 3, 78) प्रकारेति सहस्यञ्च आबुदात्ता इति प्राक् । अविश्वम्.—*The statement of the Prācāhas mentioned by Bhāṭṭajīd.* *kahila*, is that of *Patanjali* in his comment on VI. 3, 78, v. 1, viz. : आबुदात्तनिपातञ्च करिष्यते ; and *Kaiyaṣa* in referring to *Phisútra* IV. 12, observes : निपाता आबुदात्ता इति सहस्यञ्च आबुदात्तः. But this reference of *Kaiyaṣa* by no means admits of the conclusion that he looked upon *Pāpini's* rule as more recent than this *Phisútra* ; for this rule is not concerned with the accent of सह ; it is *Patanjali* who alludes to it ; and *Kaiyaṣa* comments, in the words alleged, on *Patanjali*, not on *Pāpini*.

to the eastern grammarians, of his having followed the advice of Bhattojīdīkshita. ✓

Of equal importance with these observations of Bhaṭṭoji, is a passage in the notes of Nágajibhaṭṭa on Kaiyāta, when the latter accompanies the gloss of Patanjali to Kátáyana's Várttika 6, to Pāṇini VI. 1, 158, with his own remarks. For Nágajibhaṭṭa, after having observed that a rule of Pāṇini would contain a fault when compared with the standard of the Phitsūtras, pointedly winds up with the following words: "But, on the other hand, *these Phitsūtras, when considered in reference to Pāṇini, are as if they were made to-day.*"¹¹⁴

²⁸⁵ Vārtika 6 (of the Calc. ed.) to VI. 1, 158 : प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोः स्वरस्य सावकाशत्वाद्ग्रन्थिभिः.—Patanjali: प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोः स्वरस्य सावकाशत्वादग्रन्थिभिः स्वातः । प्रकृतित्वात्सावकाशाच्च । यथागुदरान्नप्रत्ययः । पञ्चमि । यठति । प्रत्ययस्वरसावकाशाच्च । यथागुदराणां प्रकृतिः स्वप्न लम् । खिम लम् । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति । कर्तोभयम् । शैतिरीयम् । विप्रतिषेधायाम्बलरो अभियन्ति । भूयं विप्रतिषेधे परमित्युच्यते (I. 4, 2) । न परः प्रत्ययस्तत् । भूय दोषः । इष्टवाची परश्चब्दः । विप्रतिषेधे परं यदिदं तन्नवतीति.—Vārtika 7 (of the Calc. ed.): विप्रतिषेधात्मन्येष्वहं हति चेत्काम्यायादिना विल्लारबन्धम्

It is clear, therefore, that the best Hindu grammarians, too,

—Patanjali: विप्रतिषेधाम्बयस्यर इति चेत्काम्यावादावहितः कर्तव्यः । पुनश्चाव्यतिः
 नोपाचरति । अतीचते । शिव दोषः । प्रकृतिस्यरो ऽथ बाधको भविव्यतिः । प्रकृतिस्यरो
 प्रत्ययस्यरोभावः । कर्तव्यम् । निप्तिरोवम्—Kalyāṇa, on the preceding passages :
 विप्रतिषेधादिति । पूर्वविप्रतिषेधादिबर्हः । काम्यादय एति । काम्यचधिकारव
 प्रमाणात् तत्कर्तव्येव —Nāgajibhāṣi: सम त्वमित्यथ तत्त्वममखिने
 अनुद्यानीति (Phīṣūtra, IV. 10) प्रकृतिपुरदाम् । तिप्तिरिः शकुनीनां च शकु-
 पूर्वमिति (Phīṣūtra, II. 21) मज्जोदापः । फिट्सरो ऽपि बाध एवेति त्रिप्ति-
 रीवे ऽपि दोषः । यदा फिट्सुराणि पाणिन्येषवा आधुनिकानुवाचीति परत्वं बो-
 धम्.—The Phīṣūtra II. 21, referred to by Nāgajibhāṣi, is read differently in Bhāṣṭji's
 text from that of the Vṛtti. I subjoin both readings with their commentary, in order
 to illustrate at the same time the nature of the latter commentary as compared with that
 of Bhāṣṭji. The latter reads शकुनीनां च शकुपूर्वेन, and comments: पूर्वं शकुदत्तं
 खार । कुकुटः । तिप्तिरिः.—The Phīṣūtra-vṛtti reads शकुनीनां च शकुपूर्वोवाचाम्,
 and comments शकुपूर्वो चेत्तां शकुनिवाचिनां लघावते यथोच यद्वहो मुसदात्तो
 भवति । लघावतुः । लघावतः । कथेतः । शकुनीनामिति किम् । वराहः । शकुपूर्वोवा-
 मिति किम् । कुकुटः । तिप्तिरिः । शङ्करीटः.—I may quote here a passage from
 Śāyana's Commentary on Rīgveda I. 1, in order to obviate a misunderstanding of it.

looked upon these Sūtras not only as not anterior to Pāṇini, but as quite recent, when compared with his work.

On *Yāska*, Professor Müller expresses himself thus :²⁵

"There are some discussions in the beginning of the Nirukta which are of the highest interest with regard to etymology. While in Greece the notions of one of her greatest thinkers, as

with regard to the accent of the word **अग्नि** he writes: **आग्नेयस्य अग्निः सदा अग्नेयस्य**. These words need not mean that *Gārgya*, the predecessor of Pāṇini, deducts from *Phīṣūtra* I. 1, the accent of **अग्नि**, but *āgy* may—and, I conclude, *do*—mean : "since, according to the opinion of *Gārgya*, *agni* is an indivisible base (*i.e.* a base which must not be analysed; compare note 248), its accent is the *adṛṭṭa* on the last syllable, agreeably to *Phīṣūtra* I. 1.—The last references, therefore, would belong to *Sāyaṇa*, not to *Gārgya*; and the only inference we might be allowed to draw from the words of *Sāyaṇa* would be, that *Gārgya* looked upon *agni* as an *Uppādi*-formation (compare p. 171), and, perhaps—but not necessarily,—that already in his time there existed a rule on accentuation similar in *purport* to that of the *Phīṣūtra* alleged. It is not admissible, therefore, to adduce this passage in proof that, in *Sāyaṇa*'s opinion, the *Phīṣūtras* were known to *Gārgya*.

²⁵ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 163.

expressed in the Cratylus, represent the very infancy of etymological science, the Brahmins of India had treated some of the vital problems of etymology with the utmost sobriety. In the *Prātiśākhya* of *Kātyāyana* we find, besides the philosophical division of speech into nouns, verbs, prepositions, and particles, another division of a purely grammatical nature and expressed in the most strictly technical language. '*Verbs* with their conjugational terminations; *Nouns*, derived from verbs by means of *Krit*-suffixes; *Nouns*, derived from nouns by means of *taddhita*-suffixes, and four kinds of compounds,—these constitute language' [*Vājas. Prāt. I. 27.*]

"In the Nirukta this division is no longer considered sufficient. A new problem has been started, one of the most important problems in the philosophy of language, whether all nouns are derived from verbs? No one would deny that certain nouns, or the majority of nouns, were derived from verbs. The early grammarians of India were fully agreed that *kartri*, a doer, was derived from *kri*, to do; *pāchaka*, a cook, from *pach*, to cook. But

did the same apply to all words? Śākāṭyāna, an ancient grammarian and philosopher, answered the question boldly in the affirmative, and he became the founder of a large school, called the *Nairuktas* (or Etymologists), who made the verbal origin of all words the leading principle of all their researches.²³⁷

It is sufficiently clear from the preceding words that Professor Müller considers Yāska as more recent than Kātyāyana, and since he himself admits (see above p. 193) "that there is nothing in the style of the *Prātisākhya* composed by Kātyāyana that could be used as a tenable argument why Kātyāyana, the author of the *Prātisākhya*, should not be the same as Kātyāyana, the contemporary and critic of Pāṇini," he must also consider the author of the *Nirukta* as subsequent to Pāṇini.

To refute his view on the relative position of Kātyāyana and Yāska, we need now merely point to the facts with which we are

already familiar. Müller's reason for Yāska's posteriority to Kātyāyana is founded, as we see, on the assumption that the problem of the derivability or non-derivability of *all* nouns from verbs had not yet been proposed in the time of Kātyāyana. But whence does he know this? The *Prātisākhya* of Kātyāyana is no sufficient testimony for establishing this theory. When Kātyāyana there says that nouns are either nouns derived from verbs, or nouns derived from nouns,—either *krit* or *taddhita* derivatives,—he has already said too much in a work of this kind, which has nothing to do with the origin of words, and which alludes to this and other matter, foreign to a *Prātisākhya* itself, only *because*, and *in so far as*, it concerns its *other purpose*, viz. that of criticizing Pāṇini. Whether or not therefore it dealt with a problem such as that of which Müller is speaking, is merely a matter of chance.

But this problem itself, as we have seen, is epitomized in the term *unnādi*. A grammarian who uses this term shows at the same time that he is cognizant of that division between the old grammarians which Yāska describes. For whichever side he

²³⁷ In the continuation of this passage Professor Müller gives the statement similar to that which is contained above, on page 171.

espouse, he has expressed by the term *unnādi*, that there are krit-derivatives which are of an exceptional kind and which are looked upon by some as being, strictly speaking, no derivatives at all. Now, I have quoted several instances which prove that Kātyāyana dealt with the question of *Unnādi* words. Hence he *was* aware of that problem discussed in the Nirukta; it was *not* "a new problem" to him; and all the inferences that may or may not be built on its absence in the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya become invalidated at once.

But the knowledge possessed by Pāṇini, of this problem itself would, of course, not prove anything as to his priority or posteriority to Yāska, who speaks of it. It leaves this question just where we find it, and we must seek for other evidence to settle it.

Such, I hold, is afforded by the fact that Pāṇini knows the name of Yāska, for he teaches the formation of this word and heads a Gaṇa with it.²²⁹ And as we know at present of but one

²²⁹ Pāṇini, II. 4. 63: शाकान्दिभ्यो णीने

real Yāska in the whole ancient literature, a doubt as to the identity of the author of the Nirukta and the family chief adduced by Pāṇini, would have first to be supported with plausible arguments before it could be assented to.

A second and equally strong reason is, in my belief, afforded by the test I have established above, on the ground of the grammatical *sarjñās* which occur in Pāṇini's work.

Amongst these terms there is one especially which allows us to judge of the relative position of Yāska and Pāṇini, viz., the term *upasarga*, prefix or preposition. Pāṇini employs it in many Sūtras; he does not define it; it must consequently have been in use before he wrote. Yāska, however, enters fully into the notion expressed by it, as we may conclude from the following words of his Nirukta:—²³⁰

²³⁰ Nirukta, I. 3 (according to the edition of Professor Roth): च विचिन्वा उपसर्गो
उपसर्गिराहति शाकटादयो नामाकातयोस्तु समीपसंयोगोक्तता भवत्युदाहरणः
पदानां भवन्तीति शब्दस्य एव पदार्थः प्राकृतसि न नामाकातयोर्गोचरविकारम् ।

which inheres in them ; it is this sense which modifies the sense of a noun or verb. The preposition *á* expresses the sense of limit (e.g. *up to the mountain*) ; *pra* and *pará* express the reverse of *á* (e.g. *gone forth or away*) ; *abhi*, the sense of towards (e.g. *gone towards*—in a friendly sense) ; *prati*, the reverse of *abhi* (e.g. *gone against*) ; *ati* and *su*, excellence (e.g. *having much wealth*, an excellent Bráhmaṇa) ; *nir* and *dur*, the reverse of these two (e.g. *having no wealth*, a bad Bráhmaṇa) ; *ni* and *ava*, downwardness (e.g. *he takes down*) ; *ud*, the reverse of these two (e.g. *he takes up*) ; *sam*, junction (e.g. *he takes together*) ; *vi* and *apa*, the reverse of *sam* (e.g. *he takes away*) ; *anu*, similarity or being after (e.g. *having a similar appearance*, he goes after) ; *api*, co-existence (e.g. *let it be a drop of butter*, a drop of honey) ;²⁰⁰ *upa*, excess (e.g. *he is born again*) ; *pri*, surrounding (e.g. *he puts round*) ; *adhi*, being above and

²⁰⁰ It seems to me doubtful whether संसर्ग implies the sense which is illustrated by the instance of Durga ; without his words, which clearly refer to Patanjali's comment on Pāṇini, I. 4. 96, I should have rendered संसर्ग by *union*, and thought of an instance like चपिनसृति.

superiority (e.g. *he stands over*, a supreme lord). In this manner they express various senses, and these have to be considered."

This passage records, as we see, besides the definition of Yāska, the opinions of Śākaṭāyana and of Gārgya ; it is silent on Pāṇini. Yet how much more complete and scientific is his treatment of the prepositions ! Durga, the commentator of Yāska, feels this defect in Yāska, for at the end of his gloss he says : " *upasargas* can only be joined to a verb, not to a noun ; it is therefore only through the mediation of the former that they can ascend also to the latter" (viz. in so far as nouns are derived from verbal roots).

Pāṇini teaches that the first and general category to which prepositions belong, is that of *nipātas* or particles : he then continues, that they are *upasargas* when they are joined to "verbal action" (i.e. to a verb) ; *gatis*, if the verbal roots to which they are attached become developed into a noun ; and that they are *karna-pravachanīyas* if they are detached and govern a noun.²⁰¹ Of such

²⁰¹ Pāṇini, I. 4. 58 : प्रादयः ; 59 : उपसर्गाः क्तिवाद्योनिः 60 : गतिश्च ; 63 : कर्माप्रवचनीयाः.

a distinction there is no trace in the Nirukta, which stops, as we see, at the speculations of Śakātáyana and Gárgya, both predecessors of Páṇini. Nor can the meanings which Yáska assigns to the prepositions, so far as completeness is concerned, be compared to those we meet with in the rules of Páṇini. *Adhi*, for instance, has with him not only the sense mentioned by Yáska, but that of "towards, by (severally), with regard to;" *ati*, that of "excellence and transgression;" *apa*, that of "exception;" *anu*, that of "in consequence of, connected with, less than, towards, by (severally), with regard to, to the share of;" *prati*, the sense of "towards, by (severally), with regard to, to the share of, instead of, in return of;" *pari*, the sense of *prati*, except in the two last meanings, and that of an "expletive;" *adhi*, that of "superiority and of an expletive."²³

It seems impossible, therefore, to assume that Yáska could have known the classes of *upasarga* as defined by Páṇini, and

²³ Compare I. 4, 84—97.

their meanings as enumerated by him when he wrote the words before quoted. But not knowing the grammar of Páṇini, is, in the case of Yáska, tantamount to having preceded it.

Though Yáska be older than Páṇini, and Páṇini older than Kátáyana, there still remains the mystery as to the era of Páṇini. No work of the ancient literature, within my knowledge, gives us the means of penetrating it. But as the remotest date of Hindu antiquity, which may be called a real date, is that of *Buddha's* death, it must be of interest to know whether Páṇini is likely to have lived before or after this event.

Not only is the name of *Śákyamuni*, or Śákya, never adverted to in the Sútras of Páṇini,²⁴ but there is another fact connected with this name which is still more remarkable.

²⁴ The formation *Śákya* occurs in three Gāṇas; as a derivative from *śak* with *ya* in the Gāṇa to IV. 1, 105; with *ya* to IV. 3, 92, but there it becomes doubtful, through the difference in the readings of the MSS.; and as a derivation from *śak* with *ya* in the Gāṇa to IV. 1, 151.

The great schism which divided ancient India into two hostile creeds, centres in the notion which each entertained of the nature of eternal bliss. The Brahmanic Hindus hope that their soul will ultimately become united with the universal spirit; which, in the language of the Upanishads, is the neuter Brahman; and, in that of the sects, the supreme deity, who takes the place of this philosophical and impersonal god. And however indefinite this god Brahman may be, it is nevertheless, to the mind of the Brahmanic Hindu, an *entity*. The final salvation of a Buddhist is entire *non-entity*. This difference between the goal of both created that deep and irreconcilable antagonism which allowed of none of the compromise which was possible between all the shades and degrees of the Brahmanic faith, from the most enlightened to the most degenerate. The various expressions for eternal bliss in the Brahmanic creed, like *apavarga*, *moksha*, *mukti*, *nirāśraya*, all mean either "liberation from this earthly career" or the "absolute good;" they therefore imply a condition of hope. The absolute end of a Buddhist is without hope; it is *nirvāṇa* or extinction.

This word means literally "*blown out*;" but there is this difference, if I am not mistaken, between its use in the Brahmanic and in the Buddhist literature,—that, in the former, it is employed, like other past participles, in any of the three genders, whereas in the latter it occurs only in the neuter gender, and there, too, only in the sense of an abstract noun, in that of *extinction*, i.e., absolute annihilation of the soul. I have no instance at my command in which *nirvāṇa*, when used in the classical literature, implies any other sense than the sense "*blown out*," or a sense immediately connected with it. Thus Patanjali, when illustrating the use of this past participle, gives the instances: "the fire is *blown out* by the wind, the lamp is *blown out* by the wind;" and Kaiyaṇa who, on the same occasion, observes that a phrase, "the wind has ceased to blow," would not be expressed by "*nirvāṇo vātaḥ*, but by *nirvāto vātaḥ*," corroborates the instances of Patanjali with one of his own: "blowing out (has been effected) by the wind." But Pāṇini, who teaches the formation of this participle in rule VIII. 2, 50, which has indirectly called forth all these instances, says:

“(the past participle of *vā* with prefix *nir* is) *nirvāna* (if the word means) ‘free from wind,’ (or, ‘not blowing, as wind’).”²⁴

This is the natural interpretation of Pāṇini's rule. *Kātyāyana*, it is true, gives a Vārttika which corrects the word *avāte* into *avātābhādhāne* “(if it have) not the sense of wind (or of blowing);” yet it is very remarkable that Patanjali, in commenting on this Vārttika, does not interpret its words in his usual manner, but merely adds to them the instances I have just named; it is remarkable, too, that he introduces them with the observation: “(this Vārttika is given in order to show) that (*nirvāna*) is *also* or is emphatically used in the following instances.” Still he has no instance what-

²⁴ VIII. 2, 50: निर्वाणो ऽवाते.—Kātyāyana: अवातामिधानि.—Patanjali: अवातामिधानं इति वाक्यम् (these words have been mistaken for the Vārttika itself, in the Calcutta edition) । इहापि यथा ख्यातं । निर्वाणो ऽधिर्वातेन । निर्वाणः प्रदीपो वातेति ।—Kātyāyana: अवातामिधानं इति । तेन निर्वातो वात इत्येव वल्लिषिणो न नु भावे निरावातिमिति निर्वाणं वातेति भावमिति वार्तिककारस्य दर्शनम् । अने नु वातक्येनैव भाव्ये सर्वत्र निषेधमिच्छति । निर्वातो वातः । निर्वातं वातेति । निर्वाणः प्रदीपो वातेत्येव नु वातः कस्मिन्मिति प्रतिषेधमात्रः.

ever for the sense stated by Pāṇini, and his word “*also*” or “*emphatically*” does not appear to be justified by the criticism of Kātyāyana, which simply corrects the word *avāte* into *avātābhādhāne* without any additional remark.

In short, my opinion on this Vārttika is analogous to that which I have expressed in previous instances. The sense of *nirvāna*, “free from wind (or not blowing),” had become obsolete in the time of Kātyāyana, who merely knew that sense of it which found its ulterior and special application in the *nirvāna* of the Buddhist faith. But since there is no logical link between this latter word and the *nirvāna*, “wind-still,” of Pāṇini; and since it is not probable that he would have passed over in silence that sense of the word which finally became its only sense, I hold that this sense did not yet exist in his time; in other words, that his silence affords a strong probability of his having preceded the origin of the Buddhistic creed.

The task I had proposed to myself would now seem to have

reached its natural close for the present; yet if, after this brief and imperfect attempt to do justice to one of the most difficult questions of Sanskrit literature, I were now to take leave of Pāṇini, even temporarily, without devoting a special word to Patanjali, I should fail in gratitude to this great teacher, who has supplied us with nearly all the materials for this discussion and its results.

"At what time," says Professor Müller,²⁸³ "the Mahābhāshya was first composed, it is impossible to say. Patanjali, the author of the Great Commentary, is sometimes identified with Pingala; and on this view, as Pingala is called the younger brother, or at least the descendant of Pāṇini, it might be supposed that the original composition of the Mahābhāshya belonged to the third century. But the identity of Pingala and Patanjali is far from probable, and it would be rash to use it as a foundation for other calculations."

This is the only date, the fixing of which is called "*impossible*," in Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature; and as it has hitherto been

my fate to differ from this work in all its chronological views, I seem merely to follow a predestined necessity in looking upon the date of Patanjali as the only one which I should venture to determine with anything like certainty.

I do so, because Patanjali, as if foreseeing the conjectural date which some future Pandit would attach to his life, or the doubt that might lift him out of all historical reach, once took the opportunity of stating a period before which we must not imagine him to have lived, while on another occasion he mentions the time when he actually did live.

"If a thing," says Pāṇini, "serves for a livelihood, but is not for sale" (it has not the affix *ka*). This rule Patanjali illustrates with the words "Śiva, Skanda, Viśākha," meaning the idols that represent these divinities and at the same time give a living to the men who possess them,—while they are not for sale. And, "why?" he asks. "The *Mauriyas* wanted gold, and therefore established religious festivities. Good; (Pāṇini's rule) may apply to such (idols, as *they* sold); but as to idols which are hawked

²⁸³ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 244.

about (by common people) for the sake of such worship as brings an immediate profit, their names will have the affix *ka*," 208

Whether or not this interesting bit of history was given by Patanjali ironically, to show that even affixes are the obedient servants of kings, and must vanish before the idols which *they* sell,

288 V. 3, 99: सीविकार्ये चापले.—*Paṭanjali*: अपल्ल हलुथते तवेदं च विषयति । शिवः स्वन्दो विद्याय इति । किं कारवम । मौर्यैर्हृदयार्थिभिरर्चोः प्रकल्पिताः । सवैत । तासु न खात । चास्तेताः संप्रतिपुकार्यः । तासु भविष्यति.—*Kaṣyapa*: चास्ते-
ता इति । याः परिनुष्ठा नृणां दुष्टदन्ति तास्तिवर्धः । यासु विनीयन्ते तासु न भवति ।
शिवकान्विकीयती इति.—*Nāgajibhāṭṭa*: मौर्यो विक्रेतुं प्रतिमाशिल्पकालदीर्घाः
कल्पिताः (*MS. 351*: मौर्यैः विक्रीतुं प्रतिमाशिल्पवन्तौ० *etc.*; *MS. 1209*: मौर्याः वि-
क्रेतुं प्रतिमां शिल्पवांतौ० *etc.*) । विक्रेतुमिति श्रेयोऽप्येषां एकाकारच प्रलयग्र-
वप्रसङ्ग इति अर्थः । तत्र प्रलयकल्पमिष्टमेति वदन्पूवस्योदाहरणं दर्शयति ।
अभेदित्वादि । चास्तेत्यर्थः इति च । संप्रतिपुकार्यः । संप्रतिलिनिर्माणमकालमेव फल-
कारिका याः पूजा सीविकाप्रदत्तेन तदर्थो हर्षार्थदाह । याः परिनुष्ठेति । यासु
नृर्षे पुण्येति श्रुतिनासु शिवाभेदनुष्ठेः सत्त्वेन सादृश्यमुज्जभावेन प्रलयदीर्घाभावः । एवं
विशेषाणि इष्टव्यम् ।

because they do not take the money at the same time that the bargain is made—as poor people do,—I know not. But, at all events, he tells us distinctly by these words that he did not live before the first king of the Maurya dynasty who was Chandragupta, and who lived 315 B.C. And I believe, too, if we are to give a natural interpretation to his words, that he tells us, on the contrary, that he lived *after the last king* of this dynasty, or in other words later than 180 before Christ. But he has even been good enough to relieve us from a possibility of this doubt when commenting on another rule of Pāṇini, or rather on a criticism attached to it by Kātvāvana.

In Sūtra III. 2, 111, Pāṇini teaches that the imperfect must be used, when the speaker relates a past fact belonging to a time which precedes the present day. Kātyāyana improves on this rule by observing that it is used, *only* when the fact related is *out of sight, notorious, but could be seen by the person who uses the verb*. And Patanjali again appends to this, Vārtika the following instances and remark: "*The Yavana besieged (imperfect) Ayodhya; the*

Yavanas besieged (imperfect) *the Mādhyamikas*. Why does Kātyāyana say, 'out of sight?' (because in such an instance as) 'the sun rose' (the verb must be in the aorist). Why 'notorious?' (because in such an instance as) 'Devadatta made a mat' (the verb must be in the preterit). Why does he say: 'but when the fact could be seen by the person who uses the verb?' (because in such an instance as) 'According to a legend Vāsudeva killed Kansa' (the verb must likewise be in the preterit).²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ III. 2. 111: सप्तवतने सङ्-—Kātyāyana: परोक्षे च लोकाविज्ञाति प्रयोक्तुर्दर्थनविषये.—Patanjali: परोक्षे च लोकाविज्ञाति प्रयोक्तुर्दर्थनविषये सङ् सप्तवतः । सप्तवतवचनः सङ्कितम् । सप्तवतवचनो माध्यमिकम् । परोक्ष इति किमर्थम् । उदादिबः । लोकाविज्ञात इति किमर्थम् । सकार कटं देवदत्तः । प्रयोक्तुर्दर्थनविषय इति किमर्थम् । सचाप संज्ञं किञ्च वासुदेवः—Kātyāyana: परोक्षे चेति । सप्तवततात्पर्योऽपि प्रत्ययव्युत्पत्त्यापात्रयेण दर्शनविषय इति विरोधाभावाः.—Nāgajibhāṭṭa on these instances of Patanjali: भाष्ये सचानेति किम् । स वचो हि चेदा नीकानप्रयोक्तुर्दर्थनवोच्यो ऽपीत्यर्थः । सप्तवदित्युदाहरणे तु गुणवाक्यः प्रवर्तते इति बोध्यम्.—That these instances, concern the moment at which Patanjali wrote them, is therefore certain, beyond all doubt. But we obtain at the same time an insight

Hence he plainly informs us, and this is acknowledged also by Nāgajibhāṭṭa, that he lived at the time—though he was not on the spot—when "*the Yavana besieged Agodhyā*" and at the time when "*the Yavana besieged the Mādhyamikas*." For the very contrast which he marks between these and the other instances proves that he intended practically to impress his contemporaries with a proper use of the imperfect tense.

Now the *Mādhyamikas* are the well-known Buddhistio sect which was founded by *Nāgārjuna*.²⁶⁸ But here, it would seem,

into the critical condition of the later commentaries on Pāṇini, when we find, for instance, that the Kāśikā copies these instances, but without saying that they belong to Patanjali. The same is the case in the present edition of Pāṇini. On account of the importance of this passage of the Mahābhāṣya, I will remind the reader that it is contained in the MS. E.I.H. No. 330, the only one I could consult. The two MSS. of the Kāśikā in the library of the E.I.H. have instead of माध्यमिकाः, a word मध्यमिकारः; but since the latter is not only meaningless, but grammatically wrong, there can be no doubt that the reading of the MS. 330 is the only correct one.

²⁶⁸ See BERNIERI, Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, vol. I., p. 359: Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. II. p. 1163 and the quotations there.

that at this early stage we are already at a chronological standstill. For the Northern Buddhists say that Nágárajuna lived 400, and the Southern Buddhists that he lived 500, years after Buddha's death. And again, while we believed that the researches of that admirable work of Professor Lassen had finally settled this latter date, and "for a last time,"—while we believed, in other words that it was 543 before Christ, Professor Müller seizes and shakes it once more and makes Buddha die 477 before Christ. Were I to agree with the opinion which he has elsewhere expressed,²⁰⁰ that "in the history of Indian literature, dates are mostly so precarious, that a confirmation, even within a century or two, is not to be despised," I should be out of all my difficulties. For since the difference stated as regards the life of Nágárajuna would not amount to more than 166 years, it would fall within the allotted space. But I am not so easily satisfied. Dates in Sanskrit literature, as anywhere else, are either no dates at all—and then

²⁰⁰ Ancient Sanskrit Literatur, p. 243.

they are not so much as precarious—or they are dates, and then we must look closely at them.

The doubts which Prof. Müller has expressed in reference to the assumed date of Buddha's death, viz., 543 B.C., are by no means mere vague and personal doubts. On the contrary, they are embodied in an elaborate discussion, which not only proves a conscientious research, but is extremely valuable on account of the opportunity it gives of surveying the real difficulties of the question, and of forming one's own opinion, with greater safety and ease: and, whether dissenting from him or not, one is happy to deal with his arguments.

My objection to them may be summed up in the commencing and the closing words of his own investigation.

"It has been usual," he says in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature (p. 264), "to prefer the chronology of Ceylon, which places Buddha's death in 543 B.C. But the principal argument in favour of this date is extremely weak. It is said that the fact of the Ceylonese era being used as an era for practical purposes speaks in favour of its correctness. This may be true with regard to the

times after the reign of Aśoka. In historical times, any era, however fabulous its beginning, will be practically useful; but no conclusion can be drawn from this, its later use, as to the correctness of its beginning. As a conventional era, that of Ceylon may be retained, but until new evidence can be brought forward to substantiate the authenticity of the early history of Buddhism, as told by the Ceylonese priests, it would be rash to use the dates of the Southern Buddhists as a corrective standard for those of the Northern Buddhists or of the Brahmaṇas."

And, towards the close of his inquiry, he expresses himself thus (p. 298):—"At the time of Aśoka's inauguration, 218 years had elapsed since the conventional date of the death of Buddha. Hence if we translate the language of Buddhist chronology into that of Greek chronology, Buddha was really supposed to have died 477 B.C. and not 543 B.C. Again, at the time of Chandragupta's accession, 162 years were believed to have elapsed since the conventional date of Buddha's death. Hence Buddha was supposed to have died $315 + 162 = 477$ B.C."

In quoting these two passages, I show at once that Professor Müller attaches no faith to the tradition which concerns the date of Buddha's death, but that he attaches faith to that which places Aśoka 218, and Chandragupta 162, years after that event. But if tradition is to be believed in one portion of the history connected with the rise and progress of the Buddhist faith, why not in another, and in all? The arguments which are good for the one case will equally apply to the other; and if tradition be wrong in fixing Buddha's death at 543 B.C., we must also reject it when giving the dates 162 and 218, and the sum total will then have no quantities out of which it can be produced. And this objection would seem to derive additional force from the very words of Professor Müller just quoted; for he says himself that the argument in favour of the date 543 B.C., so far as it is founded on the practical use made of this date, "may be true with regard to the times after the reign of Aśoka." But 218 after Buddha's death, is the date of Aśoka himself, and 162 that of Chandragupta, who preceded that king. Both, consequently, would, in Professor Müller's

opinion, deserve the same amount of belief as the date of Buddha's death itself.

The grounds on which Professor Müller differs from Professor Lassen have been fully discussed by him, as already observed; but as the essentials of this discussion lie in a nutshell, they admit of being here stated in reference to the question which actually concerns us.

Both scholars assume—and so long as Greek chronology deserves any credit at all, they do so, I hold, without the possibility of a contradiction—that Chandragupta, who is Sandrocottus, reigned 315 B.C. Buddhistic tradition, however, says that he lived 162 years after Buddha's death, which means that if this event took place 543 B.C., he reigned 381 B.C. But since 315 must be right, and 381 must be wrong, either Buddha's death occurred 477 B.C., or Chandragupta lived 66 years later than Hindu traditions allows him to live, viz., 228 years after 543 B.C. Lassen decides in favour of the latter alternative, no doubt, by saying to himself that since there is an error of 66 years, it was more likely

committed by tradition in remembering the ^{date} duration of the reign of kings who preceded Chandragupta, than in recording an event that was engrossing the national mind, and much more important to the national feeling and interest than an exact chronicle of by-gone, and some of them insignificant, kings. Müller prefers the precise tradition of 162 years, and therefore arrives at 477 B.C. as the date of Buddha's death.

Let us return, after this statement, to the events which Patanjali tells us occurred in his time, and confront them with the opinions of the two scholars named.

If Nágárjuna lived 400 years after Buddha's death, his date, according to Professor Lassen's conclusions, would be 143,—or, if he lived 500 years after this event, 43 years B.C. Again, his date, according to Professor Müller's conclusions, would be 77 B.C., or 23 after Christ. But I must mention, too, that Professor Lassen, on the ground occupied by him, supposes a further mistake of 66 years in the tradition which places Nágárjuna 500 years after Buddha's death, and that he thus also advocates the date of the

founder of the Mádhyamikas as 23 years after Christ.²⁷⁰ Now, since the sect which was founded by Nágárijuna existed not only simultaneously with, but after, him, that event which was contemporaneous with Patanjali and the Mádhyamikas, "*the siege of Ayodhyá by the Yavana*" must have occurred within or below the circle of these dates. The latter alternative, however, is again checked by the date of Abhimanyu, who reigned about 60 years after Christ; for we know from the chronicle of Kashmir that he introduced into his country the Commentary of Patanjali, which must consequently have been in existence during his reign.

In other words, the extreme points within which this historical event must have fallen, are the years 143 before, and 60 after Christ; and as in the time of Abhimanyu the Great Commentary had already suffered much, according to the report of Rájataranginí, it is necessary to limit even the latter date by, at least, several years.

²⁷⁰ Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. II. p. 412, 413.

Yet the word "*Yavana*" carries with it another corrective of this uncertainty. According to the researches of Professor Lassen it is impossible to doubt that *within this period*, viz., between 143 before and 60 after Christ, this word Yavana can only apply to the Greco-Indian kings, nine of whom reigned from 160 to 85 B.C.²⁷¹ And if we examine the exploits of these kings, we find that there is but one of whom it can be assumed that he, in his conquests of Indian territory, came as far as Ayodhyá. It is *Mausandros*, of whom so early a writer as Strabo reports that he extended his conquests as far as the Jumna river, and of whom one coin has actually been found at Mathurá. He reigned, according to Lassen's researches, more than twenty years, from about 144 B.C.²⁷²

If then this inference be correct, Patanjali must have *written his commentary* on the Várttika to Páṇini III. 2, 111, between 140 and 120 B.C.; and this is the only date in the *ancient* literature of India which, in my belief, rests on more than ~~mere~~ *mere* hypothesis.

²⁷¹ Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. II., p. 392.

²⁷² Ibid. vol. II. p. 393.

But it has also the merit of giving that "new evidence" which Professor Müller requires for a corroboration of the chronology of Ceylon. For none of the fluctuating dates I have mentioned will allow us to look upon Menandros and the Mádhyanikas as contemporaries, except the date 143, which was the extreme limit of the date of Nágárajuna's life. And since, on the basis of tradition, this date again becomes impossible,—unless we claim amongst those alleged, 543 for the time of Buddha's death, and 400 years for the succession of Nágárajuna,—Patanjali's Great Commentary becomes invaluable also in this respect, and more especially to those who are concerned in Buddhist chronology.

Of the lineage of Patanjali all the knowledge I possess is that the name of his mother was *Goniká*.²² It occurs in the last words of Patanjali on a *Káriká* to Pánini. Of more importance, however, is the information he gives us of his having resided tem-

²² Patanjali, after quoting the *Kárikás* to I. 4, 51 gives *his own opinion*, and concludes with these words (MS. E.I.H. No. 171), **उभयथा नोदिकापुत्रः**.—Nágajibhatta: **नोदिकापुत्रो मायकार इत्युक्तः** (thus MS. E.I.H. 349; the MS. 1208 **नोदिकापुत्रः**).

porarily in *Kashmir*,²³ for this circumstance throws some light on the interest which certain kings of this country took in the preservation of the Great Commentary.

His birthplace must have been situated in the East of India, for he calls himself *Gonardíya*;²⁴ and this word is given by the *Kásika* in order to exemplify names of places in the East. Patan-

²³ III. 2, 114: **विभावा साकाङ्गे**.—Patanjali: **विमुद्राहरणम् । अभिमानासि देवदत्त करमीरेषु वत्सानः । तत्र ससूत्याख्यानः । अभिमानासि देवदत्त करमीराननच्छाम । तत्र ससूत्रपिबाम । भवेत् । पुत्रे परसाकाङ्कीतीति साकाङ्गं खात् । परं तु क्वं साकाङ्कम् । परमपि साकाङ्कम् । अस्मास्मिन्साकाङ्के ततः साकाङ्कम्—Kátyáyana: विभावा साकाङ्गे सर्वत्र—Patanjali: विभावा साकाङ्गे सर्वेति वक्तव्यम् । क्व सर्वत्र । यदि चावदि य । यदि तावत् । अभिमानासि देवदत्त अन्तरमीराननच्छामः । अतदि । अभिमानासि देवदत्त करमी- वत्तपीदं न भोक्तामहे । वत्तपीदनममुञ्जहि । अतदि । अभिमानासि देवदत्त करमी- राननच्छामः । करमीराननच्छाम । तपीदं न भोक्तामहे । तपीदनममुञ्जहि ।**

²⁴ Patanjali to I. 1, 21, v. 2 (of the Calcutta edition; p. 412 ed. Ballantyne): **नोव- दीयस्त्वाह** etc.—Kátyaya: **मायकारस्त्वाह** etc.—Nágajibhatta: **नोवदीयस्यदे मायकार इति**.—It is on this authority that the word *Gonardíya* has found a place amongst the epithets of Patanjali in Hemachandra's Glossary.

jali's birthplace had therefore the name of *Gonarda*.²⁶ But that he is one of the eastern grammarians is borne out also by other evidence. Kaiyyāṭa calls him on several occasions *Āchārya-dēśiya*.²⁷ If we interpreted this word according to Pāṇini's rules

²⁶ The *Kārikā* to I. 1, 75: एह प्राचां देशे, gives the instances : एषीयवनीयः । गोपदेशीयः । गोवकदेशीयः । गोवरीयः (thus MS. E.I.H. 2440; the MS. 829, which is generally more incorrect than the former, has the plurals instead of the singulars : गोवराः). Professor Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II., p. 484) assumes a connection between *Gonardiya* and *Gonarda*, the name of a king of Kashmir; but I believe that my explanation is supported by the whole evidence combined.

²⁷ For instance, *Patanjali* to VI. 1, 158, v. 1 (of the Calcutta edition) writes : यदि पुनरयमधिकारो विज्ञायेत etc.; and Kaiyyāṭa introduces his comment on these words with : आचार्यदेशीय आह यदि पुनरिति and so on, in a similar manner, on other occasions. An instance, however, which will better bear out my conclusion, is afforded by the combined *Vārttika-Kārikā* of Kātyāyana (see note 114), and the commentaries to V. 2, 39. After the words of the *Sūtra*, *Patanjali* says : किमर्थे परित्यागं श्लुष्यते । न प्रमाद्य इति वर्तते । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत्परित्यागग्रहणं करोति तन्नापस्तम्बाचार्यः । चम्बलमाद्यन्यपरित्यागमिति; then follows the first *Vārttika* (or first portion of the *Kārikā* of Kātyāyana) : उवाताचार्येणैवातिदेशः पृथगुच्यते, which again is followed by the further comment of *Patanjali*. In reference to

V. 3, 67 and 68, it would mean “an unaccomplished teacher;” but as there is not the slightest reason for assuming that Kaiyyāṭa intended any irony or blame when he applied this epithet to *Patanjali*, it is necessary to render the word by the teacher “who belongs to the country of the *Āchārya*.” Now, since Kaiyyāṭa also distinctly contrasts *āchārya*, as the author of the *Vārttikas*, with *āchāryadēśiya*, the latter epithet can only imply that *Patanjali* was a countryman of Kātyāyana. Kātyāyana, however, as Professor Weber has shown by very good arguments, is one of the eastern school; Kaiyyāṭa, therefore, must have looked upon *Patanjali* also as belonging to it.

Another proof is afforded by a passage in the comment of Bhaṭṭo-

this passage, Kaiyyāṭa expresses himself in this way : किमर्थमिति । प्रमाद्यपरित्यागग्रहणयोरेकार्थत्वं मत्वा प्रश्नः । न प्रमाद्य इति वर्तत इति । आह्ला नञः प्रयोबाहृतत एवेत्यर्थः । चम्बलमाद्यलक्ष्मिपातनाचां नमुग्रद्वयार्थे नञ्ग्रहो वर्तते । आचार्यदेशीय आह । एवं तर्हि । आचार्य आह उवातामिति etc. He therefore contrasts *āchārya*, who is the author of the *Vārttika* *Uvata* with *āchāryadēśiya*, who is *Patanjali*

jidkshita on the Phitsútras which I have quoted above.²⁷⁸ For when this grammarian tells us that the *eastern* grammarians attribute the accent in question of *saka* to Páṇini's rule VI. 3, 78, we find that it is *Patanjali* himself who gives us this information and without any intimation of his having obtained it from other authorities.

I conclude these few remarks on our great teacher with an account which *Bhartrihari* gives of the early history of the Mahábháshya. It is of considerable interest, inasmuch as we learn from it that there was a party of grammarians who preferred to it the Sangraha (of Vyádi), and still more so, as it informs us, that Patanjali's Commentary was founded on this great grammatical work of the relative of Páṇini. The passage in question occurs at the end of the second chapter of *Bhartrihari's Vákyapadīya*, and, in reference to the word *Bháshtya*, which immediately precedes it, makes the following statement : ²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ See page 218.

²⁷⁹ The text of this passage belongs to the MS. No. 954 in the Library of the Home

“ After Patanjali had obtained the aid of [*or* had come to] grammarians who had mastered the new sciences more or less [*literally*: in their full extent and in their abridged form], and after he had

Government for India, which in a few days will have ceased to be the Library of the East India House. It bears on its outer leaf the corrupt title वाक्यपदीयाकारः, but at the end of its three chapters the words: इति श्रीमनुहरिकृते वाक्यपदीये प्रथममकांडः (sic.); द्वितीयं काण्डम्; तृतीयः काण्डः.—I call it Vákya-padīya, because, the MS. in question being very incorrect, I cannot give its reading any preference to the reading वाक्यपदीय by which this work is several times quoted in the portion of the Mahábháshya edited by Dr. Ballantyne. For, the identity of both results from a comparison I have made between the passages quoted in this highly valuable edition and the MS. before me. It is right, however, to mention that the second chapter of the work concludes in this MS. in the following manner: मनुहरिकृते वाक्यपदीये द्वितीयं काण्डम् । समाप्ता वाक्यपदीयका, where the reading वाक्यपदी-यका, when corrected to °यिका, admits of a sense, but suggests also the conjecture that it may be a corruption of वाक्यपदीयिका. I now transcribe the passage in question literally, in order to show the condition of the MS., and also to enable the reader to supply better conjectures than I may have made; but some conjectures I have been compelled to make in order to impart a meaning to a few very desperate lines. These conjectures are added in []. After the words एकमेव निदेशो भाष्य एव प्रदर्शितः, which are

acquired the *Saṅgraha* [of Vyādi], he, the Guru, well versed in the sacred sciences, connected all the original nyāyas in the Mahābhāṣya. But when it was discovered that this Commentary could not be fathomed on account of its depth, and that the minds of those who were not quite accomplished floated, as it were, on

connected with the subject treated of in the second chapter, *Bharrizhari* continues : प्रायेण सैषयुगीयचक्रविवारिणाण् [प्रायेण संचयेतच चक्रविवारिण्यहाण्] । संग्राय वै-
चाकरबालं संग्रहे सुगन्ते [संग्राय वैचाकरबालसंग्रहे सुगुगन्ते] । कृते च पातंवल्लि
चा नुस्वा तीर्षदर्थिना [कृते एव यत्तल्लिवा००] । सङ्घेवां न्यायवीचानां महाभाषि
निवचने [निवचने] । चक्रव्यवाचि नांभावेदुपान एव सीठपाण् [चक्रव्यवाचि नांभावे-
दीदुपान एव सीठपाण्] । तल्लिङ्गतनुगीनां विवावाञ्जितनिवयः [..... विवावञ्जि००] ।
शिवसीमवहयैः [०६] : मुञ्चतकोनुवारिभिः । चावे निष्ठाविते यसे [यत्ते] संग-
हप्रतिबन्धुकेः [०६] : यः पातंवल्लिग्रथेयो षड्यो न्याकरबालमः [यः पतञ्जलिग्रथि-
ग्रथो ज्यष्टी००] । चाखेन दाक्षिणात्येषु संवभाषि [यत्त००] व्यवस्थितः । पर्येतादानं
चल्ल्या भाषवीचानुवारिभिः । य बीतो वड्ढास्त्रलं चंद्राचार्योदिभिः [चक्रा००]
पुनः । न्यायप्रज्ञानार्वांशानमस्रं च्वं [स्वं] च दर्शयन् । प्रबीतो नुस्वासाकमय-
नामसंग्रहः [प्रबीतो नुस्वासाकमय००] । The subsequent words, which conclude
the second chapter, concern the subject-matter of the work, not the history of the
Mahābhārata.

the surface, in consequence of their levity, those grammarians who liked dry reasoning, Vajji, Saubhava, and Haryaksha, who were partisans of the Sangraha, cut in pieces the book of the Rishi [Patanjali]. That grammatical document [*or* manuscript of the Mahábhāshya], which was obtained from the pupils of Patanjali, then remained for some time preserved in one copy only amongst the inhabitants of the Dekhan. Chandra, again, and other grammarians, who went after the original of the Bhāshya, obtained this document from Parvata, and converted it into many books [*that is to say*, took many copies of it], and my Guru, who thoroughly knew the ways of logical discussion and his own Darśana, taught me the compendium of this grammatical work." 280

²⁸⁰ This passage will now aid us also in a correct understanding of the interesting verse from the *Rājastaragīnī*, which has been quoted, but blighted, by Dr. ~~Smith~~ ^{Smith} in the version he gives of it (vol. II. p. xv and xvi). This verse reads in the Calcutta edition of the latter work (I. 176) : चक्रपार्यादिनिर्भत्यादेशं तस्यात्तादकलम् । प्रवर्तितं महा-
भाष्यं सं च आकारं जतम् । Mr. Troyer, in his edition, substitutes for the latter words

A perusal of the foregoing pages will probably have raised the question in the reader's mind, why I have attached an investigation

वचनार्थस्य भवति. Both readings are alike good, for they convey the same sense; and the correction वचनार्थस्य for वचनार्थस्य, as proposed by Dr. Boehtlingk, is no doubt also good. But the double mistake he has committed in this single verse consists first in giving to वचनार्थस्य the sense of 'coming,' whereas the passage from the *Vākyapadīya* proves that it must there have the sense of "a written document or manuscript," and secondly, in arbitrarily assigning to the causal of वचनार्थस्य the sense of "introducing" in its European figurative sense, which the causal of वचनार्थस्य never has. The verse in question would therefore not mean, as Dr. Boehtlingk translates it: "After the teacher Chandra and others had received from him (the King Abhimanyu) the order to come there (or to him), they introduced the Mahābhāṣya and composed a grammar of their own"—but: "After Chandra and the other grammarians had received from him (the King Abhimanyu) the order, they established a text of the Mahābhāṣya, such as it could be established by means of his MS. of this work (literally: they established a Mahābhāṣya which possessed his—the King's—grammatical document, or, after they had received from him the order and his M.S., they established the text of the Mahābhāṣya) and composed their own grammars." For we know now that Chandra and the other grammarians of King Abhimanyu obtained such an āgama or manuscript of the Mahābhāṣya from Parvata, and according to the corresponding verse of the *Rājataranginī*, it becomes probable that this MS. came into possession of Abhimanyu.

of the place which Pāṇini holds in Sanskrit literature to the text of the present ritual work?

I will answer this question without reserve. It is because I hold that an inquiry like this was greatly needed in the present critical position of Sanskrit philology; and that no ancient text, whatever its nature, should remain any longer,—much less should come for a first time,—before the public without pre-supposing in its readers a full knowledge of the literary problems I have here been dealing with. For whether my views meet with approval or not, I have, I believe, at least shown that the mode in which these problems have hitherto been discussed, is neither adequate to the difficulties with which they are beset, nor to their bearings on the scientific treatment of the Sanskrit language itself.

No one, indeed, can be more alive than I am myself to the conviction of how much may be added, in the way of detail, to the facts I have adduced; for, however imperfect my present attempt and my own knowledge may be, I still could have largely increased the foregoing inquiry with materials taken from the

Brāhmaṇa-, Upanishad-, and the philosophical literature. I have not done more than allude to the contents of Pāṇini's Grammar and I have scarcely hinted at the linguistic results which may be derived from a comparison between Kātyāyana and Patañjali, on the one side, and the recent grammatical literature (which is represented by the Kāsikā, the Sūdhānta-kaumudī with its Prādhamaṇoramā, and the commentators on the Dhātupāṭha and the artificial poetry), on the other. For my present object was merely to convey a sense of the inherent difficulties of the questions I have been speaking of, and while tracing the outlines of my own results, to offer so much evidence, as was strictly necessary for supporting them with substantial proof.

Before, however, I add some words on the *practical object* I had in view in entering upon this investigation, both justice and fairness require me to avow that the immediate *impulse* which led to the present attempt was due to Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature. So great is my reluctance to the public discussion of literary questions, if such a discussion requires a con-

siderable amount of controversy, and so great is the raising an edifice of my own, if, in order to do so, I am compelled to damage structures already in existence, that this feeling would in all probability have prevented me now, as it has done hitherto, from giving public expression to my views, had it not been for the importance I attach to Müller's work. This work reached me, as already mentioned, when the first pages of this Preface were completed; and it was the new material it brought to light, and the systematic and finished form by which its author imparted to his theories a high degree of plausibility, which induced me to oppose to it the facts I have here made known and the results I have drawn from them.

And, as everyone has his own way of paying compliments, this avowal is the compliment which I pay to Professor Müller's work. For as I myself care but little for blame, and much less for praise, so long as I consider that I have fulfilled my duty, I could not but assume that he, too, would much prefer, to un instructive panegyrics which anyone could inflict on him, such

we have derived from an insight into the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyana, the Hitopadeśa, the Sakuntalā, through the labours of those great scholars, Sir William Jones, Schlegel, Böpp, and others, who are before the mind's eye of every Sanskritist. But the time of pleasure had to give way to a time of more serious research. The plays and fables are delightful in themselves, but they do not satisfy the great interests of Sanskrit philology. Our attention is, now engrossed, and rightly so, by the study of grammar, of philosophy, and, above all, of that literature of ancient India, which—very vaguely and, in some respects, wrongly, but at all events conveniently—goes by the name of the Vaidik literature. With the commencement of that study we always associate in our minds such great names as those of a Colebrooke, a Wilson, a Burnouf, a Lassen; the courageous and ingenious pioneers who opened the path on which we are now travelling with greater safety and ease.

But whence was it that they were able to unfold to us the first secrets of ancient Hindu religion, of ancient Hindu philosophy and

dissent as I have here expressed, as it can only lead either to confirmation of the opinions he has advanced, or, by correcting them, to an attainment of that scientific truth for which both of us are earnestly labouring.²¹

And now I shall speak my mind as to the necessity I felt for writing these pages in view of the present critical position of Sanskrit philology.

The study of Sanskrit commenced, not with the beginning but with the end of Sanskrit literature. It could not have done otherwise, since it had to discover, as it were, the rudiments of the language itself, and even the most necessary meanings of the most necessary words. We have all been thankful—and our gratitude will never suffer through forgetfulness—for the great advantage

²¹ Almost simultaneously with the last proof sheets I received the second edition of Professor Müller's "History of Sanskrit Literature." As both editions entirely correspond in their typographical arrangements, and I believe, in their contents also, the quotations here made from the first edition, will be found on the same pages of the second.

scientific research ? It was through the aid of the commentaries, in the first rank of which stands that of Patanjali ; in the second the works of those master minds, the most prominent of whom are Śaṅkara and Mādhava-Sāyaṇa. Without the vast information these commentators have disclosed to us,—without their method of explaining the obscurest texts,—in one word, without their scholarship, we should still stand at the outer doors of Hindu antiquity.

But to understand the value of these great commentators and exegetes, we must bear in mind the two essentials which have given them the vast influence which they have acquired. The first is the *traditional*, and the second the *grammatical*, element that pervades their works.

The whole religious life of ancient India is based on tradition. *Śruti*, or Veda, was revealed to the Rishis of the Vaidik hymns. Next to it comes *Smṛiti*, or tradition, which is based on the revealed texts, and which is authoritative only in so far as it is in accordance with them. Hence a commentator like Mādhava-Sāyaṇa, for instance, considered it as incumbent on him to prove that he had not merely

mastered the Vaidik texts, but the Mīmāṃsā also, one portion of which is devoted to this question of the relation between Śruti and Smṛiti-works. It is known that he is one of the principal writers on the Mīmāṃsā philosophy. Without tradition, the whole religious development of India would be a shadow without reality, a phantom too vague to be grasped by the mind. Tradition tells us through the voice of the commentators, who re-echo the voice of their ancestors, how the nation, from immemorial times, understood the sacred texts, what inferences they drew from them, what influence they allowed them to exercise on their religious, philosophical, ethical,—in a word, on their national, development. And this is the real, the practical, and therefore the truly scientific interest they have for us ; for all other interest is founded on theories devoid of substance and proof, is *imaginary and phantastical*.

But it would be utterly erroneous to assume that a scholar like Sāyaṇa, or even a copy of him, like Mahidhara, contented himself with being the mouth-piece of his predecessors or ances-

tors. They not only record the sense of the Vaidik texts and the sense of the words of which these texts consist, but they endeavour to show that the interpretations which they give are *consistent with the grammatical requirements of the language itself*. And this proof, which they give whenever there is the slightest necessity for it—and in the beginning of their exegesis, even when there is no apparent necessity for it, merely in order to impress on the reader the basis on which they stand,—this proof is the great grammatical element in these commentatorial works.

In short, these great Hindu commentators do not merely explain the meanings of words, but they justify them, or endeavour to justify them, on the ground of *the grammar of PĀNINI, the Vārtikas of KĀTYĀYANA, and the Mahābhāṣya of PATAJALI*.

Let us recall, then, the position we have vindicated for Pāṇini and Kātyāyana in the ancient literature, and consider how far this ground is solid ground, and how far, and when, we may feel justified in attaching a doubt to the decisions of so great a scholar as Śāyana.

We have seen that within the whole range of Sanskrit literature, so far as it is known to us, only the Saṁhitās of the Rīg-Sāma- and Black-Yajurveda, and among individual authors, only the exegete Yāska preceded Pāṇini,—that the whole bulk of the remaining known literature is posterior to his eight grammatical books. We have seen, moreover, that Kātyāyana knew the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā and the Śātapatha-brāhmana, and that, in consequence, we may assign to him, without fear of contradiction, a knowledge of the principal other Brāhmaṇas known to us, and probably of the Atharvaveda also.

Such being the case, we must then conclude that Śāyana was right in assenting to Patanjali, who, throughout his Introduction to Pāṇini, shows that Pāṇini's Grammar was written in strict reference to the Vaidik Saṁhitās, which, as I may now contend, were the three principal Saṁhitās. He is right, too, in appealing, wherever there is need, to the Vārtikās of Kātyāyana; for the latter endorses the rules of Pāṇini when he does not criticise them, and completes them wherever he thinks that Pāṇini had omitted to

notice a fact. And since we have found that the Rik-Pratishākhya fulfils the same object as these Vārtikas, viz. that of completing the rules of Pāṇini, and that Kātyāyana's Pratishākhya, which is later than that attributed to Śaunaka, preceded his own Vārtikas, we must grant, too, that he was right in availing himself of the assistance of those works, all of which are prior to the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana.

That analogous conclusions apply to the *Ishtis* of Pantanjali and to the *Phitsūtras* of Śāntana is obvious. √

But it is from *the chronological position* in which these works stand to one another that we may feel justified in occasionally criticising the decisions of Śāyana. Without a knowledge of it, or at least without a serious and conscientious attempt at obtaining it, all criticisms on Śāyana lay themselves open to the reproach of mere arbitrariness and superficiality.

For, if the results here maintained be adopted, good and substantial reasons—which, however, would first have to be proved—might allow us to doubt the correctness of a decision of Śāyana :

if, for instance, he rejected an interpretation of a word that would follow from a rule of Pāṇini, on the sole ground that Kātyāyana did not agree with Pāṇini ; or, if he interpreted a word merely on the basis of a Vārtika of Kātyāyana, we might fairly question his decision, if we saw reason to apply to the case a rule of Pāṇini, perhaps not criticised by Kātyāyana. Again, if we had substantial reasons for doing so, we might oppose our views to those of Śāyana when he justified a meaning by the aid of the *Phitsūtras* alone, though these *Sūtras* may be at variance with Pāṇini, for we should say that these *Sūtras*, “when compared to Pāṇini, are as if they were made to-day.”

In short, the greater the distance becomes between a Veda and the grammarian who appended to it his notes, the more we shall have a plausible ground for looking forward, in preference to him, to that grammarian who stood nearer to the fountain head. Even Pāṇini would cease to be our ultimate refuge, if we found Yāska opposed to him ; and Gārgya, Śākalya, Śākatāyana, or the other predecessors of Pāṇini, would deserve more serious consideration

than himself, if we were able to see that they maintained a sense of a Vaidik word which is differently rendered by him.

This is the critical process to which I hold that the commentaries of Sáyana may be subjected, should it be deemed necessary to differ from them.

These remarks apply, of course, only to the Saṁhitás which preceded Pāṇini; for, as to the literature which was posterior to him, Kátyáyana becomes necessarily our first exegetic authority, and after him comes Patanjali. I need not go further, for I have sufficiently explained the method I advocate, and the exception I take to that dogmatical schooling of these ancient authorities, which, so far from taking the trouble of conscientiously ascertaining their *relative chronological position in the literature* merely exhibits, at every step, its own want of scholarship.

I must now, though reluctantly, take a glance at the manner in which the Vaidik texts, more especially their groundwork, the Saṁhitás, nay, how the whole Sanskrit literature itself, is dealt with by those who profess to be our teachers and our authorities. And

still more reluctantly must I advert to one work especially, which, above all others, has set itself up as our teacher and authority—the great Sanskrit Dictionary published by the Russian Imperial Academy.

The principles on which this work deals with the Vaidik texts is expressed by Professor Roth in his preface to it, in the following words:²²² "Therefore we do not believe, as H. H. Wilson does,²²³ that Sájana better understood the expressions of the Veda than any European exegete, and that we have nothing to do but repeat what he says; on the contrary, we believe that a conscientious European exegete may understand the Veda much more correctly and better than Sájana. We do not consider it the [our] immediate purpose to obtain that understanding of the Veda which was current in

²²² "Sanskrit-Wörterbuch herausgegeben von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, bearbeitet von Otto Bohtlingk und Rudolph Roth." Preface, p. v.

²²³ Note of Professor Roth: "Rig-Veda-Samhitá. A collection of ancient Hindu hymns, &c. Translated from the original Sanskrit. By H. H. Wilson. London, 1850. I. p. 25."

India some centuries ago,²⁴ but we search for the meaning which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases. We consequently hold that the writings of Sājana and of the other commentators must not be an authority to the exegete, but merely one of the means of which he has to avail himself in the accomplishment of his task, which certainly is difficult, and not to be effected at a first attempt, nor by a single individual. On this account we have much regretted that the meritorious edition of the commentary on the R̥igveda, by Müller, is not yet more advanced.²⁵

"We have, therefore, endeavoured to take the road which is

²⁴ Note of Professor Roth: "Wilson, a. a. O. II. p. xxiii." But the page quoted by Professor Roth does not contain one single word in reference to the passage which it apparently intends to bear out.

²⁵ The first part of the Dictionary of Professor Roth and Dr. Boehtlingk was issued in 1852; the first volume, which is prefaced by the words quoted, in 1855; the first and second part of the second volume in 1856; the third part of the same volume in 1857. Professor Müller's first volume of the R̥igveda appeared in 1849, the second in 1854, the third in 1856.

prescribed by philology: to elicit the sense of the texts by putting together all the passages which are kindred either in regard to their words or their sense; a road which is slow and tedious, and which, indeed, has not been trodden before, either by the commentators or the translators. Our double lot has, therefore, been that of exegetes as well as lexicographers. The purely etymological proceeding, as it must be followed up by those who endeavour to guess the sense of a word, without having before them the ten or twenty other passages in which the same word recurs, cannot possibly lead to a correct result."²⁶

It would be but common fairness to allow these words of

²⁶ In reference to this view of Professor Roth, of the relation of the H̥yāda commentators to the Vaidik hymns, Professor Weber says in the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft," vol. X. p. 575: "Allem was darüber gesagt ist schliessen wir uns auf das Unbedingteste und Entschiedenste an;" i. e. "To all that has been said on it [on this relation, in the Preface of the Wörterbuch] we (etc., does Professor Weber speak in his own name or in that of the whole Dictionary-company?) assent in the most unconditional and in the most peremptory manner."

Professor Roth to be followed by the entire preface which the lamented Professor Wilson has prefixed to the second volume of his invaluable translation of the *Rigveda*: the more so, as his views have been unscrupulously distorted in the statement here quoted; for though his views are supposed to be refuted by this passage, they could not shine brighter, in genuine modesty, in true scholarship, and in thorough common sense, than when placed by the side of this passage, which I will not qualify but analyze. But as I could not easily quote some twenty pages from Professor Wilson's excellent work, and as I should scarcely do justice to the manes of that distinguished man if I did not allow him to give his full answer, I must leave it to the reader to obtain for himself that contrast to which I here advert.

If, then, we analyze the ideas and principles presented in the passage just quoted, they come before us to the following effect:—

(1) *Sāyana* gives us only that sense of the *Veda* which was current in India some centuries ago.

(2) Professor Roth is far more able than *Sāyana* and other commentators to give us the correct sense of the *Veda*.

(3) For, he can put together some ten or twenty passages referring to the same word, whereas *Sāyana* and other commentators could not do this, but had to guess its sense.

(4) He is above confining himself to the purely etymological process, which is that of these commentators.

(5) His object is not to understand the sense of the *Veda* which was current in India a few centuries back, but to know the meaning which the authors of the hymns themselves gave to their songs and phrases.

(6) Professor Roth is a conscientious European exegete.

Before I give my *Vārtikas* to these six *Sūtras*, which define the exegetical position of the Sanskrit *Wörterbuch*, I must observe that I am compelled, by the very nature of this Preface, to leave them in a similar position to that occupied by the Preface of Professor Roth itself. His Dictionary is the test of the assertions he makes. The test of my remarks would be a critical review of his

Dictionary. *I hereby promise him that my earliest leisure will be devoted to this review, especially as my materials for it are not only collected and ready, but so abundant as to give me a difficulty of choice.* But my present answer must, of necessity, deal with his generalities only in general terms.

(1) Śāyana or the other commentators give us, he intimates, only that sense of the Veda which was current in India some centuries ago.

A bolder statement I defy any scholar to have met with in any book. Śāyana incessantly refers to Yāska. All his explanations show that he stands on the ground of the *oldest legends and traditions*—of such traditions, moreover, as have no connection whatever with the creed of those sects which represent the degenerated Hindu faith in his time; yet Professor Roth ventures to tell the public at large, authoritatively and *without a particle of evidence*, that these legends and his version of the R̥gveda are but some centuries old. I believe, and every learned Hindu will hold with me, that Śāyana would have been hooted out of the country where he

lived, had he dared to commit the imposition implied in this charge, on King Bukka, his lord, or on his countrymen. I hope, however, that Professor Roth will free himself from the reproach expressed by these words, by showing on what authority he gives such a piece of information, which is either all important for Europe as well as for India, or places him in the most ridiculous position that is conceivable.

(2) When an author tells us that he is able to do that which another author cannot do, we are entitled to infer that he is, at all events, thoroughly acquainted with all that this author has done. I am well aware,—I may add through the pleasure of personal remembrances,—that Professor Roth passed some time at Paris, and some little time in London also, when collecting his valuable materials for his edition of Yāska's Nirukta. Only in London and at Oxford, and, in some small measure, at Paris also, are the materials requisite for studying the Vaidik commentaries of Śāyana obtainable in Europe. Does Professor Roth intimate by the statement above quoted, that his stay in these cities enabled him to

study and copy, for his lexicographical purposes—then not thought of—all the works of Śāyana; or that he, at Tübingen, is in possession of all those materials, the knowledge of which alone could entitle him to claim credit for a statement like that which he has ventured to make? But I need not pause for his reply. He regrets, as we have read, that “the meritorious edition by Müller, of Śāyana’s Commentary was not further advanced” when he closed the first volume of his Dictionary. Thus, when he began his “exegetical” work, he was only acquainted with the Commentary of Śāyana as far as the first Ashtaka; and when he wrote these lines, he may *perhaps* have known its continuation up to a portion of the third Ashtaka—in other words, no more than a third of Śāyana’s whole Commentary on the Rīgveda; and yet he ventures to speak of the whole Commentary of Śāyana, and to say that he can do what Śāyana was unable to perform? But we almost forget that the words of Professor Roth are by no means restricted to the Rīgveda Commentary alone; it embraces the commentaries to *all the Saṁhitās*. And here I am once more compelled to ask—

Does he assert that he knew, when he wrote these words, Śāyana’s Commentary on the Sānaveda and the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, or even Śāyana’s Commentary on the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa? For surely he would not think of calling that Śāyana’s Commentary to this Brāhmaṇa, which has been presented to us extracted and mangled in Professor Weber’s edition of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. And yet he has the courage to pass this sweeping condemnation on all these gigantic labours of the Hindu mind, while ignorant of all but the merest fraction of them?

(3) Professor Roth no doubt enjoys a great advantage when he can put together some ten or twenty passages for examining the sense of a word which occurs in them; but I beg to submit that there are many instances in which a Vaidik word does not occur twenty or ten, nor yet five or four times, in the Saṁhitās. How does he, then, muster his ten or twenty passages, when, nevertheless, he rejects the interpretation of Śāyana? For it would seem that in such a case the “guessing” of Śāyana, as he calls it, stands on as good ground as his own. But the assurance with

which he implies that Śāyana was not capable of mustering ten or twenty passages which are at the command of Professor Roth, presupposes, indeed, in his readers a degree of imbecile credulity which is, no doubt, a happy condition of mind for those who rejoice in it, and perhaps that best fitted for reading assertions like these, but which may not be quite so universal as he seems to assume. Mādhava-Śāyana, one of the profoundest scholars of India, the exegete of all the three Vedas, as he tells us himself,—of the most important Brāhmanas and a *Kalp* work, — Mādhava, the renowned Mīmāṃsist—he, the great grammarian, who wrote the learned commentary on the Sanskrit radicals, who shows at every step that he has Pāṇini and Kātyāyana at his fingers' ends,—Mādhava, who, on account of his gigantic learning and his deep sense of religion, lives in the legends of India as an incarnation of Śiva,—in short, the great Mādhava, we are told, had not the proficiency of combining in his mind or otherwise those ten or twenty passages of *his own Veda*, which Professor Roth has

the powerful advantage of bringing together by means of his little memoranda !

(4) "The purely etymological proceeding," he says, "as it must be followed up by those who endeavour to guess the sense of a word, cannot possibly lead to a correct result."

By these words he compels us to infer, in the first instance, that the meanings which Śāyana gives to Vaidik words are purely etymological; for when he illustrates his statement in a subsequent passage, by alleging such instances as "power, sacrifice, food, wisdom, to go, to move," it is clear that his sweeping assertion cannot be considered as merely embracing these six words, which, in his opinion, sometimes admit of a modification of sense. Just as he cancels the whole spirit of Śāyana's commentary, he tells us with the utmost assurance that the whole commentary of Śāyana is purely etymological. There is, I admit, an advantage in boldness; for if you tell a man while gazing on the noon-day sun that he is actually in the darkness of mid-night, he may probably prefer

to doubt the evidence of his senses rather than venture to reject the extraordinary news you bring him. I open at random the three quartos of Max Müller; I look at every page once, twice, many times. No doubt Professor Roth must be quite correct, for my eyes are blind. But, since I suffer under this sudden disability, I may at least be permitted to quote that very page from Wilson's preface to the second volume of his translation which Professor Roth quotes above, as if it bore out his statement concerning the "some centuries."

"As many instances of this elliptical construction," we read there, "have been given in the notes of both this and the former volume, a few additional instances will here be sufficient:—thus (p. 301, v. 9) we have the 'grandson of the waters has ascended above the crooked —'; 'the broad and golden — spread around.' What would the European scholar do here without the Scholiast? He might, perhaps, suspect that the term crooked, curved, or bent, or, as here explained, crooked-going, tortuous, might apply to the clouds; but he would hesitate as to

what he should attach the other epithets to, and the original author alone could say with confidence that he meant '*rivers*,' which thenceforward became the traditional and admitted explanation, and is, accordingly, so supplied by the Scholiast."

Thus, has Sáyana stopped at the etymological sense of "crooked-going," or of "gold-coloured?" ✓

But, in the second instance, though Professor Roth, of course, possesses all the knowledge which these ignorant Hindu commentators were wanting in, he implies by his words, that the meanings he creates in overstepping the purely etymological process, nevertheless rest on it. Since my reply on this point would have to enter into detail, and since I have promised to give *much* detail in the review which will be the commentary on my present remarks, I will merely here state that I know of no work which has come before the public with such unmeasured pretensions of scholarship and critical ingenuity as this Wörterbuch, and which has, at the same time, laid itself open to such serious reproaches of the *profoundest grammatical ignorance*. And, as

an etymological proceeding without a thorough knowledge of grammar is etymological thimblering, I may at least here prepare the reader who takes an interest in such plays, for a performance on the most magnificent scale. Or to speak in plain prose, I shall prove to Professor Roth by means of those same authorities which I have so often impressed on the reader's mind, that his Dictionary has created many meanings without the slightest regard to the grammatical properties of the word, and, in consequence, that his Vaidik exegesis in all these numerous and important instances has just that worth which a Veda revealed by Professor Roth has in comparison with the Veda of India.

(5) The object of Professor Roth is "not to understand the Veda such as it was current in India a few centuries back, but to know the meaning which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases."

This is unquestionably most important intelligence. Sāyana gives us the sense of the Veda, such as it was handed down to him—not indeed a few centuries ago, but from generation to genera-

tion immemorial—yet within this Kalyuga, I suppose. Nāgoji-bhāṭṭa, again, we have seen,²⁸⁷ tells us that in the various destructions of the world, the Rishis received new revelations from the divinity, which did not affect the eternal sense of the Veda, but merely the order of its words. But now we learn, for the first time, that Professor Roth has received a revelation at Tübingen, which as yet has neither reached the banks of the Thames nor those of the Ganges. He is going to tell us the sense which the original Rishis gave to their songs and phrases, at a period of Hindu antiquity, which is as much within scientific reach as the commencement of the world itself. Who will not hail this revelation which dispenses with grammar and all that sort of thing, and who will not believe in it?

And yet I have one word more to add in regard to Professor Roth's "direct communication with the Hindu divinities." He does not attach any importance, as he tells us, and abundantly proves, to that Veda which is the foundation of the religious

²⁸⁷ See note 171.

development of India; for that Veda is the Veda of Sáyana, and that Veda, too, which alone concerns us uninspired mortals. But even Professor Roth himself professes, in another part of his Preface, the greatest respect for the native commentaries on theological and ritual books. There he emphatically exclaims (p. iv.): "Indeed, for one of the two portions of the Vaidik literature, for the works on theology and the rites, we cannot wish for any better guides than these commentators, accurate in every respect, who follow their texts word for word, who are untiring in repeating everywhere that which they have already said whenever there could arise even the appearance of a misunderstanding, and who sometimes seem rather to have written for us foreigners than for their priestly pupils grown up under these ideas and impressions." How far his work has embodied the conviction expressed in these words which could not have been expressed with greater truth, I shall have to examine in my review. But I fear that these eloquent words must have escaped his memory in the midst of all the revelations he received. On the Rigveda we have already ex-

changed our views; but not yet on the other Vedas. These are avowedly extracted, or "milked," as the Hindus say, from the Rik. That the Sámaveda is entirely taken from it, we have proof,²⁶ and that the metrical part of the Yajus likewise rests on a version of it, no one will dispute. But both these Vedas are professedly not poetical anthologies. They are purely and simply ritual Vedas, and therefore belong—not only from a Hindu, but from an European point of view also—to the ritual literature. At the Jyotishtoma, for instance, the priest chants, not the Rig-, but the Sâma-veda hymns, though the verses are apparently the same in both. At the Aswamedha he mutters, not the Rig-, but the Yajur-veda hymns. This means that, whatever may have been the "original sense" of such Rigveda verses, in their Sâma- or Yajur-veda arrangement which, in numerous instances, has brought Rigveda verses of different hymns or books, into a new hymn,—the Sâmaveda hymns and the Yajurveda hymns have only a value so far as their immediate

²⁶ See note 75.

object, the sacrifice, is concerned. Hence even the most transeendental and the most inspired critic has nothing to do in these two Vēdas with "the sense which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases," he has simply to deal with that sense which religion or superstition imparted to these verses, in order to adapt them to the imaginary effects of the sacrifice. As little as it would be our immediate object, when assisting at the horse-sacrifice, to ask what is the etymology of horse? or as little as it would be seasonable to trace the linguistic origin of a cannon-ball when it whistles past our ears, just so little have we to impart "the original sense"—I mean that sense revealed to Professor Roth—to the verses of the Sáma- and Yajur- veda, even when we are "both exegetes and lexicographers." And yet I shall give abundant proof that, even on these two Vēdas, Professor Roth has had revelations of a most astounding character.

(6) "We believe that a conscientious European exegete might understand much more correctly and thoroughly the sense of the Veda than Sáyana." I should encroach on the judgment of the

reader, if I ventured upon any remarks on this latter statement after what I have already said.

In now adverting to the treatment which the scientific and classical literature has received in the Sanskrit Wörterbuch, I need only say that this department is in the hands of Dr. Boehtlingk. In saying this, I have said everything. After such an expression of opinion, it will, of course, be my duty to show, at the earliest opportunity, that Dr. Boehtlingk is incapable of understanding even easy rules of Pāṇini, much less those of Kātyáyana, and still less is he capable of making use of them in the understanding of classical texts. The errors in his department of the Dictionary are so numerous and of so *peculiar* a kind—yet, on the whole, so thoroughly in accordance with the specimens I have adduced from his Commentary on Pāṇini, that it will fill every serious Sanskritist with dismay, when he calculates the mischievous influence which they must exercise on the study of Sanskrit philology.

On the present occasion, I must confine myself to these preliminary remarks, or at best content myself with adverting to one

other passage in the Preface to the Wörterbuch. It runs thus (p.vii.): "In order to facilitate the finding (of the words) for those who will make use of our Dictionary, we have to make the following observation. We have banished completely from the verbal roots the vowels *ri*, *ri*, and *li*, as well as the diphthongs at their end; for *ri* at the end of nominal bases we have substituted *ar*."

Thus the Wörterbuch does not give, like the Hindu grammarians, a radical *kri*, but it gives *kar*; not *klrip*, but *kalp*; not *jri*, but *jar*; not *pitr*, but *pitar*; not *datri*, but *datar*, etc. Now, this Dictionary professes to be a Dictionary of the Sanskrit language, not of some imaginary idiom which may be current at Tübingen or St. Petersburg. One would therefore have supposed that the public was entitled to expect some reason for these changes,—to know by what scientific considerations the authors of this work were guided, when they took upon themselves the responsibility of thus *abolishing the radicals and nominal bases taught by Pāṇini and subsequent grammarians*. But, in the fullness of its authority, this work does not condescend to meet any such demand: it simply cancels whole

categories of grammatical forms, and those of the greatest importance and comprehensiveness. Whether I am right or not in inferring the arguments which were in the minds of its writers when they presumed thus dictatorially to impose their theories on Sanskrit philology, may be a matter of doubt, but my supposition is that this innovation is founded on researches belonging to comparative philology. It cannot rest on mere Sanskrit ground, since all the forms they have cancelled really occur as thematic forms in the Sanskrit language itself. Thus, to use the same instances: *kri* occurs in *kri-ta*, *klrip* in *klrip-ta*, *pitr* in *pitr-bhis*, *datri* in *datri-bhis*; and as to *jri*,—*jri-na* can only follow from *jri*, not from *jar*. Their reasons, founded on comparative grammar, must then be these: that some bases in *ri* are represented in Latin by *er* and *or*, and in Greek by *ep*, *np*, and *op*; *pitr*, for instance corresponds with Latin *pater*, Greek *πατηρ*, *datri* with *δατôr* and *δατôr*, etc.

Now even supposing that such an argument had any weight at all in a dictionary of the Sanskrit language, the application made

of it would be incongruous. For though *pītar-* corresponds with *pāter-*, *dātār-* does not correspond with *datōr-*; its representative would have had to assume the form *dātār-*. The whole theory therefore, on the supposition I have made, would practically break down, and the innovation would be inconsistent with itself as well as at variance with comparative results.

But can such an argument be at all admissible? If a Sanskrit Dictionary were concerned, like Professor Bopp's Comparative Grammar, with eliciting from the forms of sister languages the forms of that parental language whence they may be supposed to have derived their origin, it would be defensible to give the forms of that parental language itself. But a Sanskrit Dictionary can have no such aim. Its immediate object is the actual language which it has to deal with. It must take it such as it is, in its very deviations from the germ whence it has sprung. Its function is not to correct the real historical language, but to record its facts; and in doing so, to collect the materials which are to be used as well by the special as by the comparative philologist. And in so far as its

direct purpose is concerned, this is all it has to do. Any observations it may choose to attach to the real historical facts may of course be given; but it shows an utter want of judgment, to say nothing else, when it presumes to alter the very forms of the language itself.

I may venture also to add a few other observations on the forms thus cancelled in this "conscientious" Sanskrit Wörterbuch. It is known that many Sanskrit bases, and amongst them the bases in *ri*, undergo various changes in their declension and otherwise. *Pitri*, for instance, becomes *pītar-*, in the accusative *pītar-am*, while it remains as it is, in the instrumental *pītri-bhis*; *dadhi* remains so in *dadhi-bhis*, but its base is *dadhan*, with the loss of *a*, in *dadhan-ā*; *asthi* forms *asthi-bhis*, but *asthm-ā*. Now there exists a paper of Dr. Boehtlingk on the Sanskrit declension; but whoever reads it must fancy that the language either played dice with these and similar forms, or is undergoing some remarkable cure. He talks of bases "which are strengthened as well as weakened," of bases "which are only strengthened," and of bases "which are only

weakened." Why language should nurse and physic its bases, as we learn from him, no one will understand. But a sadder spectacle of the treatment of a language or of linguistic facts than is presented in that paper, it is not possible to imagine. The *reasoning* there is exactly on the same level as the reasoning in the "*edition*" of Pāṇini, of which so many specimens have now become familiar to the reader of this Preface. Exactly the same game at dice or the same vagaries of disease reign in this Dictionary: thus, though the declension phenomena of *akṣhi*, *asthi*, *dadhi*, are identical, and acknowledged to be so by Dr. Boehtlingk himself in his paper on Declension (§ 69), in his Dictionary he discourses on the first noun under *akṣham*, and again under *akṣhi*, while, on the contrary, if we look to *asthi*, he refers us to *asṭhan*; and if under his guidance we now go to *dadhas*, he requests us to seek for information under *dadhi*.

But since the linguistic hospital, which is opened in the works of Dr. Boehtlingk, is fortunately not the place in which the Sanskrit language lies,—for this language has had a sound and

rational development—it will be obvious to everyone who happens not to be placed under Dr. Boehtlingk's treatment, that there must be reasons for this variety of thematic forms which constitute the declension of the same base. And as there are such reasons, the immediate consequence is that we cannot decide, *a priori*, whether *kṛtar* be the "strengthened" form of the original base *kṛtri*, or "*kṛtri*" the "weakened" form of the original base *kṛtar*. Such a decision can only be taken after a thorough investigation of the influences which cause this change, of the nature of these influences themselves, and of the manner in which they work. And as language does not sit down like a school-boy, first to master the declensions, then the conjugations, and so on,—but as the influences I am speaking of are influences which are traceable in the whole organism of language itself, it is obvious, too, that such an investigation would not restrict itself to the phenomena of declension merely, but extend over the whole area of the linguistic development.

When I myself assumed the responsibility of writing a Sanskrit

Dictionary, I considered it incumbent on me to devote a most serious research to those little facts which, as we have seen, are despatched in five lines by our modern "exegetes and lexicographers." Six years have elapsed since I laid my first results, so far as lexicographical purposes are concerned, before the London Philological Society, and it is only the desire of giving them in their full bearing and extent that has hitherto delayed their presentation through the press. Now, it is questions like these—questions which, in my mind, ought to be decided with the very utmost circumspection, and which cannot be decided without very laborious research,—it is questions like these which have been trifled with in this Wörterbuch in the most unwarranted manner. It does not show that it even understands the important problem which lies in its path; it briefly informs the reader that it has cancelled all the bases in *ṛi*, *ṛi*, *ṛi*, etc. and bids him—good-bye.

Patanjali,—let us for a moment repose after this dreary journey through the Wörterbuch,—Patanjali on one occasion thus speaks

to us: "When a man is in want of a pot, he goes to the house of a potter and says: (potter), make me a pot, for I have occasion for it. But (surely) a man who wants to employ words will not go, like the other, to the house of a grammarian and say: (grammarian) make me some words, I have occasion for them."²²⁰ Happy Patanjali! blessed in thy ignorance! Here we have potters who can fabricate—and not simply meanings of words, but the very words themselves, and words, too, which you laboured so earnestly, so learnedly, so conscientiously, to save from the pottering of all future "exegetes and lexicographers." Nay, we have, too, men who can repair to these potters, and call for, and admire, their linguistic wares! ✓

When in the presence of these extraordinary facts, which, unhappily, must silence the expression of all the acknowledgment—

²²⁰ *Mahābhāṣya* Introduction (p. 53 ed. Ballantyne): घटेन पात्रं करिष्याम्युपाहार-
मुक्तं नलाह नुर चटं कार्यमेवेन करिष्यामीति । न तदुत्तराभ्यनुब्रूयतावो विवाक-
नवकुलं नलाह नुर शब्दाभ्युपाहार इति

may, of *all the admiration I really entertain for the immense industry displayed in this Wörterbuch*,—when with that deep sense which I entertain of the *duties* and of the *influence* of a Dictionary, and, in the actual condition of Sanskrit philology, more especially of a Sanskrit Dictionary,—when with these convictions, the earnestness of which, I believe, is proved throughout the whole of this investigation,—when—I will not conceal it—under the indignation and grief I felt in seeing a magnificent opportunity thrown away—as I shall abundantly prove that it has been thrown away in the case of the Sanskrit Wörterbuch,—when under these impressions I uttered a warning, five years ago, in the “Westminster Review,” a warning contained in three pages, there ensued a spectacle which, during my literary experience, stands without a parallel.

Professor Kuhn,—not indeed a proficient in Sanskrit, nor having ever obtained any position amongst those who are earnestly engaged in Sanskrit philology, but—as a contributor of quotations to the Wörterbuch, launched against me the grossest personal invectives which ever disgraced the pages of a scientific journal.

As sound, literary argument was beyond his range, he indemnified himself, and gratified his employers, by calling me names. Un fortunately for him his abuse could produce no effect upon me, for the following reason. Amongst the few critical remarks for which I had room, in the “Westminster Review,” there was one which illustrated the manner in which Professor Roth had translated a ritual text. This remark was expressly written for Professor Kuhn’s amusement as well as that of Professor Weber. For, at a small Sanskrit party which used to meet every fortnight at Berlin during the years 1847 and 1848, I had shown them the Commentary of Mádhava on a Mīmāṃsá work, the editing of which I had then commenced, this Commentary being the proof of the assertion I had made in 1855 in the “Westminster Review.” Professor Kuhn heartily enjoyed, at one of these meetings, the precious translation of the passage in question from the *Āitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, given by Professor Roth, in the preface (pp. xxxviii-xli) to his edition of the *Nirukta*. Nay more, so anxious was he to possess its substance, before it was published, that in my presence he took notes from

the Commentary I am speaking of,—viz., that of the Jaiminiya-nyāya-mālā-vistara. And in the invectives to which I am alluding, he does not deny the existence, nor yet the value, of my evidence, but he words his defence of Professor Roth in so studied and so ambiguous a manner as to create in the minds of his readers a suspicion as to the reliability of the statement I had made, though its truth was perfectly familiar to him.²⁰

²⁰ In possession of the information I am speaking of he writes as follows: "Der letzteren stellt der verfasser eine bedeutend abweichende des commentators gegenüber, da er aber nur the commentator und nicht all the commentators oder almost all the commentators sagt, so ist stark zu vermuthen, dass noch andere commentare existiren, welche den text wahrscheinlich in der Rothachen weise erklären werden; dabei nehme ich natürlich den Fall als ganz unmöglich an dass der verfasser (der nichts als die überetzung giebt) etwa selber den commentar missverstanden haben sollte" i.e. "In opposition to the latter [viz. the version of Professor Roth of the passage in question] the reviewer gives another of the commentator which is considerably different from it; but as he merely says the commentator, and not all the commentators or almost all the commentators, there is a strong probability (sic!) that there are other commentators who probably (sic!) explain the text in the manner of Professor Roth. With these words I assume it, as a matter of course, to be plainly impossible that the reviewer who

Now, a writer who has recourse to such weapons as these has laid aside those qualities which are necessary to retain a man within the pale of a gentlemanly consideration, and his language, however *gives nothing but the translation, should have misinterpreted the commentary.*"—That Professor Kuhn had not the slightest doubt as to who was the author of the review in question, even he will not venture to deny; for he has stated the fact in letters and in conversation. But even if he had any such doubt, he knew that I was in possession of the commentary, for he had taken notes from it. If, then, the ascertainment of truth alone had been the object of his remark, as the public might expect of an author, and if his notes were not complete enough—which, however, I do not admit—the times required for a letter to me and an answer back, that is to say, five days, would have sufficed to give him all the information he could wish for. It requires, however, no statement from me that his object was not to inform his readers of the true state of the facts; it better suited his purpose to insinuate a doubt as to the correctness of the translation I had given. Indeed, Professor Weber,—who, as I have mentioned, possessed the same knowledge and had obtained it in the same manner, as Professor Kuhn, settles the point. Though he did not remain behind his colleagues in scurrilous abuse, and though, in speaking of my translation, he shows his usual levity, he, nevertheless, plainly and openly acknowledges the full reliability of the translation I had given, on the ground of the Mīmāṃsā work. He says: "er kennt nämlich offenbar nur die systematisirte Erklärung der Mīmāṃsāschule, etc.;" i.e. "the reviewer obviously knows only the sys-

gross, and adapted to his own character, can not touch one who does not stand on the same level with him.

A similar exhibition took place, I am grieved to say, in a journal of high standing and respectability, in the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft." It is a salutary practice in the journals of all learned societies, not to admit into their pages scurrilous or libellous attacks against individuals; and this practice has been rigidly adhered to in the journal to which I am advertising, with the single exception of my own case. Professor Weber, who is also in the service of the Wörterbuch, suddenly attacked me in this journal,—not, indeed, with anything that deserves the name of argument, but with personal abuse of the coarsest kind. Five years have passed by, and at last a sense of justice, which does credit to himself, has re-entered the mind of Professor Weber; and in the last number of the "Zeitschrift," which

temerizing explanation of the Mimāṃsā school, etc." Thus, whatever be his opinion of this explanation, he speaks of it from *personal knowledge*, and admits that my account of it was correct and not liable of doubt.

reached me when this Preface was nearly completed in print, he has fully and honestly retracted all his former calumnies; still, however, combining with the compliments he now pays to my Dictionary, the remark that my views of the Wörterbuch show a perfect derangement of my mental faculties, since I do not reject the authority of the greatest Hindu scholars as freely and easily as the work he so assiduously praises.

I am certainly in no humour to find fault with the opinion which he entertains of my mental condition, for it will always give me a sense of safety and satisfaction when I find him bearing testimony to the vast distance which separates our respective modes of studying, and judging of, Hindu antiquity. But, as he has chosen to connect his opinion of me with a piece of scientific advice, this seems a fitting opportunity for illustrating, *once more*, his competence for passing a judgment on matters of Sanskrit philology. ✓

He says: "Another, third, essential difference [between the Wörterbuch and my Dictionary;—I, myself, trust and hope that

attentive readers will find many more *essential* differences than three between the two works] consists in [my] not marking the accent of the words."

In his opinion, therefore, the Wörterbuch *does* mark the accent. Now, setting aside the very considerable quantity of words which are not marked with any accent in this work, the instances in which it is marked there seem to satisfy the scientific requirements of Professor Weber. I ought, then, to mention, in the first place, that in all such cases the accent is put there over the word without any further explanatory remark. But I have shown that there are *periods* in the known Sanskrit *grammatical* literature ;—that the first period is that of Pāṇini, the second that of the Rik-Prātisākhya, the third (perhaps fourth) that of Kātyāyana, the fourth (or perhaps fifth) that of the Phitsútras ; and that, as we continue our descent, we have the period of the Kásiká, Kaumudí, etc. Thus, marking an accent without saying to what period such an accent belongs, *and up to what period it remains in force*, is giving evidence of the greatest superficiality,—it is showing, too, that the difficulties of the question

we are speaking of, were not at all understood. As regards myself, I believe I might have entered into such detail, since I have considered it my duty to turn my researches into this channel also ; and if the scientific and liberal disposition of my publishers could have disregarded all material considerations in the case—and could have added still more to the great concessions of space which they have already made me, to their own material detriment, since the publication of the third part of my Dictionary,—I should have been able not only to give quotations *historically*, which the Wörterbuch, notwithstanding Professor Weber's bold assertion—I will not attach to it another epithet—does not give, and to discuss the matters of accent,—but even to re-edit, little by little, the Commentary to the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, as I have already done on several occasions, in order to prove the meanings I give, and which meanings no one could gather from the text as edited by Professor Weber. No doubt I might have done all this had I been perfectly independent of material considerations. But, at all events, had I, in marking the accents, contented myself with that which satisfies completely,

Professor Weber's scientific wants, my Dictionary would have become as superficial as the book which he has qualified as a work of the "most scrupulous conscientiousness."²⁰¹

In adverting to Professor Weber's advice, I may as well quote one more instance from his impartial illustration of the difference between the two Dictionaries. It concerns the meanings of words in both. But as I have adverted to this subject before, I need now only say, that he describes the Wörterbuch in the following manner.

"It represents," he writes in the 'Zeitschrift,' "the principle of reality in contrast with the historical proceeding of interpretation [which he says, is mine], by allowing the words to interpret themselves through the chronological order (*sic.!*) of the quotations added to them, and through these quotations themselves, the authors always quoting the native exegesis also, but merely as a

²⁰¹ In his libel he says; "dieses Werk des bewundernswürthesten Fleisses und der sorgsamsten Gewissenhaftigkeit."

secondary means."²⁰² And of myself he says, that my "orthodox faith in the authority of native exegetes and grammarians" is something perfectly bewildering; indeed, it presupposes the "derangement of my mental faculties."²⁰³

It requires all the levity, on the one hand, and all the hardness, on the other, which are the mixed essentials of Professor

²⁰² "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft," vol. XIV. p. 755: Die Haupttendenz, die er [i.e., myself] hierbei verfolgt, besteht eben—und dies markirt einen fernerer Haupt-Unterschied von *Bechtlingk-Roth*—darin, dass er es sich zur Aufgabe macht, die Ansichten der einheimischen Erklärer und Sprachforscher zur prägnanten Geltung zu bringen, während *Bechtlingk-Roth* diesem historischen Erklärungsverfahren gegenüber das sachliche Princip vertreten, die Wörter nämlich durch zeitliche Ordnung der betreffenden Stellen und durch eben diese Stellen selbst sich unmittelbar erklären zu lassen, wobei sie die einheimische Exegese zwar auch stets anführen, aber doch nur als sekundäres Hilfsmittel betrachten."

²⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 756: "Persönliche Beziehungen haben uns seitdem überzeugt, dass der Verfasser bei Abfassung jenes, für uns allerdings immer noch geradezu unbegreiflichen, Angriffes auf das Petersburger Wörterbuch dennoch wirklich im völligen Rechte zu sein glaubte. Es setzt dies freilich nach unserer Ansicht eine Art Verirrung des Denkvermögens voraus, wie sie auf sonstigen Gebieten nicht selten ist, hier aber in der That be-

Wieder literary productions, to allow an author to come before the public with statements like these. As for myself, any one may see that there are various instances in my Dictionary where *I plainly state that I differ from the etymologies or meanings given by the native authorities*. These cases of dissent are certainly not frequent, because a serious investigation of the native grammarians led me in most instances to appreciate their scholarship and the correctness of its results; nor have I the presumption to supersede them with mere vague and vapouring doubts; but that I have ground sometimes to differ even from the views of a Kátyáyana or a Patanjali, Professor Weber will have probably learned now from the foregoing pages, though he might have learned it already from my Sanskrit Dictionary, which he is good enough to favour with his advice. His statement, therefore, concerning my blind

freudet, eine orthodoxe Hingabe nämlich an die Auktorität der indischen Exegeten und Grammatiker, wie sie uns gegenüber diesen Haarpalmen, die bei aller Spitzfindigkeit denn doch gar oft jenen verblödeten Leibern gleichen, die da Rücken seigen und Kameele verschlucken, sehr wenig am Platze scheint."

belief in all that the Hindu scholars say, is founded on that same overweening superficiality which, as we have seen, leads him to assume the responsibility of schooling Kátyáyana, whom he does not even understand.

But as to his description of the Wörterbuch, I know not how to qualify it without using language which could only be used by a Professor Kuhn. It is one of my most serious reproaches against the Sanskrit Wörterbuch, that it not only creates its own meanings, and by applying them to the most important documents of the literature, *practically falsifies antiquity itself*, but deliberately, and nearly constantly, *suppresses* all the information we may derive from the native commentaries. I have intimated that the great injury they have thus done to the due appreciation of Hindu antiquity, would have been lessened had they at least, as common sense would suggest, given by the side of their own inventions the meanings of Sáyana or Mahídbara or of other authorities, and thus enabled the student to judge for himself. Yet while the reader may peruse their Dictionary page after page,

sheet after sheet, without discovering a trace of these celebrated Vaidik commentaries, while the exceptions to this rule are so rare as to become almost equal to zero, Professor Weber dares to speculate on the credulity of the public in telling it that this Dictionary *ALWAYS quotes the native exegesis!*

When a cause has sunk so low as to have such defenders and require such means of defence as these, when its own contributors and its noisiest bards have no other praise to chant than such as this, it seems almost cruel to aggravate its agony by exposure or reproach.

But the spectacle exhibited on the appearance of my remarks in the "Westminster Review" does not end here, and its epilogue is perhaps even more remarkable than the play itself. In the same "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft" there followed another act, which is so characteristic of the system pursued in these attacks, that it deserves a special word, merely for the sake of curiosity. An individual whose sole connection with Sanskrit studies consists in handing Sanskrit books to those who can read them, a literary naught, wholly unknown, but assuming the airs of

a quantity, because it has figures before it that prompt it on,—this personage who, as his own friends informed me, is perfectly ignorant of Sanskrit, he, too, was allowed to give *his* opinion on the Wörterbuch. I need not say that, in the absence of all knowledge of the subject itself, it merely vented itself in the most grandiloquent praise; but, to complete its mission, there was added to this fustian, language, in reference to me, such as certainly was never heard, or admitted, before in a respectable journal of any society. He need not tremble lest I should drag him into notoriety. Nature has not fitted him for estimating the ridicule to which he exposed himself in becoming the mouthpiece and the puppet of his instigators. If he deserve anything, it is not chastisement, but pity, and the mercy of a charitable concealment of his name.

And all this outrage, not only against the interests of science and truth, but against the commonest rules of decency, was committed in a series of planned attacks, because I had warned the Sanskrit Wörterbuch of the danger of its career, and had not expressed any admiration for Dr. Boehtlingk's competence or scholarship.

It was then, and on the ground of observations I had made in regard to his want of proficiency, that I was called upon by one of his men, not only to have respect for the "editor of Pāṇini," but even for the *hidden* reasons he might have had in foisting on the public this blunders of every kind. The "editor of Pāṇini" was held before me as a symbol of scientific accomplishment; his "edition of Pāṇini" was the great thunderbolt which was hurled at my head by one of these little Jupiters.²⁴

For eighteen years I have been thoroughly acquainted with the value and the character of this "edition" of Pāṇini; and yet, from

²⁴ Prof. Kuhn writes in his "Zeitschrift" the following words: "Wo der alten grammatiker nicht erwähnung gethan ist, geschah es nur deshalb nicht, weil ihre etymologie mit der der verfasser übereinstimmte; stellten dieselben aber ohne jene zu erwähnen eigne etymologien auf, so liess sich doch wohl voraussetzen, dass der herausgeber des Pāṇini, des Vopadeva u. s. w. dazu seine wohlwogenden gründe gehabt haben mochte;" i.e., "where no mention was made [in the Wörterbuch] of the old grammarians, this was done because their etymology agreed with that of the authors of the Wörterbuch; but when the latter made their own etymologies without naming the former, it was but natural to suppose that the editor of Pāṇini, of Vopadeva, etc. had his own well-weighted reasons

a natural disinclination to antagonize with those who have similar pursuits to my own, I have refrained from appraising the public of the knowledge I possessed in regard to it. Twelve years have passed since I explained my views on this book personally and

for doing so." The real nature of this statement of Professor Kuhn will become apparent from the review which I shall give of the Wörterbuch. But his information, as it is, is not without great interest. Thus, according to this quotationer of the Wörterbuch, its authors pass over in silence the labours of the Hindu grammarians—not because they see reason to adopt the results of the latter—but because these labourers have the honour to meet with the approval of Dr. Boehdligk and Company. Under any circumstances, however, it was but natural and rational to pass them over in silence and to suppress the information they give,—for, either they have the honour of being approved of by Dr. Boehdligk, or "the editor of Pāṇini" had probably his well-weighted reasons for not agreeing with them; and, in the latter case, there was of course not the slightest necessity that he should give or even allude to these important reasons. The passage quoted would alone quite suffice to illustrate the character of the falacious adulation and of the puffing advertisements—written, of course, exclusively by the employed scribes of the Wörterbuch—which for some years have made their appearance in some literary journals of Germany, and have not only misled, but imposed upon, the public unacquainted or imperfectly acquainted with Sanskrit philology.

privately, at our Sanskrit parties, to Professors Weber and Kuhn; and the longer the interval passed over, the less I felt disposed to speak of it in print. At present, after twenty years' time, I should have considered it almost unfair to rake up the past; for a sense of charity would have told me that the moral and intellectual condition of a man may undergo considerable changes during so considerable a period of his life. But in spite of my strongest desire to combine the defence of literary interests with a regard for all the circumstances connected with the author himself, I am not allowed to remain silent, in consequence of the insolent provocations which I receive. Not only does Dr. Boehlingk quote his "edition" of Pāṇini, in his Wörterbuch,—not only does he thus force it, as it were, on us by the references he makes to it, and acknowledge it to this day as his legitimate child,—but one of his own scribes, well acquainted with the judgment I should pass on it, has the hardihood to defy me publicly, by bidding me have respect for the "editor of Pāṇini."

Well, then, I have taken up this impertinent challenge.

so far as my present subject permitted, I have illustrated the nature of this immaculate book; and it will not be my fault if I am compelled to recur to it again.

Still a provocation of this kind alone would have as little induced me to take up my pen now as it did heretofore; but when I see the public told authoritatively, yet without any proof, that Śāyana teaches that understanding of the Veda which was current in India no longer than a few centuries ago;—when I see that the most distinguished and the most learned Hindu scholars and divines—the most valuable, and sometimes the only, source of all our knowledge of ancient India—are scorned in theory, mutilated in print, and, as a consequence, set aside in the interpretation of Vaidik texts;—when I see that the most ancient records of Hindu antiquity are interpreted to the European public in such a manner as to cease to be that which they are;—when a clique of Sanskritists of this description vapours about giving us the sense of the Veda as it existed at the commencement of Hindu antiquity;—when I see that the very forms

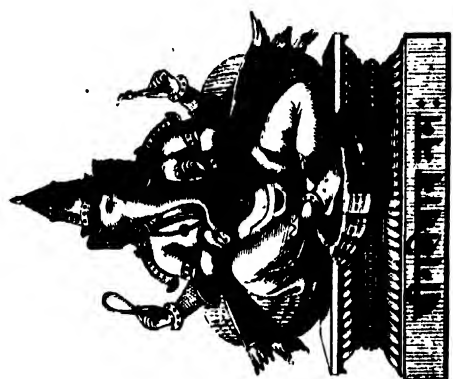
of the language are falsified, and that it is made a principle to slur the grammar of Pāṇini, and to ridicule those who lay stress on it;—when I see that one of the highest grammatical authorities of India is schooled for a “want of practice and skill,” while this censure is passed without even an understanding of the work to which it refers;—when I see that they who emphatically claim the epithet of “veracious,”²⁸ make statements which are the very reverse of truth;—and when I consider that this method of studying Sanskrit philology is pursued by those whose words apparently derive weight and influence from the professorial position they hold;—and when,

²⁸ Professor Weber in his libel: “einen um so peinlicheren Eindruck muss es auf jeden wahrheitsliebenden Forscher machen, etc.!” i.e. “the more painful is the impression which must be produced on every veracious scholar” [viz., if he reads my opinion on the Wörterbuch, which opinion,—I must add, so far from having changed, is even more emphatic now than it was when I wrote the review which has so much displeased him].

moreover, departing from rule and precedent, I see the journal of a distinguished Society—I fully hope through an oversight of its editor, though a Professor of Sanskrit himself—permanently made the channel for propagating such statements as I have described and qualified, together with these scandalous personal attacks and calumnies,—then I hold that it would be a want of courage and a dereliction of duty, if I did not make a stand against these SATURNALIA OF SANSKRIT PHILOLOGY.

On this ground I have raised my voice, however feeble and solitary for the moment, and have endeavoured to examine the competence of those who set themselves up as our masters and authorities. On this ground I have endeavoured to vindicate for Pāṇini the position he holds in Sanskrit literature, and the position he ought to hold amongst honest Sanskrit philologists.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON,
November 2, 1860.



पञ्चः

ॐ॥ उ न मो वि ना य का य ॥ यं मं त्रः प्रा ण्ठि या मा स क ल्पं त च ण्ठि रा कि ज्ञा ऊ ना नि
क ज्य थि ब्धौ तैः सा नः पा उ स र स्व ती ॥ छा उ त्त र ल उ प चा रो वि दा रः ॥ द्वि प दं प रि त्रा षा
स्त्रं ॥ नि य म व द्धि य ता प रि त्रा षा न व ति उ प चा र स्या धि क र ण त यो त्त रा दि गु नि य
म्या त उ प व र ण मु प चा र श्रु ति क र्त्तृ य ता तं दु प का र क सं नि पा त्यो प का र क रू प
तो ऽ ध्य व सि त उ प चा र श्रु ति क र्त्तृ य ता तं द्वा पा क य ज्ञो प चा रा ज्ञि सु प्र च र ति ॥ तृ त्ती
म ज्ञि दो त्तो प चा र सि ति प्र यो गा त ॥ बि दा र इ त्य न य न चं ते ॥ बि दा रं पु र स्त्र त्वे ति प्र
यो गा त उ त्त र स्थो दि शि उ त्त र स्मि न् दे शो वा न्नो त्त र तः ॥ श ष्ठो न उ का ले दि क्श चे नः १
स ष्ठ मी ति व र्त्त मा नो द द्दि म् लो क रा म्या म त सु न्मू य यो दि शि दे शो त्त रा श ष्ठ त उ

मि २

ज्ञान

नरतउपचा रो य ङै स्थ सउत्तरतउपचार इत्यन्यैप दाशे वि कुत्री दिः। स चान्यप
 दाशे विहारः उत्तरतउपचारो जवतीति शेषः। एतदुक्तं न वति विहारस्योत्तरतउप
 चारकर्तव्य इति। गोदोक्षे न वस्पापाकरणवेदकरणदिरुषवारः स्वेनैवीको रुत्तर
 तो कर्तव्यः। दक्षिणतो वा प्राच्यापश्चादातत्र दक्षिणतः त्रैलोक्यं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं
 नतः। उत्तरतः स्तुपदे प्राश्चातुन विधीयते। किं तर्हि दक्षिणतः प्राश्चातुन विधीयते
 न पक्षे उत्तरतः त्रैलोक्यं दौर्गाह्यत्वादित्रयं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं
 स्मिन्पक्षे प्राश्चातुन विधीयते। येषां दीनानां तु सामर्थ्यं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं नृत्तं
 स्तरणतुल्यं दृष्ट्वा जिनस्यैव मादाय विहारः अहं पश्चादक्षिणतः। पश्चादुत्तरस्य
 = अत्र प्राश्चातुन विधीयत इति नियमो विधीयते। उत्तरतो गार्हपत्यस्योत्तरतः = ३

मादयः॥विदारत्रदणंकिञ्चत्तरतउपचा रइत्येतावतिस्त्रैयोयउपचरोयुपाकुत्त
 दिः सनियमेनोत्तरतः स्यात्तुविदारत्रदणंलेखविहार समीपएवाथै नियमइतिभू
 न्ये त्रिपदमिदस्त्रमाकुत्तदसतुत्तरतइत्यस्यषष्ठ्यंतेनपदेनान्वयाश्रवणात्
 स्त्रैषष्ठ्यंतावधिपदानांतु उपचारविदारयाः समानविक्रिकचातुविशेषणविशेष
 श्रुत्वं स्यात्तदिदंशास्त्रेनोपयुज्यते। संज्ञाउनोपपद्यतेनदिविद्वारसंज्ञाउपचारयो
 उपचारसंज्ञाविदारस्योक्तंशास्त्रेस्त्रीयजमतिमूढवचनद्वौ। दनाब्धौ इतैरापि
 यज्ञांगानिकृत्तुः॥ त्रिपदोपरिमौषामूत्रोऽपंतंरंमध्यंतद्योगीन्द्रियज्ञांगानिभवेत्तिप
 षंहिता निष्पंतराणिजवंतियदिविदारस्यवांगानां चोत्तराण कर्तनसंचरेदितौ द्विविधा ३
 नियज्ञांगानि साक्षाद्यवधानेनचातत्रसाक्षात्पुत्रोडाशोर्ज्यपञ्चसोमादीनिष्टवध
 = अंतरशब्दोमध्यवर्ती

ननस्फेधाबर्दिःस्रुगादीनिद्यवदितांगानांसाक्षादंगान्यंतराणिएवमुच्चितांय
 जमानोऽंतरःपुनीनांयजमानोत्तरांतरातिद्यदंगंसाक्षादंगान्यंतराणिएवमुच्चितांय
 धंस्रुचंनैतिमनिष्टत्पथं।स्रुचिजोपरस्परंऽतरोयोयःस्वोनिर्दिष्टउत्पत्तिवा
 क्येदाक्षिणाविजतीत्यादौ'कृत्तुबद्धानिस्फुगुरुविरादीनिसामर्थ्योद्भवति।छा
 न्वायिःस्रुष्टपदं।अत्रैप्रणयनेदेवागुजपशाखाछेदनानुमाज्जनिमित्तेवमावि
 निवबोरिकर्माणिप्रकर्षेणसम्यक्समंतादापश्यन्नीक्षमाणावत्तुशतिकर्मणः॥
 अत्रिर्विधियक्षेत्संनमनादः।मयिदिपक्षैःअनुमाज्जनादेःकुर्व्यात्पुण्यंक्रियेमाए
 मन्मदयकाश्चिवतीतराविद्युणंस्यात्॥यद्वाप्रमादवर्जनाथंस्रुचंनैतुत्राय
 ध्वित्तनयादेवप्रमादवर्जनासिद्धंनद्यापिपुनर्वत्तद्युमदाप्रयोजनत्वात्प्रमादवर्ज

यद्यपि२

न स्यात्प्रमादप्रधानं ते रिते पुनर्दीक्षादिप्रधानमावर्त्तते। तत्र मदान् दोषः स्यात्त
 स्मावपुनवर्त्तते। ततश्च लब्धं न पंचवक्त्राणि त्रिपंचवक्त्राणि वेदियद्वा प्रमादकर्त्तव्य
 धिपि नित्यमासीच्च उग्रद्विषादप्रशय कर्मणि रक्षपं अरुणदित तूगणित द्युसुतेनेति वि
 रणीयं। मंत्रांतेन कर्मत्रिपदं मंत्रस्यांतेन मंत्रांतः। मंत्रस्यामाहौ योतस्स इत्यर्थः कर्म
 रणादिः कर्मादिराद्यं देवस्यार्थः। मंत्रांतेनेच्छन्त लक्षणाद्यतीत्या मंत्रांतेनेच्छन्त
 धर्मो न कर्मादिः सन्निपातो यथा न वर्त्तते। योक्तव्यदिति न यमो मंत्रांतो मंत्रा
 दिमंत्रमध्यानिवृत्त्यर्थः। कर्मादिकं मंत्रांतं कर्ममध्यानिवृत्त्यर्थः। मंत्रांतो मंत्रा
 यात्मकं कर्मतेन सुकैषापरिभाषा यथेष्टमनरं वैदिककरणदो। यत्र लक्ष्मि क
 कर्मवधातीत्यादौ तत्रादेरजावाक्यं स्यात्। आद्यंत वादकस्मिन्निति वद्वि ३

उपक्रम २

अथोदित्यपदेशो महावीरपवनोद्दीप्तः हृद्यः ननु यथावेदिकरणद्वयसंभ
 र्जनादोज्ज्वलकक्षणाप्रवयस्त्वपउपकर्मप्रवृत्तम् पवग्रंथ्यावमंतीनाम्यस्थे
 सरूपत्वोक्तमर्थः ॥ तद्वदेवबदित्तरणबदित्वैर्लोक्षोयुक्तः ॥ स्तरणदेस्सरूपव
 दाद्यरुणएवमंत्रेणसंबधनीयः ॥ यद्येवं तस्सीलुक्कामग्राण्यंकेतिरक्षीग्रदणमनय
 कं ॥ अंजनरूपसकृपत्वादतएव तस्सीमेव नवतिश्रयसर्वसुसूक्तं उपपदिदक्षिणत्र
 यस्तयं तस्यैककृणेनयुगपदं न संस्थात तश्च पुनर्लुक्कामग्राण्यं कृतकतत्तस्मै पु
 नर्नर्दं संस्थात न पुनर्नर्दणश्च मंत्रेण स्यात्तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं च रक्षीग्रदणं स्यात्तापवतीदि
 निर्वपिणो दोच्यादाना दोवत् रक्षीग्रदणं न ज्ञायते ॥ स इत्येपि कर्मणि प्रतिव्यक्ति
 मंत्रं न्यावर्तते तर्हि त्वदेकतरणेजरुप्रयश्चेति नावर्तेता यद्वा बर्हिस्त्रा नीतिवर्दि

च०

त०

निधानार्थत्वात्तादर्थ्यपुष्टिणवचं तथावाहृतौलिङ्गादेव सत्ये किं तां कैमिति न च दत्ता
वितीतरेतरयो गालु रोधेन यु गप दादानं शर्षे चेत्ते कत्वं जातौ स्यान्निष्प्रमदित्वेकमिति
देशानामपि सुतरां जातिपक्षमाश्रित्य बहुवचनं तोभं त्रः स लक्ष्मा तु दत्तं चेत्तद्विज्ञतो
भूद्विद्धिनेन मनर्थकस्याद्विवं कादि वं वः इति प्रमानं देशानां तथा निन्ने देशानामप्यपे
रुसुष्ठयेरेव त्यादावूदः स्यात्तस्मात्तत्र प्रयोगेण जातिपक्षाश्रया जातौ पदापेभिति
तेषु दातावएव प्रसज्जेत एव तौ कार्ययो गातृत्वात्किं पदार्थपक्ष एवाश्रीयते अपरैक
मणिः कं मी ए आदिः कं मी दिरिति द्वितीयदमीदाने मं बं ने कुं तित द सं न हि स म्प स्या
दानादरने कक्षण त्म क मणि रिति द्विच निर्दिशो युज्यते च हंसी अ दणु च न घटते
मंत्रयोरं तो मंत्रां तः इत्यप्या स न दि वि का र विद न्य तः वि का र स्य वा नु हो च कंत स्योच्चा

एण काले सप्तवतिनदिष्ठं यं तं पटं तोस्ति कथं तत्स्यैकादशानां यूपानामैते यूपानु-
 तोतमपि वादिवा दंतं गदत्पदोषः ॥ ५ ॥ दत्तुः प्रवयववर्माः अदिशष्टं तशष्टं पितृ-
 ह्यो मंत्राभ्यामित्यत्र सत्तद्वृणं नकुयद्यदि द्विवचनात्तस्यापि मंत्रशष्टस्य कर्मणो त-
 त्विविगृह्ये प्रमाशः स्याद्यत्र पुनर्मंत्रवस्सनि दृश्यं ते तत्र युगपदेव स्याद्वा श्रेयं दं वि-
 त्विव क्रमं इत्यादौ युगपदाज्यं वेदयोः सादनं एवं च तस्माज्जिनपस्योः सदस्तर-
 ण स मास्यनिर्दिष्टयो रपि द्विवचनात्तन्मंत्रस्याः शर्मचस्तस्मं शौवौ ध्यामित्यस्य न य-
 द्याः सं रद्यो नाः अत्र अयं यूपिपवसे जिह्विषि रन्ते पवस्त्वेत्यत्र न युगपकथं तदी-
 च्यते । सर्वमंत्रैरेकां समिधं पुनस्तेरेताभ्यामिति स्यादेवं यद्विपुतामिति द्वयं नैतदस्ति ५

नमो

एतां नितिसं दानि देशां कुतरां सदप्राप्नोति च। इति हि प्राप्तिरस्य तत्रापि यतां निति
 रित्यधिक् ऋणेन विनापि सदसिद्धेः ऋस्माद्यथा संस्थां यं तद्द्रवणं ॥ अत्रादिना
 त्तरस्येति पंचपदं स्वशाखाशास्त्रसमयोपदेशश्च तं तं मंत्रं प्रतीक्यात्र कर्म
 ते ४ स्त्रिं नैव नैव नैव मंत्रं पठित्वा तत्र न ज्ञायेत किं प्रमाणेयं मंत्रं प्रकीर्तितं। तत्प्रमा
 णं सुपदिशति लुत्तरं मंत्रस्य। अत्र वा ऋस्मिन् गोपतां तु दिदाभ्यस्तु चिरास्माद्वोसा
 त्पादिना प्रतीकेन पूर्वमंत्रस्य देवो वस्सु विता प्रार्पयतु हिरण्यवस्सु न यास्तु
 यस्य वस्तु रित्यादेरसमाप्तिं माघशं स। अत्र वदंतु देवीः। इणक्ति विंदते वस्त्रित्यादि
 जानीयात्। पारशारद्यस्तु तस्मैः प्रपद्यते। ननु पारशारद्यानां मपि सं देदः। प्रमा
 णं प्रतिष्ठुं तां पितर इत्यादीनां किमेकामंत्रं उत प्रतिपयति यं मंत्रः ऋत्रिधानस

मय्यीदवमादौ पृथक्कातुपित्रादीनामभिधेयानां प्रतिवाक्यं मंत्रज्ञेदः। तथा यत्र दाना
षड्विस्ति स्य त्रि एताभ्यामेताभिः संज्ञाशब्देन च निदेशस्तत्र त्रत्पृचं प्रतिपद्यति मंत्र एव
संस्थानि देशोऽर्थवान् न वति। इतरथादिनोत्तरस्थेति सिद्धेनर्थकेऽस्यात् ननु चान्न
हि कथं च नुमिशिदत्ते तथा संनिवपति द्वाभ्यामुपदधाति ति स्थितिः प्रवपति न स्मेत्या
दौ अत्रापि संस्था निदेशा न्मंत्रज्ञेदः। सत्यं। तथापि न प्रतिमंत्रं कर्म विहितो रभ्यादीनाम
कथं त्तिकानां अभ्यादीनामेकयात्र स्थानां च संसर्गि द्रिद्याणं न हि त्रातस्य सन्
त्तस्य च आदानं संनिवपनं पुनः स्यात्। सत्तद्वैदितमसत्तस्यात्। यद्वा च नु संनि
त्राणमेकोनः मंत्रस्यालौकिकवाक्ये ममाज्ज नोपस्थानादीनामपि सत्तद्वैदि
तत्वात्। अत्र त्वन्ति न स्यात्। सत्यं ज्ञापकात् अत्र सत्तद्वैदितं निगद्यजुहोत्या षो निग

घञु दोती त्फक्तेऽपि सन्न दोमेपि सिद्धे यदाहुतित्र दणं मेक वचनं तं क शेतित तो शावा
 तिः अत्रा सन्न स्या नमंत्र संस्थानु रोधे नाऽन्ये बाहुः अ स ल द धि क म्म शो प कं । ते न य
 स्मान्मानो व म्म इत्येताभिः प्र त्प चं दि र ए ग म्म इ त्य शाभिः प्र त्प च मि त्या दौ प्र त्प च त्र द
 ण म न र्थ कं स्या ता य दि सं र व्वा नि र्दृ शा मं त्र ने दा द स ल स्या न उ क्तं च तैः । एताभ्यां जु देत
 त्ये क वा क्य प रि स माप्तः । आ तो मि त्रा व रु ण प्र बा ह वे नि च कु त्वे त्पा दौ ग लु म तीभ्यां घा कु
 नि श्च जु ह्ने ति आ वो दि ष्ठी या -- दि त्रि त्पा दौ स मु दा ये वा क्य प रि स मा दौ रे का कृ ति मा र्ज ना
 दि चै कं स्या दि त र शा स ल च्छो दि त म स क्त स्या स च म दा न् दो षः । अ ष्ट त्र द णा व लु त्र दि
 णा दि न प ठि तं पु रो वा ते ति प्र नृ ति नि र ष्ठे घा हु ति नि श्च चो र इ त्या दौ सं र व्वा नि र्दृ शा
 वा णा दि सि म्म शि ति हौ ते षा म नि प्रा योऽप्रा दि नो त्तर स्य म् वी ति सि ष्ठे आ पो द भीः

संते वायुशित्तिद्वयोः प्रतिष्ठा न प्रत्येकवाक्यसमाप्यर्थजागतोसीत्यादिना गयत्रो
मीत्यस्योती न भवति प्रत्यभिधाना मभिधायक मंत्रज्ञेदात् अतएव सज्जोषा इत्या
दिनाऽन्ये निष्ठा उग्र इत्यस्योती न गृह्यते दुर्घटा निधान संबंधे। अनुवाकशेषेण
आन्तादनुवाकस्ये निवचनं अतएव संमृष्टा इमानित्पादौ सुघटका न्नोक्तं य
द्वोदेव देवनादिना उद्घादे पि इदं हविर्हित्यस्योती न गृह्यते। अत्र पादौ प्रत्यस्यैषि
कज्जो नि प्र इत्यादिमान्न स्यात्। सूर्यस्य चक्षुरा रुहमित्येतस्याः एकवचननिर्दिश
दास्माकोसीत्यादिना तौ पि स्योताम्। यज्ञोपवीत्यष्टपदं। ऊर्यादिति प्रत्येक संबंधः।
यज्ञोपवीतं वस्त्रविन्यासविशेषस्तत्रान्यज्ञोपवीति उपवीतदाक्षिण्यव्याहुः क
र्म ऊर्यादित्यर्थः। ननु नित्यं यज्ञोपवीतीत्यनेन समाचीनियमः सिद्धः। किमर्थमिदमुच्य

तद्यतिक्रमे

हे। तत्र स्नातकव्रताष्टं यतिक्रमे प्रायश्चित्तस्वरूपं च तीत्यर्थवताः क्रतुधर्मबाहू
नाम्ना तं पुरुषार्थत्वात् स्नातकव्रतलोपेक्ष नो जनमिति प्रायश्चित्तदेयं। क्रतुमध्यग
यतिक्रामाः क्रतुबाधे तु स्नातकव्रतलोपममो जनमेव प्रायश्चित्तोदक्षिणाचार्य
तिबहुव्रीहिः। दक्षिणेन हस्तेन कुयीदित्यर्थः। उनाभ्यां कुर्वत उपक्रमो
शीघ्रं प्रधानकालेन पद्येता न तश्चाकाले कर्मस्यात्प्रधानेन तन्मोक्षदितिव
नास्तेन हस्तेनेकं तिष्ठ फलसादनं च वेद्यं सोतन्निरुपेक्षं प्राप्नुय्वः कुयीदित्यर्थः
प्राप्नुय्वः प्रतियुक्ता तौ दिष्टुपुनरुक्तं परिहरणीयं प्रकृतिनिरुपेक्षेन तत्र तत्र प्रा
प्नुय्वो वतिष्ठते। प्राप्नुतु क्रम्यजपतीति पुनरुक्तं ब्रह्मचर्याशोपवीतिवत्परिहृत
प्राप्नुय्वदणं कर्मविशेषणं। अहं कृनिपुनरुक्ता निश्चादवनीयात्प्रायः प्राप्नुते

त्या

तीत्सादीनि घटं तो तस्मात् प्राङ्गिति विविद्धि तां ते न कर्त्तेश्च ते । तत्र न दिग्दशो व
 र्ण्यते । ककारान्तेन तद्वितलोपेन च कारः । प्रथमिकवचने तस्य न्यायशब्देऽनुनासिक
 क्रोहं कारो जवति । स इदं नष्टस्य ते पुनरुक्तं नया तु न्यायादनेपे तन्यायं कर्म्म निज
 हेतुना एव स्यात् । एवं न्यायं हेतुः । असुष्मा दोषात्तस्मादयमेव हेतुर्नित्यवविधो वि
 चा रोमीमा णि सा रद्यः । तथा न्यायविद इति मीमा णि सा विद उच्यते । तस्मान्मीमांसा
 रथा न्यायादनेपेताः । अन्यत्र वचनात् । ध्रौवस्य स्थि ए क ता स्वरं कारा नि प्रा यश्च
 यद्विद्वीदियवं सु रा द्रष्टुं च व घा तादि संस्कारवदत्यन्निप्रेत स्यात्तदा किं विचि
 स्यचिद्धर्मस्य विशेषणं निषेधनं वा द शितं स्यादतो न कर्त्तव्यं न्याय्यमुग्रवघातादि
 तत्र सप्तदशशरा व निवर्षा दौ शतलक्षालवर्षादौ च न्याय्यं न स्यादनेनैव हेतुना ॥

३ मलिनोच्च

तलश्चन्याय्यशब्दोत्रसौत्रो नर्थकः स्यं नैवं सु रा द्दष्टे अ व धा ता दिन स्याः ततो न्मा
व्यं का वाक् अ पूर्वखा तूनि व पादि न क चित् न्याय्य च माने कां कं न पा छि नो स्वरो
यस्मिन्नुच्चातस्वरितैत्यादिरुपांशुः य लुक् वेदि न उ पा छि क मे छ यादिति उ पा छि
यद ए न पु छि स कर्त्तुं ग चा त क्ति या विशेष ष णं धर्म विशेष षः उ पा छि वं विशेष ष णानां
मन्निधेय व द्विं ग व च ना निो क छ पु नः धर्म शब्दः क र्म णः छि द ना दे वि विशेष णं य
या राज्ञाय मि त्क प व यी तः तत्र सा रथा ऊ प क र्म णो विशेष ष णे व पा छि शो सं भ व
ति ना प चा र क ल्प ना त्म तां ल ज ते तस्मा ऊ पा छि य द णं य लुक् वेदि नो पांशु
यत् क र्म सं भ व ति त त ऊ य ति ऊ प प वो पा छि सं भ व ति न छे द ना दि नै त द स्ति य दि
धर्म नि म तै स्या त् य लुक् वेदि नो पा छि ऊ ज्ज ये दि ति ब्रू या त न पु नः कु यी दि ति त स्मा द्द लुक् वेदि

३ र्थ

[illegible]

यया ग स्य च उपाऽश्रु यज स्याच्चा ग्रीष्वा मीय स्य चैद्रा न स्य उ पां शु या ज स्य च मा
हे इ स्य वा ए के क स्य का स्त्रे नि उ प कुर्वतः सं ब धां ता ए कि क स्यां ग आ वं यो ती त्यर्थः
नेत्रे एण्ड छिता अ पि प्र ते के स वी ष्ठि धर्माः स्त्रि धोर एण्ड इति स्यात्ते ना नु द श पौ र्त्स मा स योः
प्रधान या ग त्रि क योः स मु दा य योः प्र ते के स र्वे सा धा र एण्ड इति द्वि च निर्दि श ता नु क्तो न
उष सां स मु दा यि नो इ त र या हि द श पौ र्त्स मा सा नो ध र्माः सा धा र एण्ड इति स्यात् नै त
स्मार्ः। स मु दा यि च तिरि क्त स्य स मु दा य स्या मा वा त् इ त र त रा यां गे फ लं प्र ति द श
पौ र्त्स मा सा न्या मि नि स मु दा या पे दं द्वि च निर्दि श ता यं यु ज्य ते का यं नु स मु दा यि न्निः सं
ब धां ते ते षां व स्तु च्चा ता स मु दा य स्या व स्तु च्चा न्ना स्ति का र्थ यं बं धाः अ पि च। स मु दा व
स्य ध र्म सं बं धे स ति ए क स्य प्र धा न स्य वि स्म न स्यात्वे रित स्य पु नः क र्म ति रि ते क्त य

अं त्ति व स्य

दिति न स्यात्। स मु दा

पाथचैनता दध्यति। समुदायसु हतराभ्यामेकेन विनापि स्याद कद्विषो नो शेषः। ज्येष्ठ
 सं स्थाप्य पुन यजि तत्पुनर्थकं स्यात्। कथं। समुदायस्य रुक्मो धर्मो गोजात एवा
 किं तु एतानां गेन विक्लयेषु नुष्टि तो नुष्टि एव न हि समुदायस्य दृष्टि
 स्तस्मात्त्रयाणां प्रत्येकं कास्मिन् धर्मसंबंधोऽप्युपरमाः। पूर्वविवक्षया समुदायी तस्यावा
 तगार्हव्यं धर्मसंबंधो न साक्षात्। तदुक्तं। तत्र त्रीणि प्रधानानि च त्रीति। एवं हि
 प्रधानानि स्युः। यदि प्रत्येकं उपकारकैर्धर्मैरुपक्रियमाणं च जज्ञेता प्रयाजादि त्रिरूप
 क्रियमाणानि प्रधानान्कथं तो। प्रयाजादयस्तनुप्रकरणपथि तां गंगान्कथं। तां फल
 वसंनिधाच फलं तदंगमिति। यद्देवं तुल्यं सर्वेषां प्रधानानां प्रकरणं। सर्वे धर्मास्तु
 धानेषु प्राप्नुवन्ति। त्रीदिवानां विलयनगर्हपत्याधिश्च यणादयस्कराज्यस्यावधि २०

तादयस्सोन्नायस्यवायथाहोबर्दिरादीनां हविश आदनादिषु विनियो गा तु सर्वप्र
 धानाशीनि तथा विलयनादीन्यपि सुक्कानीति ननु ब्रीह्यो देविलयनादिः श्राज्जोदस्तु
 अविमोकादिर्न संनवति अदृष्टार्थं चोदितत्वाद संनवादपि क्रियंते कस्तलपाकवत्
 एवं प्राप्तेऽत्रादौ निर्देशाद्यवनिष्ठे रंन्निहि पदं चेतत् निर्देश्यत इति निर्देशः साधने
 निर्देश्यते वानेने नि निर्देशः शौद्धः साधनस्य वाचकास्तस्मानि निर्देशास्तत्तद्विषयः एत
 द्द संनवति सर्वत्र किं तु यत्रैव निर्दिष्टं तात तत्रैव द्यवकिद्यान्य साधन निर्दि
 ष्टे रन्निहत्यर्थः यथा दविश्या निति निर्दिष्टप्रावद्या तादयस्ते ह विष्यास्वैवं सर्वत्र द्विति
 यानि निर्देशाः अदृष्टार्थो अविषयि ज्ञिकरण दयस्तेषामपि निर्देशा द्यावस्था साधन
 विविधाषु रोजाशयद्यपि नियमो निर्दिष्टात् क्रियंते तत्रापि साधरणाः षट्प्रधानानि

भैकै कस्य। प्रयाजापि वदेनेपि तत्प्रकरणधीता अतएवद्वीऽषिपयग्रिं कशोतीति त
 व्यावर्दि द्वीरेण तवणीदयः साधारणास्तथाज्यादिद्वारेण विलयनादयः॥ प्रयोजन
 जावदवघातादीनामाज्यादिषु लोपाः॥ यथा च मुरं चेषु हविः कृदाक्रानं नानाबीजा
 नां साधारणं। तस्माद्येयत्र प्रयोजनं तस्तेतत्राक्रियंते। किंपुनः अनयोः सत्रयोः
 प्रयोजनं। न्यायं कर्मकुर्वीदित्युक्तं। तावत्तस्यैव प्रपंचोयं॥ छा। चचारसुचिजः षट्पद
 सुचिकृच्छेवरणत्ररण निमित्तकोध्वश्चादिषु वर्तीता। सत्रयौ गिवश्च मसाध्वयुष
 पिप्रसंगाः स्तेपियजंतेवानुवरणं नरणं। तेषामग्रस्ति। नेपिरुचिजस्य। स्ततश्च
 रुचिजउपतिष्ठं तदस्यादिचम। साध्व्येणामपि अदणं स्यात्। अतएव षोडशग्रहण
 चमसाध्वयनिवृत्त्यर्थं षोडशसुचिजोदिरएपस्रज इति। वरणं तु तेषां लौकिकं। मंत्राना

न्ना तातूयथात्रापित्रयाणं लौकिकं करणं । ब्रह्मण एव मंत्रवत वाचनिकां यद्देवं न क
 श्चिद्वासास्तदा तु बोद्धव्यं । अत्र न्यतः प्रयोजनं च कर्तव्यं । अथ क्वत्रुद्दिष्टं किं याम
 ताः अर्धवर्षादयः पागादवचचारस्फुर्नैव नियमा र्थं ब्राह्मणाः प्रचरंतीति उण विधा
 नानुपपन्नो नियमस्य उपागादवसिष्ठश्च उद्दिष्टं मनुवा दः । यद्वा कुचौपलक्षणे
 र्थं एकस्यापराधे प्रायश्चित्तं मात्रयः प्रचरेयुः सर्वसर्वकुर्युः । कर्तुं चैनं कर्मणि
 यस्मान्नैव तां निदिदिशा द्यावतिष्ठे रन्नि तियद्यस्यादिष्टं स तत्कुर्यादिना दिष्टं तदि
 समं किञ्च ज्यसर्वे कुर्यु रित्याशं क्यत्त्रना देशी धर्तुः कुर्यादिति । त्रिपदं चित्तु तत्तत्त्रा
 शो विनियोगो ब्रह्मादीनां यत्र नास्ति । तत्रा धर्तुः कुर्यात्तृष द्प्रकारश्चा देशोत्रा निप्र
 ताः । अत्रोक्तो लोकास्त्रिकोत्रा वा क्येना प्राकरणिकः स्थानिकः सामान्यश्च तत्र श्रौतो यथा
 त्वमध्वर्युर्न वत्सं हो तान्न वचं मे ग्रीन्ध वेति । ब्रह्मणः नृपुते रत्यादि मंत्रस्तोमेन ॥ १ ॥

यथा रक्षादावात्रा मामीत्यान्तीध्रस्यादेशः शाखा विश्वे मनो दोनुः॥ एव यद्यजमा
 नपस्यादीना माज्या वेद एण दोमं त्रलिं गात्रा वृत्रस्यासि कनीति के ति च। यथा पि
 तुनीमायावितियजमानस्य। वा क्येनेति प्रका र एतयथा दिरण्मवल्लिख च य
 ति स्त्वा वरास्तु स्नानादौ दीक्षितस्य। स्नानात्तु यथा मारु लो। मषमवदधातीति प्र
 तिप्र स्ठातुः। समाख्याया यथा दौत्रं दोनुर्ब्रह्म खं ब्रह्म ए। यजमानं यजमानस्य
 ननु ऋध्व्यं च मध्व्योरेव न विष्यति। समाख्याया। किमर्थमिनादेशो ध्वयुशितोसर्वमे
 तदा ध्वयं ब्रह्म च दौत्रे याजमानिकं च। यजुर्वेदिकं कृत्वा। तत्राना। दशा एवाध्वयु
 क्रयन्नादशेषि। इतरथा। दृष्टिं या रक्षादौ। त्रितिसमारषया ऋध्व्यो रपि प्राशनं स्या
 त्॥ ७॥ उपस्त्रशने षट्पदे। यजमानान्मो उपवस्व शने नुक्ते सति। आदवनीयप्रप ॥ २

षनं न वतीति कालनियमार्थविवचनो न पुनः। त्रणयनविधानं। आहवनीये जुहोतीत्य-
 द्वाप्येतत्सिद्धत्वात् प्राज्ञे विधानेन वतीति कथं प्राज्ञोऽपि हिताज्ञोऽपि कर्मण्यपि हित्रद-
 शकीर्णमासादिभ्यो धिकाः॥ आहिताग्निं चतुःप्राधानेऽप्यधेयमिति पयैतनुं चिते-
 सति न वतीति आहिताग्नेश्च कर्मसिद्धिर्होत्रादिभ्यो नुतिष्ठमोन स्यादिति गार्हपत्या दयः
 साधनैः तत्र गतश्रीया हिताग्निस्तस्मिन्नेवाहवनीये जुहोतीत्युक्तं। आधानिकमु-
 त्तज्ज्या न्यमाहवनीयं प्रधानार्थं प्रणीय तत्तुङ्गया तस्मादग्निर्होत्रेऽभिन्नप्रणय-
 नं विधीयते। तत्रापि कालनियमोऽपराह्णकृष्टाष्टायां प्रातरिति पुरुषंधर्मावैश्व-
 नित्यधाराणं प्रतिकर्म प्रणयनं चायदि प्रणयनं विधीयेतादशपौर्णमासयोगतिष्ठि-
 यापि प्रपद्येत प्राप्नत्वविद्यवान् स्यात्तेषां नित्यधृत इति वचनादितरेषां न नित्य-

तइत्यर्थः। किं तर्हि। यावत्कर्म धृतोऽत्रिदोत्राघपक्रमप्रवृत्त्यपवर्त्तयंतं धृतोऽ
 अर्नंतशनेविस्वज्यतइतिगम्यतेऽत्रतःप्रतिकर्मप्रणयनं प्राप्तामपराक्ता। दृष्टुं
 कालेनियम्यत। अतएवप्रवसद्विधानादौऽत्रादवनीयप्रणयनमुपस्थानादि
 वंशतश्चागतम्रियएवप्रवसद्विधिः स्यान्नतरस्य। प्रणयनस्यैवादितीगारु
 पत्पादितिकं। यावतागार्दपत्पादवृद्धाधानेऽत्रादवनीयः प्रणीतः। यस्मादाधाने
 उत्पन्निरनुगमनादावपितस्माद्विनीयादेवादिप्रणयनं ताएवंतर्हिज्ञापका
 र्थं गार्दपत्यत्रदण्डतराधानादिप्रणयनं जोम्वाग्रतयनादिप्रत्यक्षुस्वाद्विधर्म
 निवृत्त्यर्थं एवंचवृषणिं स्मृतिं तत्रैत्यादिनिवृत्तिः सिद्धा। गार्दपत्पातपुनः प्रणय
 नेहोत्तमदण्डसुधरादवनीयमित्यादिः संशयार्थं तयाचैतद्वृत्त्येतो तयातत्रैवद

स्तुतुं
कति

= अग्राग्रासरासुमितिशाकुध्मति

श्रियिष्णुमः॥शबरस्वामिपादाः॥क्षीमिदं प्रणयनमिच्छंति देवागानु। इति शब्दो मंत्रस्व
रूपस्य द्योतकः॥ इमं मंत्रं उत्तरतो विदारस्य जपित्वा शाखां वक्षमाणस्य रूपो ज्ञेय
तौ। अहं एतियातिव्रतोऽयं तस्येति कालोपलक्षणार्थी यजमानेन ब्रते तु ये ते सती
त्यर्थः। यद्यपि जपित्वा शाखामच्छेतीत्येवं संबधात् जपोऽपि ब्रतोपेतस्य प्रसज्यति न
चापि जपानंतरं ब्रतोपायनं अनुक्रमेण सूत्रपदन्यासानवाताद्यद्वैप्रयुक्ते कर्म
रंजस्य ब्रतोपायतस्येति कथं ब्रह्म। कां दोसी अथ वाषष्ठीवानादर इति यो गविना
जोद्वष्टव्यः॥ ॥ पस्मिन् स्थशाखापस्मिन् शाखाम्याः शाखाशमी शाखा तु ल्यो विकल्पः॥ प्रा
चीमुदीची वा। यमपि तु ल्यपविकल्पः। द्यवस्त्वादर्शनावात् कस्मात्तु नः। प्राचीनं तावच्च
वहारात्। विप्रत्तश्च वात्। अत्र तत्र तत्रास्त्रैवेनापि दृष्टात्। अथैवेति रपि अन्विधानमसि

तस्मात् दात्मनः संबं धिशृष्टत्वाद्दृष्टस्य वा। यवामूलपेक्षया प्राग्गता सा प्राची। प्राग्
 अति। यावदेव मुदिचीव। तौ दनां गतां ततां प्राचीं दमामिति विशेष ए। मिति द्विती
 य एते प्रांचं प्रदारेण मन्त्री छेन्नतु प्राचीं प्रति दनां गतामिति वक्तुं शाखां बद्धुं पक्षं बि
 द्वांशां स्वायस्यापसाम्नि च बद्धानिय स्यासेति श्रुत्युक्तं मयं यस्याः। सेति श्रुत्युक्तं बिरो
 क्षाच्छिद्रांश्चेत्ति मंत्रां तेनेत्यादि विधिना छिनत्ति श्रुत्वे चैत्फ त रं तो विद्वा रस्येत्
 त्रप तिष्ठते। संप्रवातुः श्रुत्वा माष्टि सुचूतायेति सन्नमय इति रुद्रां दुक रोति क्त्वा
 वायवः। शाखयामावृत्त्यवसानं करोति किमर्थं यजुर्ग्रहेण। तेनैतत्तद्वापयति।
 येषां वसानां यजुषा मंत्रं बंधं स्तेषां मेव पोषाय वैति यजुषानुमंत्रेण। श्रुत्वा कृतं
 नो। निघोरिणे षष्ठी। श्रुत्वा कृतानामिति तु कस्याः पाकरणं। शाखयोपस्पृश्यमा

विज्ञाद्योऽप्यपक्षते सत्ये तदुपस्यर्शनां तरलमुपाक्षत उदणताय ह्यबहुषु श्रीचव
सुः अनुपाक्षत निवृत्त्यर्थे इतरथाऽप्योऽनुपाक्षताः समायाय स्तस्योपस्य शनिं स्यात्
दन्त्रीपिंजूलैर्दन्त्रीणां पिंजूलानि एकमूलान्यनेकशाखाः पिंजूलानि तेः सदशाखया
वो वदत्यादिमायजुषागास्ति स्त्रः प्रार्थयतिो पूर्वमन्त्रे यजुर्ग्रहेणावुद्धंसीति स्त्रो
या बहुकैवाम देवाय मिति शाखो तरामं त्रान्नुदः प्रक्षति चातुः सुद्धात्रपः अत्र शत
मिद्वायेती दश एवमदेन्द्रिपिञ्जवतिोपराष्टि चान्न हि शतद्विशरदेषेद्रस्या शः सन
थते सं वस्त्रं तस्येज्या विधाना ता एतदुन्धेऽमिद्वायां पिबंती उद्धाना परिवाः द्यु
कुः इत्येकवचनोक्ता निमवंतियत घर्म्मिकपालमुपविनोनीति वतुः क्रवाः अरण्यानि
कुः स्वसनयजमान गृहानभिमुतम्बापशपन्जप्यताः अयमप्रसूते क्रवास्या इति
जिष्ठेन सिञ्चन्त्यस्तिष्ठति सद्विहारं प्रयास्यतो यस्मिन्नाञ्जिः समीपेवातिष्ठ

नीत्यग्निष्ठः अनाः अज्ञागारेवागादपि त्यादिशालायां बुल्यो विकल्पः। अनेकयजमान
 कप्रियजमानस्येति नार्ह्यते। परार्थत्वात्। अनंतरोक्तेन वत्प्रदोः। अनयो गापत्योः
 एषु गोपतिषु पुरोहितस्यैव यजमानादौ। उत्तरतोः। आदानसामध्यदि उत्तरतो
 गार्हपत्यासिलास्यपक्लृप्तिः। असिलं अस्त्रं परस्परुच्यते। अस्याशाखायां देवस्य
 वित्यस्य मंत्रस्याश्च परस्त्रुमेव विनियोगात्। सविष्टप्रस्तएवैनामिति स्त्रीलिङ्गा
 तौ असिलमिति न पुंसककलत्रवस्यात्। यद्विचकस्मिं देशे दात्रमसिलमुच्यते। तवा
 शोखां तरत्तत्तद्द्रष्टव्यं। गोषदसीति उपस्था न ध्यानं। उर्वतो ब्रह्मनां। गमनां प्रत्यक्ष
 हरदः। निष्ठपनं। अनाशवत्तापनं। प्रेयमगात्। उदात्तादिस्वरस्युक्तेः। उपः। प्राख
 दन्वानि प्राखुः। सुखउदज्जुखो वा। अग्निप्रहज्यनिस्त्यततो बहिः। अक्षैति अ॥ ५
 निगच्छतीत्यर्थः। दवानां पयसि। दर्शघस्तस्य धर्मं। पिदि प्रातीत्यर्थः। परिशृङ्गातीति

यावत्। विस्मोऽपि पृथगनां मध्यात् एकं अतिदेशं सृजति मुंचतीत्यर्थः। नाति सृ-
 षानां मध्यादेकं अतिस्थितिः। अनेतर्यानां कथं तद्विस्तारं वातीति यत्र सर्वे न दापि पेरित्य
 क्लृप्त्यैकांते घटति। षाखां तराङ्गविष्यति पूर्वार्थाख्या। शेषं प्रस्तुताया अति सृष्टादन्यः
 संशेषः तं प्रस्तुताय पयस्त्रिदिशतीति गम्यते। माधोमोऽजयः। शाखास्ततोऽनुनाति। स
 तस्वमुष्टिः। कनिपयस्यैरभ्यधिकं मुष्टिः। अनुनातिः। स्वदीर्घेषु न खेषु न खानां वैवाधिक्यं
 किंविच्छ्यात् प्रस्तुताय दर्जाऽकल्माखाऽप्रप्रधूताश्चर्जाऽनैद्याः। दृष्टिद्याः सं। मंत्रैरादृष्टं
 तद्वर्जितं दर्शनीमादमं अकल्माखान् दर्शयति। अनुनातिः। अवित्रान् प्रभूतान् प्रभूतरान् अ
 प्रधूतयन्नुनानि मन्त्रेणैवं तद्विर्लिङ्गान् मन्त्रस्य रक्षणीमनावाच्चीनरथात् रक्षणीलुना
 तीति ब्रूयात्। आक्षेपात्तेजसाः अतश्चैव दिशि न वस्त्वविरोदाः। लवानां बहुलत्वात्

वः प्रमृष्टं तदन्तिमं निरुतना संस्कारं कंच ननु आनवैः संस्तुतेः किंचित्प्रयो
 जने सद्सन्नबिल्गाः आत्मशरीरं दयं वोपस्मरात् तत्रात्मोपलब्धैः श्रुत्युपि तांशुल्य
 संनहनं प्रतिदधातिः श्रुत्युग्धानुसंदधातीत्येके धातुं शुल्बाय योजतीति कोऽत्र यु
 ग्धातुः युजो धातवो यस्मिन् तमुग्धातु न युग्धातुः श्रुत्युग्धातुश्च एव संघातः स च
 दन्तीणां दन्तीकुर्वीति हारिकाणीति वचनात् ननु शुल्बाद्ये प्रदक्षिणं शुल्बनुक्तं किं शु
 नः प्रदक्षिणं न हरेत् पुनः पुनः तदिदं प्रदक्षिणं प्रतिदधातीति न्यंबंधः शुल्बं प्रदक्षिणं पा
 नाषाये बसिद्धं यद्येवमनुपादेयं । एषां तत्रं धिप्रतिप्रदक्षिणं शस्त्रं निधानान्
 संशयः सहेतुः तांशुल्यं कूलं वर्धतीत्यर्थः । यथा लूनं यद्यतस्तुल्यं न भि
 ये विआनु पूर्ववचनः श्रुत्युक्तो विप्रत्ययात्सु संश्रुत्युपाद्राः श्रुते तुल्य

भूलाग्ने समाय म्यै क धा ग्ददी च्चात्र दक्षिण ग्द ए मन्त्रा ष्ये च्चाता द्द्रा एपाः सं न द्दे
 अं तै लु ल्ब म् ल्ब प्रां ती। पूषा ता। प्र द क्षि ए ग्द एं अ लु ल्ब चा वृ च तं। से ते मा। पश्चा न्म लु
 देशा वृ प्रां वं अ अ देशं बर्हि षः। अ प क ष ति। आ प स्त्रा अरा र ज ते बर्हिः प्र क्र मा ता। द्र
 द्र स्या उ घ म नां ऊ हू सु ऊ य एं। हृ द स्या तः॥ मूर्ध नि शि र सि उ वं त रि दं वी ह्री ति मे त्र
 सा मा म्ना य र्त्न ब ली य स्त्वं द श यि ती ते न अ न्वे मी ति न च वृ त्ति अ दि त्या अ प रो ग
 द्ये त्पः। प्र ष्य म्पा न द क्षि णा मि। वि क ल्प प्र सं गा ता। स मा रो पणे न द्यो गा द प शे गा
 हू प त्प द क्षि णा मि उ क्तै। बर्हि र सि उ प रि प्रा ष्ये न मि द्य ति रि क्तै अ धि क रणे व र्त ते च
 आ द धा ती ति शा र्वा त रं। अ स्पां तु शा र्वा यां अ न्नि मं त्र यं ते उ क्तै। बर्हिः श ष् स्प ज ति
 सं स्कार व च न चा त्। व च न्त्वा घ त्र श र म यं बर्हि स्त त्र उ दः। प्रा न्नो ति श रा स्त दे वं ग

मास्ति यद्वाशोसिद्धं गमास्ति एवं शरं देवस्य दनं दामि अतस्त्वं शर इत्यादिषु
 द्रष्टव्यं यत्र अर्द्धशर मयं स्यातां बर्द्धिशरो रस्त्रो देवगमो इति स्यात्तां यं तु बर्द्धि सं
 दस्य तत्पश्च करणं तत्तृणी तवर्द्धिषीति वचनोद्दिष्टं यत्रिजनस्येन स्तृणी तशर
 मत्वेन मित्तिजवितव्यं अथ बर्द्धिशरस्य पादवचनोद्दिष्टोत्तयमपि निषिध्यते इत्य
 नुसृतीति तथ्या बर्द्धिरसीति शरमये पि स्यात्स मूलिर्देवैर्वाशं श्रेत्र विकल्पे पाला
 शयलाशविकारं खादि रं रीदीतकं चो अष्टव दश चाष्ट दश दारुणियस्मिन् इधो
 सोऽष्ट दश दारुणो अष्ट दशानां दारुणां समाहारस्तदा इधमयूषानुप सं न ह्युबल्य
 जाः आपि इधो स्य मिति तदेत इधस्य ध्यतिरिक्तस्य ज्ञा बातात्रीऽश्वाते देवस्य मूलिर्दे
 यजिति विषाये धमुयादाय परिधीनिति इधो परिधीने पसं ह्येति विनिगात्य हि ३९

यद्वदस्येति वक्रवेयो यद्विद्यो वृद्धस्तस्येति उरुस्त्रयं निम्नजातीयनिवृत्तार्थं यिद्धा
 दस्यसमानजातीयं वृद्धस्येत्पयिनात्र समानव्यक्तिं कस्येति तत्रांस्त्वविष्टतिष्ठतम
 षिक्त्या मधुमस्त्वलतरा एव द्राव्येयानदीर्घतरो दक्षिणः सामग्र्यनिनातिस्त्वलो नान्यत
 अणीयानङ्कसिष्टउत्तरैतौ तस्यैव स्वतरस्योत्तर इतरौ समीक्ष्य उत्तरस्य विशेषणं
 यंपुरस्तात् प्रायागा ते यच्च स्य षडिधेः पुरस्तात् प्रत्युक्तं तत्तस्यैव विशेषणं उपरीक्ष्य
 उपर्यादिधातीत्फक्त्वापिशिध्विषेव कायं स्यादानं तया नि तदस्ति उक्तं तेरेव सम
 दनं दत्तरीरिति तस्यापि मदधियां विस्यष्टार्थं वाङ्मुत्र हायपुनरुक्तं सऽस्त्यनुपप
 नेन विषयति किमद्यत्र हणेनात्राहापतदपिलिंगमष्टयकसंनहनस्य षडिधा धीनोः १
 चं द्वादशनेऽष्टपदं प्राच्या दक्षिणा द्यौर्दं तरालं दिक्सा प्राग् दक्षिणा ताम्र

निमुखाश्चरंतीति प्राग् दक्षिणवाशाः पिंडपिचयज्ञाख्येन कर्मण्ये चरंतीति ह्युपध्वयुज्य
 मानस्यः ॥ अस्मावास्यायामपराक्लेन नुब्रतोयेतस्य ध्मा बहिः स न ह सुकं । ब्रतोपाय
 नयं उ-अदर्शनेन मावास्यामुपवसेदित्यत्रोक्तं । तन्नियमार्थं च द्रादृशनिमावा
 स्यायामिध्मा बहिः संनह्यतीत्युक्तं । नैतद्विधानसमूहस्य कित्वा हि कजायेति वा
 दः । ननु पाठादावधर्मसंनहनोत्तरकालं न विष्यति किंपुनर्वचनेन इध्मा बहिः सं
 नह्येत्यनेनेति तत्स्यं गार्थं चापुनर्वचनोत्तर्दि कुं उपायिनां प्राप्नोति । न च गार्थं च द्रा
 दर्शनेन अहणस्य नियमार्थं चातुयद्येवं च उद्दिश्यामुपवस्यथोन प्राप्नोति तत्र हि
 चंद्रोद्दिश्य तमात्रावनम्रवे वा उपवसेदित्यस्य पौष्मि स्यात्सावकाशं च न हि प्रवे
 इति द्विवचनं निरवकोशं बाधकं स्यान्न च द्रादर्शनेन अहणं निरवकाशमेवाश्रय्य

[illegible]

तेन यजमान एवाय ए प्रथमं वेद्यं यमानतदाधुर

शोभोऽस्यैषीनावीतो वस्त्रं किंचिद्वा अविशेषं स्नातुं न आचमिन्वा वस्त्रं च हस्तौ प्रकुप-
त्रादेकं वचनं मा त्वष्टे हरेः उत्तरतः पश्चाद्दक्षिणं नेत्येव सोऽगच्छेत्पुनस्तु दक्षिणतः
पुनस्तु दक्षिणतः अथ वक्ष्यते तरेण गार्हपत्यं यत्तु वक्ष्यते यत्तु वक्ष्यते यत्तु वक्ष्यते
न प्रसाणीतशतं वतिदक्षिणं नीपि संवत्सि पात्रप्रथमे गार्हपत्यं यत्तु वक्ष्यते यत्तु वक्ष्यते
त्यस्येति स्फाताये विनलः स्तोमिन्नं च यत्तु वक्ष्यते यत्तु वक्ष्यते यत्तु वक्ष्यते यत्तु वक्ष्यते
लं सुसलं मयूरं ह्यं सकादि चो तस माये हरेः तद्विवर्तनं स्थापनं दक्षिणं यत्तु वक्ष्यते
मागताप बित्रयो मीत्रणो त्वयत्तिर्विनीतोत्पन्नं शब्दितो दक्षिणं यत्तु वक्ष्यते यत्तु वक्ष्यते
दक्षिणं दक्षिणं मिति प रस्य सपै दंतं त यथाप विना ज्यो दक्षिणं दक्षिणं यत्तु वक्ष्यते
रवलंततौ सुसलं ततो न्यतः ॥ दक्षिणेन वा खेनाग्निं दक्षिणं कटमाकृष्यते ॥

कामेकपवित्रनिधायाएवअदणंकिमथपिचित्रमितिनिर्दिष्टादेकमेवस्योत्तरवत
सिद्धेष्टविज्ञेयप्रमेतयोपरकनिधायायहानवमीवाद्यमेष्टवैवाद्यसिद्धवैवाद्यप्र
द्वितीयाभिष्टयद्यंरितरथात्रियणरुक्ममदिनप्रतीयेतेकवचननिर्दिष्टावैवाद्यप्र
कामिनिनिमाप्रभितिसक्रयंतवकेनप्रयितयात्रीद्यादिगमद्विषद्रैरादिप्रयित
नीययातुयज्ञात्रीहिमिरेवविशेषनिर्दिष्टान्मन्त्रैरुपलब्धैस्तथा
स्यष्टाङ्कोहिमिद्रिक्तसंलक्ष्माजिनपरिनामितयन्त्रमद्विष्टिनष्टिनेति। एवमष्टाङ्को
धनुवस्तरेणविन्वाप्रविशेषादिधर्माणिदृश्यंयथात्रीप्रहसामरापावहयेयसिद्ध
अविशेषयतीअबर्दतिअतुषनिमोकात्ततसकृत्यफलीकरोतिहेतुकमोदि
ध्वयौलिचाश्रयैरेकवतोअविशेषयंनितिषु। ह्मिगादध्वयुःपरापावमद्विषयनसक

त्रफलीकृत्यति॥७॥दक्षिणैर्नौउदं वंति॥स्यापच्यमानास्तंडुलाउदयतेवाउदने
 स्याऽदकंश्मनीपवित्रेणं तदि ते उदं की मध्या विनं वा स्त्री लिंगा तां इतरया पवित्रां त
 द्दिताया मिति स्यात्॥ अथ अग्नीयं तंडुलानाया मरुणेन प्रसद्यं पयं छि वत् जीवतं कुल
 मिति क्रिया विशेषणं॥ तथा अपयति॥ यथा तं कुला वस्त्रा एकपलन्यता॥ इषष्ठतमित्यर्थः
 ॥ यद्वा गम्यमानस्यौदनस्य विशेषणं॥ जीवास्तंडुलायास्मिति बकुव्रीहिः॥ इषतस्विन
 एव तंडुलो जवति न पुनर्जीवधा न्य तं कुला जीवतं कुलाः॥ जीवतं कुलमिति विना स्त्रीत्य
 न्न स्यात्॥ जीव तं कुलानिति बकुवचनं वाक्यं॥ तस्मात् तस्मात् उदनस्य विशेष
 णं जीवतं कुलमिति न बीजधान्य तं कुलाः॥ घृतस्योत्पवनं न च विष्यत्यव किं प्रतिषेधः
 ॥ घृतेन न वनीतेन वो तृष्टते ने त्पूक्ते उत तृष्ट त्रदणं घृतस्यापि संबध्यत इति निषेधः॥ दक्षि

त एउ ह्यस्य यतिद्विदि एतउ ह्यस्य यतीत्यर्थः। दक्षिण स्यादिति सामर्थ्यात्तु एघतो दक्षि
 पातः पुनरस्ताद्विदि एणेत्रेस्त्रिषु प्रक्रमेषु पादविद्वेषेषु। ऊतयततत्तनधिक र एस समीचात
 अपरिमितेवाऽनवच्छिन्नपरिमाणदेशाऽत्यर्थः। अवकाशे विपुले परमात्मशरीरमात्रशरीरमात्रमु
 खमित्यर्थः। अवकाशा विपुले परमात्मशरीरादुद्धृत्य परमित्यभिमुखोद्धनननिवृत्त्यर्थ
 अवसिं वति प्रकृततत्त्वाद्दुद्धतेन च त्रेणोद्धतं। किं तर्हि अवबोधो दत्ततथा हि अवबोधतासा
 दयनीति वक्ष्यति। अवबोधे तु दक्षिणेत्रे तत्पुनरुक्ततर्दक्षिणाम्निं प्रणयति। अत्रेण
 दत्तमुद्धतं रेखाया अत्र तस्मिंस्तीमादयति। समूलेषु संस्तीसेषु सप्तमी। समूलेषु
 अन्या नूत्नानां प्रधानां प्रतितीयाया मा प्राधान्यं समूलानां मंतमन्तुत्तयदा समू
 लेषु संयमितेषु समुत्ततो न्यानुपयके तात्रिति त्रीन्यानुपसंयम्या कष्टमुद्धतं त्र्यभि

चप्रणीतं त्रस्वमुच्चाबमुच्चा त्रीनुवारा नूस्मं ता तस्वचा कर्षा मुच्छते उड्वानुडू
नावशिष्टानु उपरि स्त्रुणाति यद्वा त्रिं कटिर्षम जिं च त्रिः द्वितीयं त्रिर्द्दणं स्तर एत्रे
दाद्यं स्तरणे सपुनरुनयं प्रयो जुक्ते न पिंडा नामावतानी न मा सोदन पिंडा न्निदध्या
दित्यत्रातिप्रणी तस्मा वैषिकर्षत्रिः परिस्तीयीता अथ तत्रैकं पूर्णना स्ये वा चित्यं मेत
तत्रैवा प्रातिपदि प्रतिप रिक्त्वा स्पेति वचनात्परिक्त्वा ममाणः परिस्त्रु एतानीति गम्यते
यद्वा दक्षिणाग्नि समीपं पुनरागत्य प्रसद्य मं प्रदक्षिणं दक्षिणं दक्षिणाग्नेः प्रस
द्यमादत्तं घृमुनानि प्रणीतस्योताम न दक्षिणाग्निमुत्तरेणेति युक्तं । अथ वा मशक्ष
तत्प्रसव्यं परस्य राये द्वां अत्रा य वनं स्फा त्प्रस्रद्यं दवी दद्या प्रियद्यमोदन माव २२

त्रि। दित्येवं। आप्तोपत्यनेनेत्यायवननं दृष्टातिदारयते। उदमनयेति देवी। ऊस
 सुकमिति वाससञ्जसु। एतपितरो। आवा हृत्यतिस्त्रिआवतिपरिश्येततत्रणा
 द्यपि। पिटकार्यम। तत्वेन स्यात्। परितनपि निवकृष्टिः। परिषेकः। सर्ववाक्यानां तु ल्येद्य
 बल्लदकचं। अत्रिस्तु प्रसतो। न दक्षिणा। त्रिरन्योवा। निधाय निधाय उदकं जेवस्व
 वस्वाद्याप्रतिपरीयात्। खंधतां। बहिरपेक्षमा। एस्यापि मूलशब्दस्य गमकत्वात्। तस्मा
 सोऽगुरुकलवता। मूलान्येव बहिर्लोमूलदशः। दशग्रहणा मूलानां तिरिक्तेपि निनयनं।
 बहिर्त्रिद्वेष्टा। त्रिसंस्कृतषु दान्त्रिज्जातिवचनत्वात्। मेहणेनामिह यतिमिश्रयत्वं
 नेमेहणं ननु द्वितीयैवेयं। किं द्वितीयाग्रहणे भेदो भेदो न तदर्थस्य। तत्किम
 उशब्दप्रयोगेण। एव विनमज्जाम्। न एमन्बधूस्यतीत्यनुशब्दः। ततः फलीकरणं निवे

विद्याद्विगुणात्ता विष्णुश्चिदव्याधिभृत्पापिष्ठिरिति संवत्क्षिशष्टत्वात् स्वस्थपिष्ठिरिति विना
 पितृशब्देन लभ्यते अतो यत्तु माकर्तृकं पिंडनिधनादिकं न ह्यध्वयुपिष्ठेषु दात्तनय
 ऊगानपिष्ठेणादानं न वति लुप्यते जीवत्पिष्ठिरिति न दमध्वयुर्विषयमनधिकारिवा
 तस्मिन् विष्टं दक्षिणमिति दक्षिणाशब्दात्पिंडपंक्तिर्दक्षिणोत्तराभ्यां तत्तदसत्प्रागु
 द्दिष्टावभावात्पंक्तौ दक्षिणं उदिजे तरालेपि संनवात्तयोर्द्वयस्योत्थानस्याल्लज्जते
 सोम्यतरच्च पदेषां यथा - न्योपकार इति द्वयोश्च उष्ट्रपेक्षमयीः संज्ञा --- इदं लब्ध
 प्रश्नमांति उच्चारणसमकालं लैपेदं दुस्तलनं निष्ठज्जात्तु पृथक् पृथक् वा नाम
 गृहीत्वा निमाष्ट्रिलुप्यते जीवति पितो यस्य स तथोक्तस्य जीवत्पिष्ठकस्य पितृ
 धनं पिंडपिष्ठयज्ञाख्यं कर्म लुप्यते यद्वा प्रादृशनिष्ठस्मात्तु जीवत्प्रापितान् २२

हस्यापि लुप्यते। यद्वा जीवतपि न निर्मापिंडनिधानं लुप्यते। कर्मधारयो बहुव्रीहेर्बल-
यान्। न जीवते। पितरं पितामहं वा अतिक्रम्य उच्चैर्न दद्यात्। तत्र यमपि पिंडमिच्छ-
तस्य निषाधनदानमात्रस्यास्य तिहोमंता स्यात्। तच्चायुक्तं। प्रधनरहितं मंगल-
नुतिष्ठंति धीराः। लुप्यत इत्यननैर्वपिंडपिटयज्ञनिषेधे अतिक्रम्यापि न दादेदाति-
क्रजीवतामिति निषाधनजीवतः प्राग् दद्यादिति ज्ञापनाय दाननिषेधः। सस्मादेकेन पिंडेन
द्वार्यां पिटयज्ञौ जीवते। प्राग्दानेन कर्तव्यः। यदि दद्याज्जीवंतमतिदानविकल्पोऽजीव-
पितामहस्य तु प्राग्दानमुक्तं। अत्र अपवधिततिपिटयज्ञस्येयदियेभ्यः। पितामहोपि दद्या-
दित्फपलकैः। तदा जीपिटयज्ञेऽपि तामहेत्यतिद्वष्ट्यां। तेन येन स्तेभ्य एवेत्यवधारणं दत्ता-
नरथापि नृद्विनिं स्यान्न हितसौपिताददाति। न च त्वारः। पिंडादीयं तां त्रिषु पिंडः। प्रवर्तते इति

कृते॥ यद्विबुधुपि नु न मीत्यक्तं तदज्ञाने स्वधा दयो मंत्राः पुनः पिंडं निदधादिति वचना
 द्वितीयदृतीयत्रदणञ्चलेपत्राजिनोवदातस्य धादिमात्रान्नवेति किं लेपमेव न निष्क
 म्याचार्येणैकस्याचन्तामविदितं तेन निमृज्या हं होतं त्रं एशु ग्वाना मग्रहणं व्याख्यातं
 रस्तातुयात्र॥ अथ हि जप मंत्रा इक्षीमा वर्चने॥ कावाससां कंबलापट्टिकादवीयुदु
 द्धुषितां च संविदशां वा उल्लोविकल्पः॥ पिंडं देशोऽत्येकवचनात् तत्र या एणं पिंडानां समीप
 निदधात् सन्नतृक्ष्णीनिधानविधौ मंत्रोक्तः॥ सा च न भवति निदधातीति वाक्यपरिसमा
 ध्यं तात्पर्यमुनसिदध्यादित्यक्तं वाक्योत्तरार्थालाभात्पक्षवचनादेकं ज्ञोमोत्तरवयसोदृष्ट
 साग्रजमान छिन्नावाससो वा दशां छिन्ना निदध्या मंत्रा एणं तत्र वयाः पंचाशत् व
 षत्ति न ह्यमिति खलु चानां विषाष तउक्तं किंचानं तं निदध्या मंत्रं न च न च तउत्तमे

वपस्विनोऽपि नृपदेवं त्रजोमनी उ नयस्मि न दशावास्या नृपदेवं त्रविजित्वा
 अंश्चाच्यं दैतिम धाम पुरुषा दसाविति संस्रुधृतपित्रा देनमोच्चाख्ये त् प्रति
 पिउं यथा पिंडं अष्टवा पिंडं लक्ष्मिं नि क हस्त नो जनाच्यं ज न लेपं नि मा छिन्ना
 च्यं ज नं तिलं सपिषि य दस्त दैच्यं जने विनिविशषा न्मा जयं त्रिर्दृष्टं मैत्रा विना म
 थं अ धत्ता प्राथीत इतरो पिंडो प्रणीते ओं अ दध्यात् ब्राह्मणो वाय दधी स्यात्
 न हयेत् अश्नु वाग मयेत् तत् त उद्ध वान न्नु प्र हत्ता भो वी रा न्नो अष्ट पउप पिच्छो क
 र्म क्त्वा वा म दिता च मन मुप स्पृश नि मंत्रं नाचा मादित्यै के न मो व दति जप तीति वक्त
 चो न म स्मरो तीति वचनं कायिकं न म स्कर स्या पिप्र ह्म च स्य स्मृ च कं एषा युऽनु प्रसि
 द्ध चा दृष्टेणा मिति नोक्तं इमा स्मा कं दिश इति शेषः अत्र दिश ति पि दृष्टां चोत्त नश्च क
 = अत्र ह्मन्त्रं त्रिरुक्ता प्रति पिंडं मंजु लिखानं द्विर्न वति ८
 = वीर्यतोषितरः त्रीयतां पितामहाः प्रीयतां प्रपिताम हा इत्येता वानु मंत्रः ९

ययतिजीवाबाह्वसंतःस्यामेतिवक्तव्यं। आदिनोत्तरस्य पूर्वस्यां तल्लेखः। एवं तद्यदि
 त्विषापारिजापातनाहं न मीमदं तैत्यादिना प्रवदू न मंत्रस्यांता न गृह्यते। परैर्बनेत्यस्य
 सर्जयत्यर्थे प्रिवाह्वयनि तत्र प्रजापतेः। शाखां तस्मै तोद स्याद्विशाखायां यत्प्रजापस्य
 मृचमन्वाह्वे त्फक्कं। शाखावा अया विष्टेति। अत्रेता अमक्ष्मक्ष्मदं कौहो उदकुंजमे
 कततो वीष्मा कथाः। अजनाम्यज न पात्र तर्हि। द्रष्टव्ये। अथाना अ पिशाष्टसमुच्चयः। न
 हि तान्निनेत्यनं तरं द्रष्टव्यः। अनाहिताग्निनोचपिंड पिष्टयज्ञः। कायः। अथतिशा लान्नी
 अपयिष्ठेति द्रष्टव्यं। अपयं बसुरा इत्यग्नेः। प्रणयन अनाहिताग्नेः। केचिदिच्छंति बद्रा
 शनि इतिकाल उक्तः। छा। नस्तज्जिनेप न्य वहुंतीति प्रागुघात्। दपत्री कचात्पिउपिउ
 यज्ञो न नवति। छा। वेदं करो। पिष्टयज्ञादनं तरं। वदं करात्यामा वा स्यायां। इध्मा बद्धिः२४

[illegible]

निकशेतीत्यर्थः।।वदं॥छा॥पाटादेवक्रियावेदेवेदं दृष्टवान् विप्रतिज्ञानं तयष्टिम्
 वस्पादशंगंच तस्याभवेत्तत् तस्य तद्विकारेणोपवेद्यत्रदणं कर्मचानुमस्येष्टद्व
 र्शितात् तद्विकारेन चैव वेत्ता प्रायश्चित्तैपुनर्योगिज्जुडे सन्नेतस्याभवेत्ता अष्टापूर्व
 कत्रदणं किं। प्रायेण श्रुत्पुन विध्यतास्तत्र काराः प्राप्ता मावास्यायां पूर्वैद्यवेदिक्
 शेतीति श्रुतेः।।यद्वा निवासानां तमाभूदिति पूर्वैकत्रदणं उचितं रस्मात्पण्डित्याह तयवा
 दणं तं करोति तत्र तद्विदिति विनक्त्याप्यंतं शष्टः प्रशंसस्यते।।वद्यामधिकं रलै त
 वेदीति विनक्त्याप्यंतं।।मूलतो मूलशास्त्रीपण्डित्वास्य तस्य मूलस्यावयवं न्यसेत्
 नशकलं।।षष्ठ्याद्यतिरेकस्य प्रतीतः।।शेषं सान्नाय्याजिन उपवेष्ठाद्यं लिङ्गा
 राणामवस्थापनोत्पेक्ष्ये तच्चायुक्तं।।मूलविद्यमानापद्यते च यदुपवेष्मुक्तं २५

रदती ध्यामणिनोक्तं। वसंतशिशिखवर्षवत्। दर्शयं पादर्शणं। विकारी दर्शयं यवि
 न्नाकिं विनिष्ठा। मित्याद। त्रिगुणारजुः। दर्शयं यत्र दणं नियमांशं। दर्शयति। वे रुमि
 क्राणीति। सिद्धेऽप्रांभतेनायाक्रादावनियमः। शाखाया मन्तुलोमो मूलं मूलैः। अत्र म
 नेव स्यजेत संसृजेत यं शिवजितं। एता आचरं। अयं तीरा गच्छती दृष्टमभिमुखा
 अनुमंत्रयति। अनुष्टुप्। त्वष्टीः। मादृद्र इत्यत्र नम्रचितं तथापि चातुर्मास्येषु विश्वे
 वाः। यवांश्चै॥ यवान् चतितिनियमांशं। एतामिति रात्रि विशेषेण विषाधृष्टी सान्ना
 यमप्रत्ययार्थमनुमंत्रणे नानेत्येते। रात्रि त्रदणं प्रातरग्निदोत्र सं ग्रहाष्टीयेन रा
 यं द्रघेणादा मास्ते निव प्रतरति सं गृहीतं न वत्तिरात्रि शष्ट स्यात्त्रिहेत्रविशेष एवा
 ता यजमान अदणं विधाय प्राप्य चावाहित्य के। नियमांशं पि देऽग्निहोत्रं। उदौ

तपुःश्रद्धाः पूर्वे क्षिप्रं प्रोक्तं प्रथमं जनाया तस्याः पिउं अवयवं षष्ठी निर्दिष्टा तपि उना
 मन्वाषण्डु नः यवाचा पिं जायं होम इति केचित्तु तदसत्ता न क्षिपिं उनिधानं यवाक्षेत्रं च
 होमाश्रद्धा तस्यायथा वदि प्रचता नावदं तस्यावद्यथ चातयदि पिं उनिधानं स्या
 प्रथो तद्वत्त्वं तदिष्टं दानं यजीया या किं न जुहुयात् तासि तिसृन्नाया यं छिन्ना
 तं अथैवं कस्मान्न दद्यात्तां एता सुपवसथ राज्ञी मिति एवं धारयानो यं पर्वणि जुहु
 यादिति अतः तं च नृप्युतौ नैवं क्षन्ना प्यधर्मिणं क्रमे विधाना तां शारवं तां चान्न
 तौ राज्ञी पयसा हि होत्रं जुहोति क्रमान्न स्वपायानलान्नान्नान्योन्यैः सौदवमोयि कं
 स मन्पस्ये दीयते तादृक्कन स्मात्तयवाया अि होत्रं जुहोति एवं तदिष्टाया निवृत्ति
 प्रवाक्ये यवात् अरुणं न नि यमायं भिपल कृष्ण रत्ना तदध्यादिना पि होम स्यादि २६

[illegible]

[illegible]

तिष्ठेधः एवमंशुश्री एनेवाः अने दद्युः रक्तस्वेति। गार्हपत्यस्य पुरस्तादित्यर्थः। इति पु
रुपसादयतीति श्रुतः। अने इति गार्हपत्यपरचादवेचाया नाख्याताः। आह। अने इति
पात्राणीति खकुचनिर्दिष्टात्। मंत्रवबुद्धेर्वचनात्। यावन्ति स्मस्तत्प्रक्षिप्तेनोदकेन
प्रोक्ष्यात्तावन्ति तावन्ति मंत्रावृत्त्या प्राक्षेन्न ऊदीह्यते। नाशे कैकां कथां प्राक्षेदित्यु
क्तानानि पर्यवृत्त्युत्तानानि उरुखनिपय वितीन न मत्वेत्यर्थः। अतो न परेष्वा
पात्राणां प्रयोगे गम्यते। प्रोक्ष्य एवोपियद्विच्य। प्राक्ष्य लुवादाः अतः पूर्वोपि प्रति
पयद्विच्येति संबन्धः। अयं चारप्रतीषिद्धसंचरेदेशे स्तुचं निघाय पवित्रवतीति स्तु
चायदितत्र पवित्रेषु अदित्यास्त्रिगमिनी ग्रीवातो। श्रीवायामित्यर्थः। अत्र बधूतरक्त इति
उदश्वसनां यथावधूय मनैस्ते दीर्घी प्रतिमां सदेशोऽत्र वति। अत्र तितशाभवांतराद्विशेषेण

अस्मादिनमास्तृणांतं

सहस्रादृष्टाष्टस्त्रिंशत्पञ्चगतीति पञ्चादुक्तरस्यास्तृणतिप्रत्य श्रीबुधतरेने
मंनिगदद्यास्थातोप्रतीचीनमदंप्रत्यस्यतिकटिदेशं निबुज्यप्रत्यंचंप्रत्यस्यतियथाध
स्ताब्बामा सद्भवति नस्तस्मिन्नेत्येति निरुक्तं मेवस्तु जतिरिक्तं उक्तं प्रलम्बन्यमि
त्यर्थमिव स्तुतिन विमुंचतीत्यर्थः एदं नवामहस्तेनान्वा रब्धं कपालविधानव
त्तुष्टुआवा मं त्रिबेगादृष्टमयमप्यत्तरवले स्यान्नाष्टमयमेवात्र विधाय कत्वा
मंत्रस्या तस्या ह्यष्टवा दः षुष्टु त्रावासी तस्य आवा एमेनं करोतीतिका छमयस्या
यमुपपन्नं नान्ममयस्य तस्माजिनमिव नरिक्तं दविष्णुसूच्यमित्यर्थि श्रान्तर्जिह्वा
सीति हविश्रात्सुष्टिना त्रिरावपत्तिरुक्षी चतुष्टं निरुक्षी वद्वा ताष्ट्रिवा ताष्ट्रि
वत्तुष्टं सुष्टिमित्यर्थः पवम सीषामीयादीनां हविष्यानावपत्तिमहिचतुभिः शुष्टिनिर्वा २२

म्वा

वावपुंशकंप्रतेअन्धेनुआसुषेवइत्फत्तराणिहविष्णानिोदेवतानाईवाएषअहम्
 त्पयवादादिन्नतौस्सयस्यजिह्वासीच्यूदमिकेति।एवंवस्सत्तरुतानपयिन्नुदीतंतस्मा
 दन्यदवात्पणुमनोतावदायपात्रंजावताअथवाअग्निशब्देनादवतावचनस्यात
 कित्त्वदिबनीयवचनः।ततश्चावन्नुष्टेअपोजिह्वासीतिपरिणामेनोहृदतत्रावा।सु
 लस्यापिग्राबलमुल्लखलवतुदेवान्यादद्य७शमीषेतिस्स्यादिषुदेवाणैर्ज्ञानादिषु
 देवाल्यामूर्त्तयेतृयैरेपिचून्मोदद्यमिति।तदयुक्तमथास्मात्प्रतिनाति।यद्यपि
 योजिकचंनगृह्यते।दानाहादिपनादिति।अतिप्रसंगान्नद्यापिपितरोपिदेवाउच्ये।
 अष्टपादिधिकः।सुगगतसाध्यामफलंसा२॥फलीकृताः।हालिताः।सायास्त्या
 जितमलाशतियावलकुत्तं।सफलीततानित्यादि।आदानात्त्राधिष्वेणमयः।पुनरा

स्तरण समानादिमं अस्मानात् न स दं प्र त स्य ति इ ति प ठ त य प रे न रि त्तं ई ष ष न्यं न
 स जे त् धि ष षा सि इ ष दं न क्षा ज्ञि न नि रि क्तं श्रू यो य लं ना व स जे त् धि ष णा सि ष
 व ती द ष दि नि द धा ती ति लो के ष यं क्र मः अ द त्पा स्क्रं रा म्पा टा यु गं त त्र त्र दि ति
 तं य द्द्वं यो क्र या श प्र ति मो च ना र्थं को षं त छि रः प श्चा दु द क् शी क्षी व्प श्चा धा न
 ता द ष षा क्ता क पा य पे ष ण स्या वि रू त्तौ च षा षे स्त्वि वा रः श म्प शि रो द ष दा श म
 मि नि धा न्य म मि धा न्य श ण्स्त्रु रसे ऽ धि क्रि य ते मां न्य म सि धि नु हि दे वा नि ति त्तो
 क्तैः प्र श स्ता नां नृ ग य द्दि णां मां सा नां पि द्वा पु रो डा श स्य कु र्वं ती ति न नु धा न्य
 रा द्ये यं त दु ले पु प्र यु क्तौ ल द्द ण ते मां से पि त द्द न्म गो पी ति प्र यो क्त द्यः नै वं स
 हि वे दे न ला द्द णि कां प्र यु क्तः किं त त्र क र्मः अ पौ रु षे य द्वाः द्द पु न स्वा धी ने सु र्य २६

शष्टप्रयोगेर्मनवति। किमिति। लक्ष्मणशष्टप्रयुज्जहे। दिवानिति। पिटयं। जैपिटमेधेक
विचारयेत्। धिनुदिपिटनितिवयुत्तं। देवशष्टस्य। शष्टविशेषे। षण्णवोदनाचोदितदेवतावि
शेषचातुर्विशेषणचैवप्रहृत्यादिस्समुदाययोजेनाश्रयित्यथमंगीकृत्याम्पगतं। जै
शष्टानां तत्रादिप्रातिपदिकमर्द्धस्यामर्थवत्सन्नेणास्मिन्नायां छत्तुपत्तिपदाश्रयेनपुनः
स्तत्रमारब्धमुणादयोबहुलमितिपदैवाद्याद्यातं। शतं। दशदशानां शतौ विधिस्थप्रादो
लोबनिरुदुर्घः। संबंधाद्योग्यस्येतस्याजिधायकः। शब्दांतरस्तुद्यत्तुपन्नो गृहीतद्यस
नषित्रेणमपि देवर्चायौ गिकं। अपिच देवशष्टस्य कथं पिटयं। शब्देनोदः। सोमपिटमद्यादिश
ष्टस्तत्स्वानेस्मवपि चादेवशष्टस्य केवलद्वितोत्रथरुदुर्घश्च देवशष्टस्य सामान्य
विषयत्वात्। धान्यमसिधिनुही। ज्पाजित्यादिसामान्यशष्टस्योमात्रोवृष्ये। जित्तो

सुत्र। अथ भिदेवत्ये किं धेनुखोषधी त्रितिस्रिधिनुरिदेवीरिति न ता वद्वेबीरिति यः
 पिष्टुष्टुदेवचनेष्ठौषधिसुतस्यकाकयात्त। त्रिकादिषु नक्षत्रे बंधा। उषधिशब्दस्तु
 विधिस्थशब्दः स यदीष्टते। सोमपिष्टमदादिशब्दैः किमपराह। येन तेनेष्टते देवपद
 स्थानेऽप्रष्टेततपरिहाराय अणुधीष्टादिशब्दरूढतोनक्तमस्मान्निरिजानित्यादी
 न। तस्माद्देवानामसीत्यदिमत्तैरदवशद्योनद्याक्तितोऽभिक्रियते। त्रिरधिवपस्त्रि
 न्भागावृत्तचादृषद्यधिवयेत्। चात्रमस्यार्धौ मरुतीदृषत्कर्त्तव्यावृत्तीयं वृत्तीय
 वाधान्यमसीत्यादिनाऽग्रामेऽत्रांतं सत्तव सत्ततस्त्रिस्तदयुक्तं। कांडानुसमयाभ
 तीयते तस्मान्मरुतीपक्ष एव प्राणयच्चेति। प्राचीमिति उपजाविशेषणं द्विर्भेदो
 माप्राहृतीपवंप्रतीनीमिति। मद्यादशदृषदः। अथ वृत्तज्ञातीति पाठ एकं तीच्यथी ३०

कृत्वा कृती च। स्मिन्नियच्छतीति। दीर्घा मनुसं ततं शब्दो द्वये मतिरुत्पत्तेरकसंतता
 उपपत्तः तस्मादद्रव्यस्य सा भवा विकचत्वात्पक्षिक्रिया यो द्रव्यसंतनोपसंपिनेच्छिन्नं
 त्रसंततो। प्रांच। प्राउयेषउपोषउपलाप्रादाणप्राकृसंस्तेन वतिदीर्घं श्रुतं कालवि
 वक्ष्यमानं पिबुनिर्दिष्टाद्यवदया। तस्मादीर्घाद्विषयस्यानुमित्रस्य वा। ऋवेदकेणेदृष्टा
 र्थमात्रेनियममाह देवोवः दृषदोवसीयमाणा निरुत्पत्तौ पतमाना निशास्वोत
 रातश्च स्यात्तु शास्वोद्यां स विप्रमस्तपैवेनानुपगृह्णातीति मंत्रार्थविवरणादवशीर्षप्र
 चानयेनेमं न च विशेषोऽत्रापि च वशीर्यमाणास्तु मंत्रेण स्याद्यत्राप्रत्यायनाजि
 धाय चोत्तरा एव निषेधोऽत्रैषां चैकदेशे भित्तिरूपं रंमृत्त्वा वस्त्रा नीत्यर्थः। कस्त
 दितित्रेषां दिस्तत्रा एतोलो एष धामपुरुषै तस्य तातं कुरुतादिति सजाष्टं बिबु वचने

= इति सत्रेण वक्तुं वेचनं न शक्यं स्वतादादेशः ॥

ना धोषणीयं न त्रेषां न ज्ञान्यायं वा बहुवचनं ततः त्रिषु ॥ छिरसीत्ययवेषमादत्ते
 अदा नृग्रहणे अंगार स्थायनायै छिन्नं निर्द्वयं रक्तं अंगारकाणां नृपवर्तनम्
 विरुद्धं क्रवमसिष्टयिर्विदं ह ॥ अन्वारं नः सद्यैना अपाञ्चेत्तस्मै नो बहिरंगं न
 स्मनो बहिर्न स्मेत्पपपरिवहिरं च वपुं च मेति अद्ययीनावानुयावद्स्मात्प्रायत
 नं दर्शयति बहिर्न स्म शब्देन यन्प्राप्ता तत्कथा तन्मपहत्यादवेयज्जनेयद्विचय उप
 दधातीति अनेव हिर्न स्मा शब्दः स त्रिता एवंच चाहुमस्मादिषु यावदर्थमिग्याय
 तनं न स्म कर्तव्यं न बहिर्न स्म नोदवयज नयद्विचय च मस्त्यग्याय तनोतस्माव
 द्भ्याय तनं बृहत् कर्तव्यं न स्म प्रसायी अने देवयज नो अग्निमंगारमधि रस्य
 चारब्धे ॥ उ सृजति कपालात्सद्यदस्तीति न्यान्वा रक्षुचात्ने तच्चरो विरोधा ॥ ३१

ताधरुणमसि। पूर्वत्वं। दशयोगात्। धर्त्रमसि। पूर्वत्वं। पूर्वोद्देश्यो गादेवाधर्मसि।
 न धामादक्षिणैः। तद्दक्षिणयागादक्षिणैः। अतएव मध्यमादिति पंचमी। अंन्यारादित्ये
 न सूत्रेण विदसीति। पश्चादोशायत्कपालमुपहितं तस्य प्रमाणात्। अनाधिकमुत्र
 रपश्चाद्धयो गावोपश्चाच्चोत्रं च कपालाभिधानं एवं पूर्वद्विचरं हवीषचिदसीति उ
 क्तं प्रायः। विश्वस्वित्वात्। तस्या सज्जनानं सप्तदशित्वात्। नैकयजमानकेऽप्यंयजमाना
 न्या। मत्स्याज्जमात्रं न्य इति वपयिणमत्तौ केचित्सर्वेषां कपालानां उपवेष्टकपालस्या
 चां गाशवस्थापनादी कंति उपधानधर्मचातुः। अनयवाशुद्वितीयमशुद्वितीयमिव
 यशहः प्रथमकपालधर्मसमुच्चयाशंतेदेतस्त्रत्तानां दृढीतमिवाएवं शब्दस्याप्र
 योगात्। तदेतच्चित्यं। एकां दशकपालस्य समानं त्रयाणां सुपधानां निद्विष्टं रक्तं इत्यादि

धर्ममसिद्धिवमित्यंतं तु लब्धं। अंगारगिरसने वर्ज्यं। शिखातदङ्गपायतनस्य संस्कारस्यातु
 सत्तादवयुक्तं पुनः करणोत्तरसुसंगीत्या। तत्र च विरुद्धा दोषः। न च कृतं पुनः कर्तव्यं
 । शायवापवित्राऽन्ने सत्यपि वस्त्रं पवित्रमस्मिन् कृत्त रणादौ ह्यसमानधर्मवैपि एक
 मात्रे मध्यमादक्षिणे। ततश्चोत्तर। एकस्य कपास्य यत्तत्प्रमाणं तदुन्नयोः कर्तव्यं। मध्य
 मान् कमाजादक्षिणयोः। रुत्तरयोः देवमेकविंशतिकपालस्य पूर्ववृद्धिदिकमात्राणि ॥
 पक्षिणानि तस्यापश्चादिकमात्राणि तथोत्तराणि पूर्ववृद्धिदुत्तरां एष कमात्राणि पंच
 द्वादशकपालेन पूर्ववृद्धिदिकमात्रे उत्तरं त्रयोदशकपाले त्रिणि। अयुक्तमनुत्तरं
 इति न्यायात्। चतुःकपालस्य पंचमात्राणि त्रिमात्रं चतुष्टयं च कपालस्य अत्र
 ईमात्रयोः क्षेत्रमात्रं पंचमं। षट्कपालस्य चैवं चतुष्टयं षष्ठेत्रिकपाले क्षेत्रं दक्षिणे। ३२

२६३३ कपालेषु त्रयोदश सर्वार्हो देकमात्रे उत्तरं कर्तव्यं ३

= त्रयोदश कपाले पूर्ववृद्धिदुत्तराणि त्रिणि कपाला निम्नसिद्धि

कुष्टादिक ४५-५१ अथ यो प्रश्नः ४

सप्तकपालस्यपंचकपालस्येवपंचमंभवकपालस्योदरतस्त्रीणिपंचमाष्टमयोः द्वे त्रै
प्रष्टनवामवाष्टवद्विदकमात्रेदशकपालस्यत्रयाणाखुत्तरतश्चयोरितत्राष्टनवदश
प्रातिप्राकुसेस्त्वानिःश्रुचिकादशकपालवद्विदोत्तरायातदयुक्तेकुतदक्षिणयोः
त्रयोवीएकमधार्द्धमात्रमवशंभवउर्ध्वःकुष्टायाः श्रुष्टस्याः तत्रकुतएकमात्रेनैव
पत्तिः त्रष्टकपाले द्वे त्रै द्विकपाले प्रचृतीति त्रयास्त्रिंशत्कपालांतांतिस्फः श्रुतार्धन
मंत्रेणदक्षिणयोः पूर्वमुपदधातिपंचमेनोत्तरयोः परंषष्ठेनदक्षिणयोः परं सप्तमेनो
त्तरयोः पूर्वमिति मंत्रत्रिथमाः शारवांतराः सप्तमेनाष्टाकपाले बद्धिणमुपहितं कपालं उक्तं
धम्मैयिः तेनात्रेयेपिपुण्डुशेडोशे सप्तमेनोत्तरमुपधेयीनदशपौर्णमासिकं विधानमि
तिवचनादात्रेयवतुतामनप्रदक्षिणे। पूर्वद्विद्विपक्रमं प्राशम्यात् वस्त्रं नं रुद्राणां

कृष्णविदितं

त्रिषंगगानाञ्जग राभ्युहंनंनवतिअधः॥पाकार्थबोत्नावातातयध्वमितिद्विक्पा
 लियदभ्युहोतअस्थिनीष्टातयेष्टामितिद्विवचनेनपरिणम्यते।न्यायप्राप्तेऽहुक्च
 नेमंत्रचार्थीमंत्रस्त्रिषेप्रायश्चित्तमुक्तं।रुदन्निषचनान्नातेतन्माभूदितिवचनं।एवंत
 यस्वेष्टेकं कपालंयस्यकुतमग्निहोत्रं सूर्येभ्यदिद्यादित्यादौसौ योएककपालेपुंशे
 डाशेतप्ताभ्योधिप्रित्यप्रातद्वेदोदयति।तत्प्राशमि त्यर्थः।कितत्त्रापः।उतपुवन
 मंत्रातप्लोकोत्तरस्थलोकेहि नृक्षेनोदव्यनपिष्टानिर्मयुर्वति।मध्यपाकाशीप्रा
 न्द्वेहिंदोदयति।उक्तमुपसर्जनप्रवृत्तिसमानमाद्वाअनादितिरिष्टव्योष्टमाना
 योपाच्यामवधायपवित्रैः।दवस्यानिष्टपनमाहुवनीयउक्तं।ज्ञापकात।इहमंत्रो
 न्नवत्यनामानात्।अधित्ततयाहुवनीये तद्वेकथंस्यान्मान्नुदाहुवनीय

गर्ह्यसे समर्थात् ॥

ये च्छा केन वा यत्तौ च पमानाया मिति पाठे दुर्मिदु प्रदेपण इत्येस्याप पूर्वस्योपमा
नेति निष्पन्नं तस्या एव पात्र्याः संनिधानात् क्वचरो नागान् क्वचा च स्त्री च द्वयं संव
मेता वाचं च यच्छत्या निवाभना ता च शब्दात् यजमानो विस्त्र कोले स्य प्रथिथ मा एवा
ताः प्रांग शो निविधो तदंत एवा पिष्टालपनिधायो पिष्टानां लेपो ह्यदुपलान्तस्य
जिनपुमं निष्पृष्ट दक्षिण त्रिहो मा र्थी निधा तैद्यः उत्प वनं द्या रद्या ता प्रा द्द एषु वै
दोपया मस्त्रवेण विदउ पया प्रायस्योति स चाप्ते स्त्र वश्चेति कर्म धारयः समाप
ठुषधी रितैति मेत्र वस्ती तद्वा स मा इत्या सिंचतीति वश ह्यस्यार्थः तद्व्युत्तं मंत्र
वस्त्रिपपत्तेः इक्षीतस्यै वः प्रणीता ह्येत न तप्तानो न वनु नैवैः समंत्रक मा सि
चतीति वचतीति संनियोग शिष्टत्वात् तस्मात्तद्वाश्च समाप इत्या सिंचतीति पिष्टेषु क

रक्षि
याः

धं सप्तमीऽपः शक्रविञ्चसिञ्चोति यश्चायुक्ता स्क्रवित्यसस्क्रयचिञ्चप्रमीपेष्टे
 छित्तिनयुक्ता संस्कार्यत्वावृद्धितीयास्यात् न च सा संज्ञवत्यद्विकर्मकत्वात् तस्यास
 त्वा नोत्राणीतारुतैनासकम्बुहंसीमंत्रानावाद्धितीयायासंज्ञावाकिञ्चित्क्रत्वावृद्धि
 याः। वयं तु पिष्टुष्टुतद्वा आसिञ्चामः न चाद्धितीयायासंज्ञावाकिञ्चित्क्रत्वा प्रयो
 जनापिष्टानि च न सामर्थ्यात् संस्कार्यत्वा दासिञ्चता पिष्टप्रातिपदिकमपि सूत्रे
 नोपात्तं किंतु ततो विनक्ति चिंतयाऽत्र स्यामेकस्य संज्ञमनाष्टत्वात् का संस्कारकता स्का
 न च तु बासैरतामेकमात्रस्याचित्त्यापि संस्कार्यसप्तमी दृष्ट्या तासप्रातर्दोहइति
 यथा। अत्र वपुः संनिचोगाणिष्टः समापत्य नु यद्यति अद्भ्यः परिप्रजाताः पवि
 प्रमारयति सवर्तोगमयति तद्वा आसिक्ताः सीताः। अन्यत्र परिस्मारयंतं तं ३४

त्वं च क्षिप्रं हितसा श्रेयस्तेऽस्मिन्नेत्यन्यथावर्णयति तीत्युक्तं च शेषप्रणीता सेको नान्यतसापि वि
 त्प्रोतीहीतप्य इति द्रष्टव्यं तद्विधानायासीदं बुवि संनयति संहरतीत्यर्थः। मरवस्य। पिंडं स
 कृतं संते स्पृशति। एषा वा। आया मोक्षे एण समौ मिच्छा किं नैते। बद्धपुष्पाव इति वि
 कारः। प्रागधिवपनश्च रद्यानमेवं किं नागः कर्तव्यः। अत्र येत्येच्छति। समचिन निष्सात्त
 योरस्मिंशनि। दक्षिणदिगवस्थाना दक्षिण एव सुतराप को ननु यथा देवत भुत तस्मि
 तिन युक्तं। विजागस्यामिनो यदिकस्या यंदक्षिण संवेति न्नादृष्टेऽप्यादुत्तरय वर्धितो
 श्येव संबध्यते। निवीपने वसंबंधः सिद्धः। वचनात्सत्तावद्वा तादि च्चचा विभज्या यम
 स्मा इत्युक्तैर्ग्राहिती य इतरस्मै स्थामिने। तद्विष्टाष्टमिदमुत्तरस्या निमशनि ते नैका
 नामकर दशकपाले निर्वपेत्। यस्येत्यादौ अस्मिंशनि हि देवतेन स्यात्। यद्वा यथा

देवतस्तु त्रानुप्रकृतता विधिसंज्ञवत्सुदितेष्टोदेवतानां वदुःकुं दुक्तं वा तत्रात्रेधा विजनाः
 नृत्तपियावतेननुचान्पुनरुदितेष्टिर्विकारः नैवं विरुतं दर्शोसा विष्टी - । तथा चानुस
 प्रकृतवसानपा नृत्यपुनर्यजिततिपुनः प्राष्टाद्विरुतचमितिपुनः शब्दस्य नृमानकमा
 वृत्तिवचनचातुरदमदंसतन्मत्रः कपालन्य इतिवचनानां प्रतिकपा लमंत्राप्रतिप्र
 यनं वास्तवहा नृत्तस्मनएकचातुर्धर्मेऽसि विपुः रोडाशोपवसुतेरां प्रकरण साधार
 रणपातुएकैककामाभिज्याः कुर्याति प्रकरणदेवलाघवाद्यमिदं प्रातिमूत्रमेव
 मुत्तरमित्युच्यमाने ग्रंथभारस्या न्ननुक्तं । दशीपोसमासजोधर्माः साधारणाश्च
 स्यैव प्रपञ्चोर्वस्तुस्थे एव संस्कारे मंत्रोवाक्रियमाणः ऋदृष्टाष्टोद्वितीयस्यापि स
 स्कारं करोति प्रकल्प पूर्वद्वार एवा राजसूयदेवतादिवष्टुसुरवयोर्नैपयव ३५

नानाबीजेषु सत्तत्त्वविः सत्तत्त्वानि गच्छया चान्तिरित्येते स्तन्निरासाद्य एवेमुत्तर
मिषादिभिरुपयज्ञपतिरनेकयजमानकैयज्ञपती प्रष्टोतायावते कपालमित्यसे
ब्रंधे - चि - कपालातिरिक्त इष्टातपुरोडाश एव तर्हिकपालकैत्रपुरोडाशप्रमाणमिति
दर्शयति तच्च श्रष्टस्य यतः सतितन्वा अविद्वारय नूनाद्रिमात्रदस्तेनातश्याऽपि पिष्ट
नेष्पापि कुरति चरौ प्रष्टनष्टोक्तिते कर्तव्यो अष्टपाशुचातुर्दक्षिणा ग्रीष्मोयादिताप
सम्बन्धं बिलीनमाज्यं स्यात्तदार्थाद्योपः अविनी नमन्यदा हर्तव्या उपधाधिश्रयणमुक्तैश्च
मवादृष्टाद्यत्वात्गादप्यत्पुपाधिः श्रित्यगादप्येते सप्तमीतत्परिसर एवे कर्तव्ये
ति एकदेशवचनमधीत्यपरि - अथ एखायमं संश्रयं संपावनं सुदुर्लभं नृकृ
मनेन नृ एजालेन वा वै दोषयाममिति तत्रोदापया मोक्षत्वा वेद उपयच्छतीति वदोपयमः

बहुश्रीद्विर्वापवदोपयाममितिद्वितीयांतंपतितंतुक्ततशंतथादिवेदोपयाममावा
मैत्रवद्विक्रियाविशेषलब्धातुदक्षिणागार्हपत्यातुष्टयाः।मैत्रंलिंगातुष्टयाएवाज्य
उस्यातुनष्टश्रीगवामाज्यमितिनियमानुगवामितोसुनियमोजामद्विषिनिवृत्तय
इतिचेतुएतौवैयस्यस्यमाताचेत्यादिश्रुतिविरोधात्तुपक्षिकानुवादित्वादविशेषध
तित्वेताने।श्वेतागाआज्याद्येतिसुएनियमादुभयनियमैवाक्यप्रिद्येताजिद्यताना
मानद्विविन्नतौवाक्यनेदुभय्यातुभ्रक्तौविधनुमानं।एवंतद्विशारखंतरातुगद्यमा
ज्ययद्विद्वन्भ्येतेष्टस्मिरेति।सौनामयविभवेत्तदावा।अन्यस्याष्टयाइतिमंत्राण
मजिधायकत्वात्तुष्टमिनुणादयः।आज्यस्थाव्योपवित्रवतीतिद्यधिकरणसहस्र
प्रवित्रेविद्योतय।स्मिन्स्थानेतत्तुपवित्रवत्समानाधिकरणेवाज्यस्थाव्योपवित्रे ३६

मवित्रवती तित्पात्रश्रद्धादाशतानुश्रानेविशेषःपरिवाजपतिशितिद्वीष्टि
त्रिद्विजदंसांनान्यनिषधार्थीपुरोडाशस्यैवंधर्मोवाप्लोर्धमान्त्वादिभू
नेःपयन्निक्करोतिद्वीष्टिपणिलेदपपत्रिसंतादन्त्रियशान्नवातितथाहवीक्षि
करोतिःप्राद्वनीयादुल्लुकेनिति।केचित्पणौदशमितात्तदयुक्तंअनुवादासौ
पुराहवनीयात्तत्रयत्रयत्रयत्तस्यतवापयन्निक्करोतादेनाहवतीयेयव
अपयैत्तदाहवनीयात्तपयन्निक्करोता॥यदिगाहपयेत्तदागाहपयात्तन्नैतस्य
दक्षिणाश्रेअपणमंविद्यानादेवतदाश्रपयतिअस्यैकैकयज्ञमानकदक्षिणां
यद्गाहतिदेवस्त्वामविताश्रपयचिथल्लुकेनानिनापयन्नृपतीतिशेषः॥इत्तथा
सर्वेस्त्वस्मायोःषमेकवाक्यतयाश्रितापयन्नृयन्निक्करोतिउल्लुकेनैतिअभि
पण्यपणःआहवनीयात्क

=होत्रयनृ

विष्टलेपस्य निघारः कायी

तापयनीत्याख्यातएकवाक्यैवास्त्रुदवीडिष्टलतापयअनुवृत्तेरिति मन्त्रार्थः
पुंरोडाशं वा अक्षिष्टतमित्पादिभ्रूत्पासुराडाशाप्रवापिष्टलेपं च अत्र विशेषादक्षिण
त्रिदोमाष्टं यंतमपि नमन्निरोधानान्निगमनाशमिबोउपरिष्ठादनिघारयतिष्ठ
तत्रायतिदक्षिणत्रिदोमाष्टे धिष्टतका मादिदवा इति प्रुत्तवा दातु स्यादतएव
द्विर्त्रिदोपोखमत्रानुवापदनुवादस्यस्तु अथ येषाम् अग्निष्टे तन्वां दन्ती रिति नियम
तत्कर्मैव सुरोडाशे स्यान्न क्षाजान्न दजगिराभस्फोटयतीत्यर्थो द्वादे रन्निवा
मयतीति श्रुतेः अन्ने ब्रह्मयासां गां सुंरोडाशं दन्ती गिरा रक्तं नं के रा म् पचातृणं
गाराणं क्षालिरन्निवामयति तस्मात्केयोः शिराश्छिन्नमिति श्रुतः अस्मनाभ्युद्व्य
न्निवा यतीत्यर्थः अन्मृद्मन् स्यादष्टाष्टिवा तृसां गारच्यं तेन सां गारच्येनैव तिक्रियते

धृतीभ्यस्मृत्तत्तुः। न समनाश्रुतमपीति च शेरन्निवासमनं न न वत्फपरिपाका श्रुति
न सम संगदाया चोच्चविद हंतः। अय तेति प्रैषा घनिना ग्रीष्मादयः कुर्वते बहु वचने
सृजार्थि वा च ङ विस्तृजत यजमानश्चाचर्विष्टामपि अर्धिश्रयण दि प्राग वेदिक रणा
स्वाग्यमनापदार्थे धर्मिणा तृणाकापश्चादादवनीयस्य यजमानमात्री ॥ ६० ॥ पश्चा
दादवनीयस्य वेदिं मन आपशि मीती। मन सा सं कल्पयति वेदिः परिश्रुहिता मया
यथोक्तजक्षणेति। इयमे वेदे देरुत्पत्तिर्विदादान प्रचरति सामान्ये तयोः संस्कारा
पदेनातं वेदिषु हेती। त्फपयनां यदेवं एवेदिक रमावा स्यायां वेदा दान प्रचरतीत्येवं पदि
करणं स्यात्। पश्चादादवनीयस्येति प्रा योजि प्रायमं साम्नामादवनीयस्य परिश्रुहिता
अनुच्यमानं यजमानं स्यन्तुरः। प्रायं प्रमाणं। यथाद्वीधिषिमे न वेद्युस्तथा तिर्यक्

लीयसीपुरस्ताचष्टा तिरश्चीस्था घृष्टाद्वीष्टितावतिस्मंनवंतिवेद्याद्वीष्टि
 स्मादयेतीतिश्रुताः तिरश्चीष्टीत्योतपाठतष्टातिरश्चामानेनस्यादित्योऽजये
 न। एतस्मादिवौदकसंस्ठं दकिः सादमौष्ट्वविद्या विटतीयमोत्रे। वेद्याः पूर्वविना
 ब्राह्मदीचीस्तिस्त्रोऽनेस्वाः स्फेनकरोतीत्यर्थः। एकताय स्वादेष्टिणितिरस्मदयना
 अमंनेदयं नमंस्पर्जतिया वदुः संशब्दोपादानसामष्ट्यात्तु त्रत्यशुदकुसस्मैतिनय
 शास्त्रांतरे प्रत्यगाभ्यानावपिलेष्टे पनाश कर्मलोपो न दृष्टो तारणचविष्टावपिप्रम
 गात् अयं वेदः। यजमानायेत्यनेकयजमानकेन्द्रः। यदेनावदिननुप्राविष्ट
 चेदि। अष्टात्रिया विशेषणं। ततः प्राचीनमिति स्यात्। प्राणिनिवा। क्रिया विशेषण
 नी क्रमं खेनपुंमकजिगताचेति। वचनात्। उच्यते। वमं भिणिकर्तृत्वा समवेतिनिर्त्रे ३८

यादिगादिशोदोः कर्मकन्दसमानाधिकरणौ विप्राषणबंदष्टं प्राचीनंतरतः प्रतीचीबा
द्यतः प्रतीचीमंतरतः प्राचीबाद्यतः ५ त्पादोऽथ नापिस्कक्रप्रत्युखीप्रतर्च
तिने त्पादंतस्मिदादरणमुदीचौ गरा नपाह्य प्राचस्त्रीनुप्रक्रमोमितेवमादिकन्द
मानाधिकरणं प्रांचोत्फादत्युबदवस्याप्यात्येव २ मादिष्ट्वंप्राचीमितिक्रिया
षोषणं क्रिया अयद्रष्टुलिंग संख्या संबधजपाचारा ६ ओक्वा ॥ स्मृतनकोमुद
सेतिबक्रमुणस्नस्ते स्मिदेद्याद्यांरोपितः संततमुतन्त्रं माष्टीतिसं माष्टीउन्नर
णार्दपत्यस्यादवाञ्जमाव ॥ स्याद्यं एव नियमः ॥ पाद्यानिर्वपणपक्षपतस्मात्तयद्या
म्बानं स्फोनिधीयते ॥ स नृणस्फुमादायवक्ष्यति ॥ लेखंते च एतित्येगिति ॥ इद्रस्य
बाहु रसीति ॥ उषध्या चणंतरेण नु माष्टिना ग्रंथप्रयत्निमृशत्योषध्या स्फपस्येति ॥

मन्तेऽन्निमंशनिमंशिस्फात्रेणात्मनस्तस्यात्प्रतिशब्दोपादानात्तस्य प्रभुपनिय
 मादिनिगम्यतौ उच्यते अन्निमंशः पाणि स्यान्तु तां काष्ठपाणि कौष्ठः मध्यासुखि रक्षते च
 चाततत्त्वपविषाक्ताप्रत्ययात् पाणि कौष्ठं कृत्यति उच्यते इति यद्देवं सामर्थ्यात् प्रेतं
 सुपवेशः पश्चात् पाणि कौष्ठं करणं तु करस्य उच्यते विषयं मत्प्रमोक्ष्यात् न तु कर
 उच्यते विप्रातीति संबन्धेयत्वात् शस्त्रांतरे म्मुच्यते इति वचनात् तस्य द्वाका प्रत्ययेरेव ती
 सुवाचवंतीयमग्निष्टोमसामन्तुत्येति वत् एतदेव मूलं तद्विषयस्योक्तं कराय
 क्षणमित्यस्य पशोः सोमचरवन्तीयात् प्रादेशमात्रात् तेष्वग्रं दृतीयोपलक्ष
 णं तत्र निधानात्तासां पृथिव्यावर्माणत्वात् समीपनिर्गच्छुदगग्रं पृथिविदेवाति यत्किं
 प्रहारेण तिर्यक्ते दोनबन्धिपिडयते इति वदन्ति च दद्युर्कैर्विधयता ३५

प्रचक्षते देवशब्दोऽङ्गप्रधानं देवताविषयो देवयज्ञनीतिदृष्टो न तस्यां विहितैस्तैर्ऋगदेवैस्तै
 विषयो योक्तुं न शक्यं देवपितृशब्दोऽङ्गी देवशब्दस्मान्नात्मायं देवशब्दस्तथापि तस्मा
 यमङ्गप्रधानं देवताविषयत्वं युक्तं न शक्यं देवपितृशब्दस्य नं कार्यं सत्यमेव श्रद्ध
 यवाग्यं द्रव्यान् विनागस्यात तश्च देवशब्दस्तद्वत्स्व एव न शक्यं विहितैस्तैर्ऋगदेवैस्तै
 पुष्टिष्विदेवौषधियज्ञनीत्यादिप्राज्ञोक्तिको दोष इति चेत् तत्र जंगलजो पंस्तनपादतै
 स्फुटितयिकुप्रहास्यता न सम्यङ् एतन्निमित्तां स्तनां विशेषणं शोरेवंतरे केवलं दृष्टं इति तद
 स्यात् शब्दवाच्यं उपसर्गस्त्ववाचनिकं स्यात् इतरथा ह्यौषधीस्तं वयजुर्हृत्तीति ब्रूया
 त्वावर्द्धिता तयो देशे दोषावावृत्तिरुक्ता न्प्रनेकयजमानकेव प्रवृत्तिवामिति वषट्पुन
 सैत्रे उवर्द्धितं नः पञ्चन हि पुरे वात्मा च मंत्रोत न युगपद्रौतं दृष्टुं वषट्पुन

इत्यमरः

[illegible]

पंचमी चैत तदोद्धता तृखातादित्यष्टिः ल्यङ्गोपेकापंचमी उद्धतं वीक्ष्य त्रीनुजागान्त्त
 चाहम॥ इशां तं तयेत उद्धतावके विद्धन्तीति वाशिष्ठो वद्यथा मिहार्थपुगीषोप
 छादवस्यसंविभुः सवे॥ स्फेनुमूला निच्छिन्ति पतञ्ज दार्शत्रि तादौ नृहे मूलानामग्रं
 बाह्युपेतोऽमोनश्च॥ यजमानो नृदत्ते कर्त्तुं नैयजमानं के उदः कार्ये॥ मध्यायष्टा संमत
 संजक्तोऽप्रावेर्गुदीचिप्रवणं निम्नां यस्याः सातथोक्तास्त्रिचार्दृशनीयास्तु
 संस्त्रिष्टावयवेति यावत् साधुता सता साधुवात्तं यस्याः सातथोक्ता अत्रेष्टिना
 वयवास्यात्तथा कुर्यात्तु यथा चो सास्यामाहवनीयी आणेभ्यो गार्दपत्तं व्याज
 यात्तथा कुर्यात्तु आहवर्षु नैषं यस्याः सातथोक्ता उणम् न मेत तेषु रुषाष्टीज
 करणदर्शपौर्षमाधिक्षत स्याधिकारात् विक्ततौ न न वत्स्य अदर्शपौर्षमाग्रधर्मचा

[illegible]

कथमशेषं ददुक्तं स्वात्मनि प्रिषानुपयत्ते। रयवा संशान्ति संस्मरति। मंत्रेण प्रशं
 शतीति। नियमादृष्टाश्रमं त्रः। साम - - - - - आह तस्कारवचनं चतुर्जातिवचनम्।
 चतुर्मासादाय च। अज्यमिताया अज्यास्यादकाशा नि नि स्रुत्र दर्शना न्नादस
 द्रुतं अते। सत्रं अज्यं शष्पुजात्यमिप्रायः। प्रादता ज्यप्रसंगापत्यचावात। एष वाज्यव
 त्तिदध्याज्याभ्यामुदहीति। विषाषाणाचायीनापसत्तुदशिता नि वृत्तं एप्रघासं
 प्रतिप्रस्थातापत्नीसंन ह्येति वर्जं संस्मरतीति नियमाः। अतः समस्तं स्क्रुचं समाग्रीया
 दालुया वनसमाष्टि न तावत्समाश्रि न ह्येति वृत्तौ समार्जनस्य सुचोदाह
 त्यनुपपत्तिरिति। दिक्मि ल्यं सत्य स्यानं तार्येष्टसमार्जनं नम्रं दणायोस्तथा
 यन्नावध - साननं मंत्रस्य संबं धः। शारवांतरा नुमंत्रवस्तु। संस्पृष्टायथास्त्र
 नां संमार्ज्या प्रतिपत्कत्त रं यथा स्थानस्य दन स्त्रेत्तादन्या यन्ममाज्ञायत। नप

वाश्रन्निममयोत्राधिश्रयणादिवत्किंतर्ह्यदिनाद्यासादनांतंमुणकोडमेकैकत्र
 न्यसनीयांउन्नानुक्तुखाःपन्निपन्निपन्निपन्नीजाकापस्थानंऊ
 वितीतदत्रापिपठत्पापवितमपिऊर्वेयन्येयद्वापन्निपन्निपन्नीजाकनमस्तेऊ
 सुमामादिहिसीरितदद्विषास्यतःपश्चादपरस्यपन्नीजाकमुपस्थापयतीतिपिउ
 पदेशातुर्णन्निपन्नीलोकोपस्थानंऊर्वितीप्रयुक्तैयथोक्तितीवचियतीत्यत्राज्जिती
 र्बृहतीतिप्रयुक्तादद्विषातःपश्चादपरस्यपन्नीजाकमुपस्थापयतीतिपिउ
 तिनान्नीमंत्रादवप्रासत्रात्पन्नीजाकमुपस्थापयतीतिपिउ
 शाश्रन्निम्योद्यादृत्तास्यादुक्तैचक्रतोयावाएतस्यपन्नीसाएतंगादपत्यंसंप्रति
 समीचीञ्चान्वाप्तपश्चादितिजानुनीप्रबुज्याःआशामनासौनस्यप्रबुज्याजानुनीधर
 उपविष्टुयानिञ्जतेजानुनीप्रबुज्यप्रगतजानुनीठचासौकायीथीशचन्द्रनना

मर्थः। अतः तो वस्त्रस्य परिधानीयस्य शारवांतादिणस्तु वस्त्रस्योपरि संनद्यति
संवृतं च योऽक्रंत दृष्ट्वा तं न कुर्वीते अत्रापि न देवयुक्तं दृष्ट्वा प्रयोजनं वस्त्रं संयम
न संनदूनं स्यात् एवादीदृशं तपनी सन्नद्यति नादृष्टार्थं चिपुनः संनद्ये ततो निषेधा
न स्यात् अस्मिन्ना किं उादृष्टार्थं चि सत्यवकल्पता योऽक्रंतं दर्शयितुं रूढा हे दर्शना
तमौ जं शाखां तरात् तपनी मिति द्वितीयां तपा वेधयुः संनद्या ता स एवाप्युपसृशेत्
काप्रत्ययात् संनद्य वस्त्रं तप न्येव संनद्यति तथा हि संनद्य च श्रंपै निमं नद्येति संशा
संनेप निशब्दं पठंति तदेव मवकल्प्येते यद्विश्चयं संनद्येदिति वेदोपया मेति आजा
वेह विशेषणं स्त्रीजिगं रपय मन कलाश्रयं पचोरा ता एवंचा रुस्तेन दृहीचा
उपमावर्त्तते तान्यथा वेदोपया मत्वा नुपपत्तैः दधति मंत्रावृत्तिः द्योराज्यस्थान्य

चक्षि पंथा मचक्ष्या संनवात्तुद्दणमशक्नोते जौसीत्पादि दध्नो धिअयणुं नै कंति द
 ष्ठाज्जावात्तु धर्मे पान्ने कर्त्तव्यं नानुतापनमित्यपरे तदनुपपन्नमति प्रभक्तेः विधिवा
 क्षीनस्या न्नयश्च विष्टं वतान्नयं वानां दद्याज्ज्यो रधिअयणुं न स्यादित्पादि न
 द्युटे ता यद्येवमाज्जमपि नाधिअयितव्यं यदि न्मस्मीतेने वां दीर्घका लं विलीनाताये
 प्रसन्नाथी मधिअयणुं मंत्राधिकरणं चागादप स्यादि नित्यं माददृष्टाय ५ दं बिभु
 रुत्तरतः क्रोक्षणीनामिति शाखां तरं अस्यादि शाखायां स्फ्यस्य वत्तमसादय
 तीत्पुर्तः तत्र स्तत्र तता शाखां तसादवप्रोक्षिण्यः सादिताश्चाशाखापरित्यागे
 याद्विपरं स्वल्पं स्वल्पं चापि खलु परस्वंगस्य तद्वितीका रणमिति विकल्पाथं
 शाखां तरानुसरणं मूत्रं करस्येति न पुनः स्वशाखापरित्यागाथमिति हव

नाथैर्धर्षितं। वेदं चाण तथा सा दयतीति च शास्त्रात् पृथग् यौगकरणेन युगपत्
 सादनं पृथग् यौगद्व्याख्यावदणाय षट्ठपया माशुसमादित एव पन्निद चादक्ष
 सहा साद्यतां अष्टपिदाष्टिभ्यमथेनाज्यावेक्षणं ततोतवा क्षिप्रयणादिसादनं तं य
 दियुगपद्व्याख्ययोः स्यात्तिदा इदं विस्तुर्विचक्रमात्तेत्रे धानिदधोत्पदा समूहम्
 योऽस्ति विस्तुशब्दस्य सत्त्वे तस्य चातुतुक्तमाज्यं वैयङ्ग्येन विस्तुयति पतद्वाचनं त्रि
 णिति वाचनं नृपवासदीनि तच्चैतत्तुक्तं वेदोपयामेतीत्युक्तं च स्मना योदं न वापि श्रि
 त्मादाय। कर्त्तृचापापायाः स्रष्टुहस्तस्य दध्नो दक्षिणे न सादनस्य युगपदं संनवाको
 यमूदप्रसंगास्तजोसीत्यानि गद्व्याख्यातोर्वेदेष्वेव यद्यपि दध्याज्ययोन्मत्रोते
 न युगपदं वेदं संनिपातयिष्येति। वरुणप्रघासेषु च तथापि तेजोसितेजोसीसु

इति तैत्तिरीयसिंहेति च नो दितं च। कितस्य वृत्त्या पृथगवेक्षणं द्रष्टव्यं देवात् नानाबीजा
 निमग्ननिवत् आननिवाशयेन नानाबीजेषु होममनक्रियते। इमे देवानां। इमानि
 निनचयुगपदवेक्षणं संभव। एकत्र नांतरीयकबाद्यैस्तं घटादयो न्नीलितं च छं
 पटं न हि सुध्यत इत्यनात पृथगिति। अपि च ते जलुक्रं ज्योतिरमृतं महः सत्यमि
 त्याज्येन समाधिकरणेन प्रयुक्ता। उपाचारादुपनामादासंस्पृष्टिषा ब्रह्वादाकृत्वा
 वैश्वदेवैश्चानशदयज्जनीयां देवस्था सद्या स्थाते स्म त्रैधा मसीति स्म वै एणज्या
 स्म वग्रहणं पात्रं तरानियमाया अज्यानीत्यनावाचां। त्रक्रमां नियमाद्यं चेत न द्रष्टव्यं
 तस्मात्तात्तद्विक्तैर्नो द्रष्टव्यमिति। नृक्रातीति श्रुतमाहुः। अहणं मंत्रो नानुयने
 अथ वानयनार्थं वा त्ग्रहणं श्यानयने मंत्रास्तदुक्तं नीयेति। याथावत्स्मृपदिने प्र

नृतीत्यत्रादानमुपोदनाद्यैश्चात्। अज्जानीति वचनात्पंचानां चावातना मितियज्ज
 मानं विश्वदेवेभ्यो ह्येतो अस्मम वा या त्सं रया या। अत्र उक्तं क्लृप्तातिप्रयज्जिभ्यस्त
 ऊक्तातिस्वस्मेवा एतत्तयज्ञाय गृह्यते यस्मिन् वा गृह्यते शतैव चना दंष्ट्रो न च उ
 पनृति द्वे च नृद्वेदी ते इत्यष्टिकनी यो ल्यतं स्मवग्रहणा नि प्रा यं कनीयस्त्वं नृद्वे
 निति लि गत्तदितरत्रापि समानं। अत कर्तव्यो यत्तः पंच नृदेभ्यो वा यां नृद्वेष्टमिति
 प्रस्मिन्स्त्रिवा नि प्रार्थस्त्रवा धिवा क्प्रदेव जै देव ध्नै वै नृद्वेष्टमिति। अज्जपात् अज्जपा स्वांती
 स्मवां दृष्टा यमिदं गार्हपत्यां ते निधानै तेनाज्ये ज्ञैषो न स्याता दर्नमुपादाया ब
 दिष्पति को चित् अर्धं दाक्षिणतः अर्धं मुष्टो ईक्षिण तो वेद्याः प्राक्षिण्ये तो देवी रा पशु ति
 दीरयत्फद् गृह्णाति ब्रतमनः। घृता दा गृह्यते देव ध्न त्छं चैव वा नृमुष्टु द्विपरिवेष्टारस्ते

नृयः स्मेति प्रोक्षणीरुपादाय। हर्वस्येवायमनुवादे। यथा देवैस्ते विद्यां पदानि
 लोचयंति सुष्ट्या हन्। सन्धिः। वेद्यां पदानि प्रतितिनिदिता निउदीरणी तपवनादरा
 क्रम्य करणात्। उक्ते लोचनानि प्रविध्यातिदत्तानि तप्यः। अत्र पत्रपस्पृहस्तौ प्रक्षा
 न्तेत्यर्थः। विषाये धर्मः। श्रीश्रुं विमुच्योपादाय परिधीनः। ह्रीवा उयममाधायेति पा
 ठेपाश्रयतिः स्थापयेत्। ब्रह्माणममं च ब्रह्मं निधमिति शास्वीतरमंत्रेण। हस्तौ स्या
 खरेष्टाऽत्यादिभिः प्रोक्षति। अन्नीषोमीयमवनीयानु बंधास्तु बर्हिः प्रोक्षणे म
 त्रेवेति पदद्वयबाधो लोपात्। यद्वेत्तरक्वादिर्भेद्यथेचि स्यात्। प्रोक्ष्य पश्चाद्देवेभ्यः।
 प्रोक्षेत्पुनर्वादाः। हर्ववत्। वेद्याऽत्यवयवषष्ठाद्रष्टव्या। वेदिगादेऽपि त्पावंतराध्वजु
 बर्हिषोऽवस्थानानुपपत्तेः। पुरस्तात्प्रोक्षिनिदधाति। पुरस्तात्प्रोक्षीति क्रिय

हस्तसूक्तचं मुक्ताङ्कस्य

विशेषं बन्दिर्विशेष एव। अत्राणि प्रोक्ता कश्चमत्राणि उपपिबंतीत्यत्रैता उपपचारात्
न विष्यति पानं शोषधयः सेकजलं पिबंतीति उपपाययति सिचयतीत्यर्थः। सामा
न्यमत्रास्वादापि यनिगदद्या रथातं। मार्जनार्थमवशेषणाय शाखां तरंगद्वयं उडुर्व
स्तुचं उडुह्योदगृह्योत्पन्नं। ऊर्ध्वमुडुह्येकतशदानर्थं काप्रभृगस्तस्मादुह्यदस्तु
सार्थमुक्तेति यावत्। एवं दिव्याभ्यं दक्षिणतस्तस्मै नपवित्रयोरादानं सिद्धं। इतरथा सद्य
स्तस्मै चैत्रचापवित्रोदानं स्यादक्षिणतः परिक्रम्य। विह्वारस्य वेदवर्षादक्षिणतो लुगमने
मत्रा। अत्र माछा विस्तोऽस्तु। प्रस्तरं दर्शयिष्ये। मपादेत्तव दिषः। अपदोयन्त हू
तेयजमाने प्राणापवेत्ते दर्शयेत् प्रस्तरं दर्शयिष्ये। विसृजति अत्रातिष्ठातिष्ठा
प्रापवित्रे उपमदादौ विष्टतिवत्पुनराह्ये। प्रस्तरवत्त्रावदिषस्तस्मै विनियुक्तवत्।

पवित्रांतरे विनियोगे दृष्टास्तस्माद्विद्वति प्रस्तरवस्त्राधारणं पवित्रयो रपियजमा
 नयोः यजमानेषु प्राणपाना विनिविद्यता हृद्ः प्रयेण दवनी यैः प्रयेण पु रस्ता
 ज्ञा दवनी यमा दवनी यस्य पयः हित्यपरिणीय प्रस्तरं दन्मुष्टिं ब्रह्मणे कृचि शवि
 शोषाय प्रयच्छतिसमर्पयति प्रस्तरमिति संबध्यते परिहरणे न च यमानो यवा प्रय
 छति उल्लो वि कल्पः परिहरतु रर्थं प्रयेण गमनं ततश्च यत्र प्रसार्यत्वा कुमाद
 वनीयमंत्रेण प्रस्तरं परिशेजं प्राक्यते तत्र तनिवर्तयनी तिस्र्यर्गं छेदयति दन्
 न्निती च यनादौ तु गमनार्थं प्रसारितत्वा दोरशक्यत्वा नान्नार्थसंबंधः प्रयेण द
 नीयं प्रयच्छतीति परिहरणयो गातुः पुष्टिरयि सुखतो अत्रतः र्वेखे प्रस्तंशु ४६
 ह्नातीत्यर्थः यदृक्का प्राप्नोति प्रतिषेधमाह नो नृज्यात् दस्तेनार्थं प्रसारं मृष्टानु दब

ना वमृज्जा। न्नवाची तं म्रदे न विधुनु गान्न प्रतिचालये तय दुपतिष्ठे दधुर्मुदं स्ता
दपे तमन्यतय त्रतिष्ठे तै न वे दुपतिष्ठे तं न्न तत्र उ पचित्त मंग त सं ग तं तृ क्कया दलुव
दोय मतो विषय रित स्य प्रतिष्ठि वा तु विस्त्रै स्य सुलुं। बंधनं विस्त्रं स्य मोचयि वा फभा
तां सं बंधे। उप सं य म्य। धा तु नु पचित्ति क त्र तृ दी वा। अथ दक्षिणतो। य प्र द्दि सा द
न। उ दी रणा व सं रे ते षां नु प सं य म्य सु लुं तै षु दं र्ने षु प सं य म्ये ति सं न्नि क षा दि द
यु क्त त रं म ती उ रु प्र थ्य। वे दि सं स्क्र ती न्न मिं स्त्रु णा त्या णा द य ति ब दि ष्य वे दि द्वि ती वा
न न्ना त। ब दि ष स्ता द थ्यं। स्तर ण मी त्रो वे द्य थ्यं। स्या त् ब दि षो नि धाय को पि स्तर ण स्य
ब दि र थ्यं। न्न वे द्य थ्यं। ता वि द न्प ते। अ पर म पर मि ति पु र स्ता दु प क्र मा द्भव ति। अ
प धा चि नि स्तर ण वि शो ष णं। अ यु जो वि ष मा धा त व स्तर ण सं ता ना। य। स्मि स्त स्त

दयुधाडाबहुलं नृशिराज्ञनाशेकं अक्षिद्रं अरेण प्रत्यासत्तौ विदारवा परणाम
 तापरिक्रम्यलं घयिचानपादोस्तरणौ विक्षेपघाविति त्रिसिधात्रुग्रदणी प्रस्तरं धा
 रयनपरिधीनपरिदद्याति अत्रादवनी यं अमं तात्परिदितै कशेतीत्यश्रुतिगभ्यतेन
 ध्वेसितीति प्रशमं पारिशोष्टा तपश्चाद्वेष्टुरस्तादित्यस्योक्तं चातुदक्षिणं त्रोर्ध्वीयो सं
 उक्तं त्रैलोक्यं अष्टमुक्तं अत्रैव न्यादध दिति सं दधते विक्षेपणं कर्तृद्वारकं अत्रैव न्यादध
 दं विषममादधदौ दधानः सं दधाति समौ संधी करोतीति दक्षिणस्य मूले उक्त
 रस्य तु मूलान्त्रे संधेः अधिगतमिति नेते यथा ज्ञवतस्तथा दधतसं दधाति अ
 त्रिदित तमं दक्षिणं कथ्यते इमौ प्रतरं करोति इमौ मध्यम दक्षिणौ परिधी प्र
 रं उक्तरा प्राग्गतं एकवचनं क्वां दस्यं प्रतरमिति क्रिया विशेषणं वा इममपतर

इमं उन्नरं पुरिधिं नृप न तं दक्षिणा तत्र तत्प्रत्यग्रतं नृप्यनिधमस्याग्रमपतरं स्यादथवा वा ना
सौत्वरजिघृक्षुते। कान्पायस्त्रुतीये स्यपरिधि संक्षेपज्ञावाद निहित तमत्वे यथा द्या स्या
तं एवंपुनरशब्देन वति अति निहिततरमिति पठनीय तमवश्यं संनृजते अष्टांति रं वा यम्वत्
स्या एव अतै रान्वषणीयं इधमदारुः। आदायेत्यनुवादः न ह्यनादायो धातुं शक्नोति कश्चि
द्विषेष्टेऽधिद्वितीयमाधारसमिधमिति स्मृतिं गतुं इधमापेक्षं द्वितीयमिति स्यात्स्यस्य
स्त्रीरश्मिनिः मनश्चादित्यपरिधीय तमंत्रावस्स्मरणेन वा विस्मजनस्य विधती लृणेत नै। इति
प्रस्तरं ग्रंथं प्रज्ञाते तत्रैवोपकर्षेत्संनयेद्वा। पशौ अत्र न दन काल उपादाना द्विचं दृष्टप्र
कृता विकृति। यूपं देष्टु न संधावाचनवता एवं विनियुक्त विनियोगान न वेत्। बदिषः पवि
त्रैरुत इति वचनात् विनियो ह्यपमान्यत्र विनियोगः। पुरेडा शकपा लेनुषा वा प व ताण
रिजे उनीय बदिषि बदिषाष्टं प्रयुक्तै स्त्रं चैतं तितो तेन मु स्याद्विषः पवित्रैरु वंति आनी प्रेय
त सं स्मृणति सोमेति रश्मी उदीचीने सादयत्य वस्थापयति। चतुरंशु तमात्रं स्मृणयोः ३
न प्रापुर्कैति

अथिद्यासः

ननुना

तस्य मध्ये यथा न वतितथा सा दथे। ६ स्तनां रुद्रा विधुत्पो रुणरि प्रस्तं सा दयति
रिक्तं आधे यस्तन्यं नावस्तु जति तमुद्यति। द्यौ रसि जन्मु हं प्रस्तं रे सा दयति असा
द्यु हं प्रस्तं मरिक्तवा न्वा रने ते समं प्रस्तं मने हं उस् लं कुर्वन् सा दयतीति क्र
तरिक्तमस्मि अधस्ता दधरे विधुत्पोऽप्यरिष्टा इदं विधुत्पो क्रिवां अ सं सक्तः अस्मं
नमाः अस्तन्यं अस्तन्यं रन्योन्यमनु सताः अ न्नि दित तमां उपष्ट त क्रवा याः सका
शा द न्नि दित त रा उपष्ट तं सका शा जु ह्म रा ह वनी य सं नि ष्ट ष्ट त रा ए वं चा नूची नि
त्यनु वा दः विदोपयामा अ ज्यं अ ज्यः स्वा ल्फ पयाम इ ति नो कं। यथा देव तमु
न्नर मिति या स्था वी अतो दो हा व नि घा रये त प्र। ग नि घा रणा दा भि द्या भिति स
ना तमं त्र वस्मी म वि वे दितं स्त चो यो निरिति वे त। अ दित्पा रन्ना प स्ठ इति लु ह्म

वि वक्तिं ३ स्या ल्याः भूमि षा याः पर्वेण प्रणी ता हरण वद भि चो रणा प न यति नान्यथा। x

विद्यते २

= पुद्गे माशा पत्री ३

[illegible]

देश यत्रैव न्येदिति वाक्यां तदेतदविवक्षते यत्कं नः तद्देशविशेषे स्थापनप
 र्थं स्थापनात् प्रच्यावनं न प्रच्यावं नारं नै एव देशविशेषे तैत्तययति स्थापनां तदेना
 पचस्मानं संनिष्ठो योत्पश्यतथापि नियम्यते। वदेनेति अत्र पनी तं न समयस्मा
 तस्योपचस्मानं अत्र न निघ्नन् पाणिनां वेदशिरस्याच अत्र पचस्मानं कुरोति। नस्मा
 पनयते वेदपाणोः संनवाद निष्ठा तस्य निषेधः। यद्वा तस्मिन् सिद्धा मितरति स्म
 सादन विशेष मन्निर्घ्नै निति। वेदपयामानुवृत्तैः अन्निघातात्। स्पशं नः अत्र
 योपि पाणिने वा तो वदत्त विशादनं सामर्थ्यात् एवं शिरःप्रतिषेधेन ध्वं वेदम्
 त्वाऽन्निघातात् अथ शिरसां तदधान संनवानिषेधः पाणिनिषेधो न ध्वं किः अत्र निषि
 द्धः। पाणो वेदानुपवी निवगम्यत एव तदिदं दद्यात् त र कृचं स्पृष्टं स्यात् पाणिं विना ॥ ४८

सादयितुमशक्यचान्नचपाणितलेपाणिशब्दः। समुदायययित्पागोनवेदंतेषामि
वक्येन निघ्नं नित्यादिपदत्रयमनर्थकं स्यात्। चारं समुदायपरित्पागेन तलमात्रय
दणं विचार्य तत्किं युक्तमिति यवानां मध्दति क्रूरशाखां तं रं दरा नृतिः। एष्टिष्ठ
ष्टिष्टारस्यो प्रथमोपहितैर्विवचनं प्रकरणमिप्रायं। प्रकरणे द्वे एव प्रथमोपहि
तैः संभवतः। दुष्टतयोश्चितिवत्तयद्येकवचनां तं प्रथमोपहितमिति सूत्रयोन्नदादि
तीयपुरोडाशकपालेऽप्रथमं स्यादप्रथमवान्नचसत्तमं त्रेण द्वावन्निघाययिषु न
द्वाविति वक्तुं नृत्वा मंत्रावृत्ति स्यात्। प्रथमोपहिते द्वितीये सुखस्यैव वति द्वितीयस्य
संसारमीषा लोक्षेणिकस्यां नाय्यचाच्चायदिवक्तुः। कान्तिघोरणमन्निम तं स्यात्। प्र
थमद्वितीये कपालेऽतिशूत्रये तज्जपधानेपि प्रथमयोः। रवावाप्राक्षां गारादेतयो

सि

रवानिघारणं युक्तं। दृष्टिरसिगायत्रलंकलोति। आज्यमेवां न स्यालंकरणं स्वकं
सुप्रदितं। अनिकायं निक्षेपणमकुर्वंश्चैवेण हस्तेन वा। अमर्षप्रष्टतं पृषद्विद्वे
द्दीप्तिश्च बर्जितं। अमृष्यं तमित्यर्थः। अपर्यावर्तयानपत्रिसारयन्। अधस्ताच्चोपा
नक्तिः अधः। समपि आज्यं कारयेत्। यस्तस्यामायस्य। इति दोहोऽनेलंकरोतीति सं
बध्नामानेषु नरलंकरोति त्रदणं स्वक्त्वा। दिशुण निवृत्त्यर्थं। अन्महाहरति। आद
वनीयं प्रतितुद्विधाहरतीति। सषजोसि। सादयति। दिणते। तुक्कः। प्रस्तरे। बर्हि
षिवा। यदृच्छानः। वेदोपयामः। यनुवर्त्तीता। द्वंवी। षीति। उक्त्यति। मध्ये वेदसादनं नाव
रीयकत्वा। दन्वाचयेमवा। साम। श्याक्त्वा। अत्रेण क्त्वा। पुरस्ताद्ववाया। उत
रेण क्त्वा। माज्यस्थाली। क्रवाया। मुत्तरतः। आज्याधानपात्री। अपरेण स्क्रुगदं पात्री।
पुरोडाशपात्री

शडाशावित्यर्थः। दक्षिणस्थो वेदिश्रोतो वेदिजं ब्राह्मणं। उक्तं तस्योप्रातर्द्वैतं सादयतीति
 आशिन्न हरेणोपात्रो रदविष्णुपसादनं वेदिव ह्यसंनिहितस्त्वन स्याद्विशिष्टवा
 दत्रेण क्रवामिति स्त्वन न शेषो वाचनिकः। वेदिं शृणु बर्दिषा केनापि वेदिर्धेदिर्न ह्येते
 मतसमीपलोक्षणेकं। अस्ति मुदद्यत्र यो गो वेद्यां हविष्यानां सादयतीति। अत्र न धि
 अधिउपरिष्टेऽत्रास्तृणान् अयद्यद्यस्मिन् गदीनस्तृणान् अत्र न पक्वा दया अत्र तान्म
 ध्यांस्तृणाति वेद्यां तवा तत्र तानिति बलवचनं पठंति। यद्यत्र वेदिप्राप्तान वस्तृणाति
 पश्चात्तद्वेत्तं वेदः। पश्चादर्थः-----उक्तं ततो गार्दपत्यस्य भद्रधत्तुर्दक्षिणाश्रयः। को यः
 इत्युपस्पृश्य उदकमुपाजभ्याश्राज्या निवकुर्न्दीतानि बलवचनं प्रसिद्धे। अत्र
 वादीनिवा। वाउमास्यां देउतकृष्णदित्रिभर्षणीससंमृशतिसंस्पृशति। इह रुच्चारः
 = एं। स्विष्टाचारः १

सारांशं॥ छ॥ दोतयं विदोतयं स्यात्वेदिकं कर्म तस्मिन् न वस्ति ते प्राप्नुरेव वस्ति ते स
 ति॥ अग्रे अग्निं उक्तां प्रेषा॥ प्रणवे प्रणववर्त्तमाने उच्चार्यमाणे॥ समिधं काष्ठिकां मा
 दध्राति॥ नो॥ समिधमिति त्रादेशमात्रापि स्यात्॥ द्विप्रवे शान्नावेष्टा वविकृत्येन वा
 आनुयाजिके॥ न चानुयाजिकाः॥ प्रणववर्त्तमानावाता॥ आनुयाजिके समिधमादोयेति
 वक्ष्यमाणवात्प्रमेव॥ शिष्टं चोसत्थं उक्तमे प्रणवेऽसं त्पयासमिधा॥ सदशष्टमन्य
 त्समिधमिधं समिष्टयाजुषायावत्यर्घ्यासि॥ आदध्यादिति विधानार्थं नानुयाजि
 के॥ शिष्टैत्यनुवादाः॥ अत्रानुयाजिके बर्ज्यमधिकमिधं॥ ततोऽन्वयेत् प्रक्षिपेदेवापु
 सोमेषु बहुलं ताराहोरात्रपयसि॥ प्रोक्ष्य॥ अक्षि कदधा कर्म विशेष नित्यम्यमानो
 दृष्टयते॥ दध्ममयूषानुपसन्न ह्यप रिधीनू बल्वज्र निति॥ अष्टादशदारुन्यो न्योऽतिरिक्त

५ धोस्तिवित्ततौ। विशेष नित्य मान्नं नातिरेचये। दानु या जिकी न पुनरातिष्माया
 मतिरचनोऽननु या जसुतस्याऽन न दना। दुप स द्यत्तरा घारा नु या ज स मिधेति
 वा। इ धम से न द नं शुल्बे। एक त्रं। शि एक सं द श सं मा जे हो च सु स्वा द व नी य यो स न् मा
 मे क रो ति। आ नु दा सु दे व ता स्व फ उ। आ वा दि ता सु दे व ता सु ऋ प उ प स्पृ श्य। त दु प
 न नां। व द्य त्र सं मा ज्जनं च॥ त्रि रू प वा ज य ति। वे वे वि धू न ने जु क्क। वे दो त्र ध वि त्रं। पू
 स्त व स्य ध्र वा व नी त स्य ध्रौ व स्य त्यष्टः। वे दो प या मा। इ त्या घा र धर्मः क च्छु ए। उ त
 रं पं शि धि सं धिं स धिं स्प शी शि च्चा स्त वे ले ति ग म्य तो इ त र था स्पृ ष्टे ति स्या। उ त रां द
 द्धित स्य धम दारु ए इ त्यष्टीः। ए त स्मा दनु व च ना। उ त रां दै त द स्यां धी य ते। छ ल ति जु
 ति। न्म्या दिते छ ल ति। य द्वा ऋ न्पा दित स्य छ ल नि दे शे। उ त रां दै क ल ती ति। आ घा

रसमिधमा दधातीति वचनात्संपातेन क्रवयो संपातेन संस्क्रवेणेन क्रवां क्रौवां तात्पर्यात्
 न्नाप्याय्यसबध्यथा स्खानंदक्षिणैस्तुक्राः स्क्रवं निदधातीवेदं च त्रेण क्रवां क्रौवां
 तपरिधीनात्रैष्यत्याद्रीध्रं मंत्राष्टीतस्त्रिरित्याभ्यामोनुवादः सत्तुक्तेऽपि सुवावीसाथीसि
 द्वेऽप्राद्रीध्रः संमात्रं स्फुत्तुपरं द्वितीयां ते वा स्फुराष्टौत्रायथापरिदितं परिधीनुष्टुष्टु
 लोमामनुकूलामूलनादाभ्यात्रैयावसंमाष्टिः स्फुरसंमात्रमिमां पावयतीत्यर्थः कृतं स्फु
 तां केवलानेव सुसाम्प्रणिनिमुपाद्विपनुपद्वा निवात्री न्वाचारान्समुमाष्टिसमस्तु
 पावयतीत्यर्थः ऋषद्वत्कृत्वाग्नौपाणी लब्धवाकाः पूर्वे चंद्रमसीत्येतवमोक्षमास्याविश
 षणं पीसीमासीविशेषांतं चाशिरस्पष्टं सूचकप्रयोगउप पूर्वस्य वसे नियतजो जनेवां प्र
 यणं कोपवसेदिति लोकेऽपि दृश्यते। मायादिवर्जनात्मावस्य चोऽपि घटिष्यतोततश्च न वि

देवताग्रहणे विस्मोमागदौ न प्रवर्तते । सोमाग्रं तादिते नापि गच्छते मर्दवताः । अथानादेवतास्तत्र गच्छते न्यायविना ॥८॥

नेधोत्रउपवासस्यचैजने । अतदर्शनिनामावास्यां चंद्रे चंद्रमयौ श्रवांसमास्नेदमाग्नि
त्यपोल्लमास्यमावास्यायोः । अरोजीसौपकारी स्यादुपवासविधिस्तथा । यदितनामध्ये
दिपोसुमास्यापि गच्छते । अवास्यावोपवसथा तदा स्यात्समवायकलच्छणापिनहुं
मह्यं कुर्यात् । विशेषां छितीयां तं विप्रैश्चैत्रपदैस्मिन् घटं तं तराएव अमावास्यामिति
वर्त्तमानावास्यायां तबाधैकं उपवस्य शानमस्य किंतु वद्वयमाणाधिका रादिस विषय
यमिथे तत्तदचैष्यं मनीषिभिः । ऊर्द्धाच्च पितृष्टं तोऽसिद्धि वचनं प्रद्ववारणा तपुरस्ता
अदणंचापि दक्षिणादिनिष्ठायाणा । ममाग्न इति चोदेत बह्वुलु द्वादशा किं कै नृक्षीमपर
यो एतस्वशास्वोक्तं समाश्रितं पदवतापरि अद्वाष्टमिन्वाधाने यदप्यते राजयद्मद
दीतोष्टौ पुनरन्वाहितं च वै तद्वाष्ट्याग्निग्रहणाद्यैव तव स्यात् प्रसंगतः । इष्टीनां दत्ता

न्निति अहर्णेध

सूत्रग्रहं ते। तयं विमतिप्रतीष्टिकायं सोमे पिचुत्तं यदि मत्तं प्रमाऽर चाधानं यतः सोमे
 नातिदृष्टान्नचोदितं। पिचुत्तं यद्विचस्थाद्विचो भवेत्तत्र तो पायनोपस्थाने मंत्रस्त
 त्रेण साधयेत्संभ्राजामीत्फपस्थानं वा स्थितमिदो द्यौते वासाऽसंवेशेनो काले तत्कथं
 धान्यनो जने। यस्य च षडतिस्तत्र मारणस्य निषेधकं। प्रठता वसं न वान्नशरद्या आयुषं
 वेत तस्येदं दुर्विषोऽत्र विजातीयं निवर्जयेत्। शयनं ब्रह्मचर्येण नृभ्यामग्नि समीपतः।
 मद्याः कालं सुषुप्ते तया द्विनोद्योपवतस्त्विक्। ईयं व इति मंत्रेण पृथिवी स्मरणे प्रतिम
 न साध्या न वचन मंत्राद्य विदेत्ततः। दक्षिणं स्य निर्वीप्य क्रिया मोक्षेन वीर्याया पश्चि
 हां तत्पदवा स्यात्संगतिं संनिधानतः। आपाकुत्पनु मंत्रेण दौसमका हर्षयेत्पवकाऽप्योहो
 त्रीरपकुत्तैकुवेऽवष्टयेज ह्येतो तदसन्नाहवनीयो सौऽततो होतत्र केवलं। आपादिनोत्तर

स्वेतिपदिनाषायदिस्त्रिशङ्गं तादनुवाकस्येतिपुनरुक्तैरनर्थताचनुदेत्रिऋजिस्पृश्य
 विदुद्यो नपुनः स्पृशेत्तच्चोदनापूर्वायाभेदात्तद्विशंगप्रधानिकंऋजिमृश्येद्वद्विणं प्राक्त
 तोधो वंतयोत्तरांतथाज्यानिक्रमात्पश्चाद्द्विःसामान्यचोदनात्समुच्चितं विवेद्यं हिना ^{१२}
 रण्यदयोदुतंऋग्रेण स्रचइत्येतद्वितीयायांबहुष्विदः।ऋचंजलोवदनादायनिप्रतीया
 ते।पुनरादानवचनादनुयाजेष्विवद्वयोः।पूर्वकल्पनिरासाद्यमपिवेति हिस्सत्रितंऋन्यत्राष्ट
 पिवाशटः।पूर्वत्रापरितोषतः।उत्तममंततइतिपूर्वकल्पेपिस्वप्याता॥७॥याजमानेप्रच्यमः
 बं उःसमाप्तः॥७॥ऋग्निपृष्ठइत्यादिष्वुःसुगमं देवाःप्राज्यमागातिर्यकेपि संज्ञाशष्टो ^१
 नवद्धतेप्रवानकरणी-----जिदेवतास्तथास्विष्टहंतोयागेप्रक्षित्रेवानुमंत्रणे।लु
 चैरितिपदस्यात्मायउपपन्नसन्निधौ॥७॥दशाहो॥७॥सोमस्याहंदेवज्पायाविश्वंरेतोधे

वीयेत्यादीनिजिङ्गक्रमाभ्योपनीसंय्याजानुमंत्रणनीतिगम्यते। सावित्रीयाज्ञेष्टोतत्रिनो
 त्तंप्रकरणतु अथ्यत्रापिचक्षादीनोसोमादीनांचेत्यादिनोबानुमंत्रणमिनेयद्यास्फत्रिति
 । क्वाऽडास्मा॥ चिदस्मिनामिधीरसीस्यादितिवित्युच्चैरित्यकारणंमंत्रनिंगतच्छाया
 सरस्वती॥ ४॥ दक्षिणात्रोसारस्वतहोमकाहेमुयवनिमार्जनंनिंगतनिर्दिष्टंमितिषेदं
 स्त्रीयमाणंननुस्त्रीसंशानवनिर्देशात्। संयद्दपतिः। अत्यन्तविधाशिल्लेवात्सत्रस्थपुनस
 त्तजानास्तिथदिप्रवत्सस्मिष्ठयजुषासंदेतिध्रुवात्रोवस्वाशुजुक्त्यात्तनेवमंत्रेण
 तदुक्तंअभापुवयद्दंप्रतिष्ठापयतीतिपश्चाद्देदित्यवयवषष्ठीपश्चादित्यवयवेषधि
 करणं। प्राच्यादिशादेवाप्रणीतास्त्वयिः। अक्लिन्नमाश्वेचनं। अर्घ्यगृहीतं। प्राच्यादिशादि
 लुनितयनार्थमंत्रमित्यर्थः। सखद्रवनिनीतानामंत्रणं। यदस्तु। अतुमंत्रितानिमुर्वैष्टोत्र

एणीतात्रिप्रतिमंत्रलिङ्गात्तृगम्यते। दक्षिणाभिर्वेदिवांतरायप्राचीनाविस्तृक्तमाक्रमति
इतरश्यादक्षिणेनविहारंस्थात्तृयद्विवेदिपरिच्छिन्नेदक्षिणस्मिदैवेविस्तृक्तमाक्रमतेनदक्षि
णाग्निनाद्यावधानाः। अथनावादरितिपूर्ववत्॥६॥ इदमहमनुष्ठाप्राणं॥७॥ इत्सीमितिना
मत्रद्वरणंवामंत्रकंवापास्यवर्तनं। सद्यमत्रसद्यमनुत्तुलक्ष्णावति। तेजोसीत्याहवाग्ने
यद्वपतइति। असौदेवदक्षोऽनुमातुः। होवेतपुत्रौऽसृष्टति। द्रंष्टृवायइदत्तविस्तृ
मित्रौऽनुमातुर्न। एवंबहुषमीदवयदत्तयइदत्तविस्तृमित्राऽनुमातुतत्राति
मोक्षेर्मन्त्राणानामधेयं। येदेवायइहनइतत्पनेनयशालिनेनगाहपत्यादिनुपतिष्ठते।
अग्नेव्रतपतेविव्रतविमोकमंत्रः। लिङ्गात्तृनम्यैधानेऽत्रादिकर्मणिलक्षणेदेवैः। शट्तिर्दे
शुद्धस्वरसमिधश्चादधातियज्ञोबन्धवेति। मंत्रलोचनयोः। पुनः। शब्दाऽन्योऽन्यवर्तनं ब्रह्मश्रीः

प्राच्येनेचामंत्रलिंगात्। गोमं अत्रो इति ऋतुदवनीयात्। प्राहु इति शं योऽस्व शाखोक्तमप्राप्तं
 शब्दं तास्य कवस्थितं। इडां तान्मुनः। गोस्त्याता नोक्तं महर्षिणा। सान्नाज्या नक्षत्रेणात्र ब्राह्म
 णाच्छिजेन वै तयजमानयदं चान्नयन्विद्याति विचारणं। प्राशानं ब्राह्मणस्यैव ननु राजस्य
 वै श्रयोः सौमसं यन्निवाद्धि ननु सौमन्यो न वेत्ता गानावाहिसाना यप्रतिषेधस्त्विह
 प्रति। तस्मात्तैश्चेत्तु नो हेस्माना यमक्षणे॥ ६॥ श्रीलक्ष्मणारक्षते कल्पना ष्वेयसजमानं समा
 प्रं॥ ६॥ अग्नीनादधीतवसंते ब्राह्मणे श्रीमैराजन्त्या शरद्वैष्णव इति वसंतादिका लं
 ब्रह्मणदिषु। आघानोत्पत्तिकर्तृका श्रयः॥ एवं नक्षत्रादधानेपि वसंतादीनां नक्षत्रा
 दिभिः समुच्चयः। वसंतादीनामुत्पत्तिशिष्टत्वात् तेषां तु यएव विद्वानग्निमाधु तत्तत्पा
 धानोत्पत्तिस्तेषां वसंतादिकाले नियमाशीस्तन्त्यद्वैतिकायाधानं विनापि न संतादि

किं स्यात्तथा वसंतादिषु विनापि तत्रिकादिभिरिति तु ल्यबलानां विकल्पाधिगमात् ।
 अस्मिन् चैषां द्रव्याधानं प्राप्नोति तदुपनयनाभावाद्विरुद्धत्वां न्नवतिथ्यएतं विधानात्र
 मादाहेतुतदधीतवेदस्याधिकाशतं अग्नी निति गार्हपत्यादीनृपंचाभिप्रेत्योक्तं पंचसु धि
 स्तेषु स्थापनकालेऽप्यादधानाद्योगात् । छ ॥ शिरं सर्वेषां पूर्वविविधैर्बुद्धौ नो न शिष्टिरवि
 धिना विकल्पं तान्त्रयमकृतपत्तिराधानस्य द्रवीविकल्पेन नियं इत्यन्ये पूर्वैर्नियमे
 र्विकल्पे सोमै न यक्षमा एस्य त्वेति नियमं पूर्वापवादोऽप्यत्र नियमोऽनादर इत्यर्थः । न
 द्रवैर्वक्ष्यमाणपवादोऽप्येव कारात्तथैवा नियमः ॥ सोमै न यक्षमा एस्य अत्रिष्टोमे न
 वसंत इति सोमकालस्यापि बाधोत्रयक्ष्यमाण इत्यद्यतनी प्रयोगात् पूर्वणी सुत्याका
 लस्य नियमो नास्ति । उपसकालवदवांतरचात् एतस्मादेवाद्यतनी अत्रवणात् अग्न्याध्या

की नमं तं दीक्षेन । एवं च बुद्धं ऊरुद्रु वै न सो मा धानेऽस्माद्वेद्यी किना मते ऐंद्राग्नेनानुसृ
 ष्ठान्नादीक्षेता । आहिताग्निवस्य निमित्तस्याब्जा तत्त्वादिति । तदुक्तं न ह्यग्नीषोमीयेन
 साक्षात्पालं जग्द्रुवस्य निमित्तं । केचित्पुनर्वतीति वदतः । ये उपपत्तितेष्वा मय मन्निप्रायः
 । आहिताग्निस्तु सृष्टेनाधि क्रियुते । बक्ष्यमाणेन च नाहिताग्निः । स हि सकलसो मपान्
 संभारसं पन्नं सोमे धिकारं प्रतिपद्येत । आधानादाहवनीयाद्यग्नीनां जिह्वीषुराधाने प्र
 वर्जते । तत्राद्यतनं प्रत्या तस्मिन्नेवार्ह निदीक्ष्य । यदहदीक्षिष्य मा एस्या तदहं दधातीति
 ति वक्ष्यते । न तस्मिन्नु तर्हि अतुस्तस्य लंभः । आहिताग्निदीक्षिष्य मा एचेन निमित्तेन
 संतिपत्तितां तदतिमितं तद्विद्यतस्येति न ह्येतरेण कालेनाधानेष्ट यो दीक्षणीया संभवति ॥ ५६ ॥
 परतंत्रैः अनुसृष्ट पतितः प्रसंजो यजि विदीक्षणीयाद्यं पशुकं तंत्रमा लजमानो मीषो मी

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तद्यन्नेयस्यैकलब्धनीरुणमास इवे त्रिःश्रुत्याप

यं यावत्प्रतीक्षते परतंत्रौ यजाता न्नैर्मित्तिका निप्रसंजीपजीवीनिदिदृष्टानि वैत्रियादी
 मीति। येन न पठेति यद्युत्तुष्टेनेत्यादितेषां नैव सौमाधाने विच्छिन्नसौमपीष्टस्याधिका
 शस्ति प्रेतः। अधिकारापत्तिहेतुत्वात्। दत्तुमष्टस्य न्यूनधिकारिलोदीक्षास्ति। सांजैचप्र
 भान्नेऽधिक्रियते। प्रधाने धित्तत्त्वात्। धिकारात्। कालानुन्यां ब्राह्मणस्य श्रुतौ श्रुतमाधानं।
 सत्वं। नैदृश्येते न फौल्युनीपो र्समा स एवैति। श्रुत्या राजन्यवैश्ययोरापि सिद्धं। कृपे गज्जल
 वत्पात्रानुन्यामितिसप्तमी। जानपुत्रः। अग्नीनादधीतेति शेषः। अविद्यामानपुत्रस्याधाने
 नाधिकारं सूचयति। यद्यपुत्रः। प्रथमायां चित्पात्रित्कत्वेनेत्यां तौ नोत्तरकाले यस्य तद
 निप्रायां अन्ये तु जानपुत्र इति सैदंति दृत्प एवैकं दत्ति। तष्ट्यावपयं धबधिरुर्ध्वकुलिप्रत्यवा
 । यिज्जन्त्रियभूद्रवर्जमिति श्रुत्कल्प्यकर्तव्या य विदुश्च पूर्वंति एव च जानपुत्रौ जानातपत्यमात्र

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सप्तः सन्विनष्टाधनो ३

इत्यर्थः। कथं तर्हि श्रोमापौ क्षं न पुनै ७ स क मालनेतपंड कठियज ये दितै नै ष दोषः
 संतिषि क्रिस्मि यं लु या गस्त छिष यमे तत्ते षा ज क णं वै द्य श्वर का दिज्ञा ब्राधनं क चास्मै
 मा वौक्ता दिकार्यं नाचि क्रिस्मै यो जे दत्तु धि कारा स्त्रि क्रिस्मै भूता यत्प तु ज्यत्वा द धि क्रिस्मै तो तया
 हि यत्र उभमर्जा ये ते त्फ प क्र म्पा ता द वा स्मा ई द्वि यं वी मा न्ना द धा ती ति चि क्रिस्मै द श्रिय ति
 यो लं प्रजये सं न्नि ति चि र जा त पु त्र आ हि ते ष त्रि षु य स्र पंड ग स्मै क्त्वा ना पि नि मि त्ते न स्या
 स स्मै मा यौ स्ता मा ल्य स्पृ ते ब्रा ह्म णा ः कृ ति का स्वा ब्रा हु ण ए प्र कृ ति का स्वि ते न तु ब्रा ह्म ण
 कृ ति का स्ते वा बहु ल्वा धा द त्त्य बा ध र्श्यं ग री य रत्ना त्। अ ल्पा कृ ति का स्त तः ग र्ज न्य वै
 श्य बा धः। रो दि ए पा द्री नि ब्रा ह्म ण स्य ब द्ध नि बा धे त। रो दि ली फा र्नु न्य श्चि त्रे त्पा प्सु
 का मो रो दि ए पा र्स्व र्ग का म स्या। आ ट ब सै वां श्चि त्रा यां न ग य त्रा द्य - का मः। १८ र्व का लु नी लु

प्रजादानकामउत्तरामुफालुनीषु मृगशिरस्यादधीतशोरवांतरमेतत्तथापुनर्वस्वोपापीयानयः पूर्वसमृद्धश्चासीत्पश्चादुच्यतेऽसपुनर्वस्वो गदध्याताविशाखयोः प्रजातिं प्रजुह्वितं प्रजोपादनक्षमताऽनुराधासुअहिस्सोयो कानामर्थानं शोहिणादीनां प्रजनापातवीर्येणैतौ स्तनाविति श्रुतेः॥ यत्तु प्रतिषेद्धिऽप्राधानं वक्ष्यति उत्तराममावास्यामुपवसेदिति यैश्च श्रुतैः प्राहरति स्म भवेद्यज्ञे क्रियादिना चैनद्वन्मेतत्तदहैः शौरतिके दनं प्रपुंजीताप्येतानास्तिष्ठदतो हिंसाऽपरणी इति साहित्यमविवक्षितं न्नैकेकस्यामंत्रेण हरेण इतरथा यथा पूर्वपुनस्स स्कारणामैकस्यां न स्यां एकस्यामपि नष्टायामितरस्यास्थाजोदक्षिणाभ्यादि स्यानाष्टा गार्हपत्यस्यैव महाधानात् न च साहित्यैरित्याजोदो प्राउच्चारणे च त्रिदिकल्पेतेन शाखांतरं ब्राह्मीपुनरेकवाक्यताप्रतिपदऽसमावास्याशब्दस्यात्र सिद्धस्तस्या

॥ तद्विकल्पतोतेन शाखां तरंन्नाप्रीपुनरे कवाक्यताप्रतियदऽस्मावाप्स्यशब्दस्यात्रसिद्धस्तस्यामुपः
सदिति बिन्दे

तस्यामुप०
सिद्धिबिड

तां धृष्टिं न चै कस्मिन् नित्यं मे न द्वेऽरणी नित्यं मे तो या ज्ञा दिना लक्ष्ये ते ना चो कस्मिन् न दनि ए
 तद्या ह तयो पर वा क्रिया दिना पुन मंत्रिण संस्कारा प्रमाहरणं यथा लौकिके न वा के न रुद्रि
 ऊः पूर्ववृत्ता यश्चास मंत्र वसेनि संस्क्रुते एवं च लौकिक वा क्य वृता धुर्य र एषा हर एं ऊ
 यन्मिं त्र वर एं तु प्रागग्नि ह वा त न वो गा यंष्टि यग् वर एं प्र धाना यंष्टि तैर्जी चिञ्जिरं गानि
 कर्तव्या न्यं गानां प्र धाना यंष्टि तैर्जी चिञ्जिरं गानि कर्तव्या न्यं गानां प्र धाना यंष्टि तैर्जी चिञ्जिरं गानि
 अतो मंत्र लिं गा दा हर ए म ध्येऽपि रि वा पर्णौ सौ मि क प रि वा य ए दं त धा व नं स्या त् तन्मा
 भ्रदि त्रि यथा म्यो म इ ति लघु त रं न स्त्र त्रितं अ लु त्या द त द्यौ मोऽज्ज मी त इ ति य न्य ये दंष्ट्रि व
 पाणि त्र ह्ना दि स ह्बुं धो मे छि व्या दि स्मृ तेऽतथा हि द्यौ म व म्म न त्रि य म वि धा न प र वा को स्मृ
 ति वि दि तं प न्य धि का रं ऋ ति र तु व द ति तौ सौ म व य्या नौ अज्जि मा द धी या ता मि ति द्वि व च ने ने ति

स्तान्

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उपवस्यतोशननुपवस्यशानं यथादशमिमासयोः रिबलुवर्षे तात नान्यन्माषेभ्य इति
सदाधिकरणीः प्रशानद्विर्नक्षत्रे सर्वत्र इत्यर्थः प्राचीनप्रवणुदितोदिशुदशकयद्वा
केयौः अग्निं संस्कारः प्राचीनप्रवणुदिवनुर्विशोऽनुलगात्रखलक्षणेऽनुसञ्चयुनेषा
ये पाकयद्वाभावात् तस्मिन्नौ पासनीयं ब्रह्मोदनीकमादधातिशालाजितस्मिन्निति
अल्पनुविधानं लक्षणस्य प्रवृत्तत्वात् तस्मिन्नेवाग्निस्थापनं स्यादतएव उपासनीयस्य शब्द
वक्त्रत्पलस्य मनुविधायतस्यास्मिन् शब्दे अत्र सिद्धत्वात् शालाजिशब्दं स्वशास्त्रसिद्धिं
तद्व्याख्यानार्थं स्तुत्रितवौ न यथादर्भमयं यवित्रमित्फक्कात्रियुणा भूतुदिति व्याख्यातं त
ययिजुमात इत्फक्कादौ मं सयिषिययस्तमित्थिारख्यातं उपायने नृदं नय्यवातं नि
मित्तेऽग्निशौपायनीय एवं शाब्दोयः शालाजिच्छब्दोद्वादि कं च तपिताशालाजिच्छब्दोक्ति

त्पादिदेशिकोपस्थिततादात्म्येऽन्यत्रततः। अत्रेतिपितरीतिवक्ष्यमाणधर्मेणैवदिशिक्वोपित
 दुनयमपि नृत्स्येते। विशेषणुपादानात्प्रन्येयमैपायनीयोवाएवोन्निर्दयदावसध्यऽत्यनुग्र
 देषुसङ्गासङ्गपर्वति। तेषांमतेषुनराधानमेवस्यादासिद्धिर्नात्रैरेवावसध्यसङ्गावातसं
 तपूर्वमावसध्यमिति वचनादनादितामिच्छुशालानिःसचोत्तयविक्षेपिसामान्यशब्देनस्त
 त्रेतुपातःतस्यातुशालानिः॥ ननुकार्वातरेशालानामेरावसध्योप्यद्येतेऽज्ञावसध्युप्या
 धाँरकालइतिसत्यं॥ किंतु। संज्ञास्वशास्त्रेसंज्ञावक्ष्यते। स्वशास्त्रैवसत्यात्त्य
 ज्ञाधीयतेतस्यैवावसध्यशब्दयोजोदृष्टते। नशालानामेःसंज्ञोच्चरितासंज्ञिनंप्रत्याब
 नीतिर्दुपासनीयइतिसंज्ञाः॥ संज्ञीतुश्रौतःप्रावसध्यः। अतश्चैतदुद्येनसंज्ञाविधाव
 एचनंप्रतिषेधति। प्राप्तिपूर्वकाश्चप्रतिषेधात्तवतीति। प्राप्तिश्चशालानिपर्यायश्चेन

पाकयद्रसाहचर्यानि आवस्येप्येव न निषिद्धमानमर्थां निरुद्धवन्निरेकुते शेषं बुद्ध्या तं भव
 त्वियदित्येति छात्राभिप्रेषयं स्यात् एतद्व्यञ्जाप्यकारोपेति स्वतन्त्रं कपटमस्तदलातल्लि
 श्विनं इतरप्येतस्मिन् पचननिषेधे स्वकीये सति नैव प्रपकाया लौकिका ग्नौ पचनमा
 कृतमद्विठकं तु पुनर्लाकिके पचनं ते त्रिरीयके दर्शनादिति वचीय नानदि ते त्रिरीयके लो
 किके पचनमस्ति अस्ति च तत्रातु प्रविष्टो गार्दपत्ये शाजाभिर्ब्रह्मोदनसमये यस्या हितो नो
 तस्य शाजाग्न्यभावात् लौकिके पचनं न च सर्वस्य कस्यचित् एव तर्हि गृह्यमाणं मादित्ताग्निविष
 यमेतदितरथा मूढनिश्चितं स्यात् अतएव भाष्यं तरेपिन लिखितं तत्र दिदृश्व्यो संकल्पो
 लौकिको ग्निः पचनार्थं नित्यं वा यं तु कथं सर्वमनीषिकया अलग्नमिति सूत्रं वाच्यं कथ्यते न
 निर्भयं वा असद्यो मयि तो ग्निर्निर्मथ इत्युक्तः विकल्पः पूर्वोक्तो व्यबाहौ वा तु व्यबलस्तु

लब्धवान्

विधिर्नखेधयोः श्रुतौ दर्शनात् तृष्णादियोवाश्रम्यायं मनुष्यो मिरित्यादिनाशालाभिब्रूते
 दनिका विक्षिताय धिष्यन्नमन्त्री न्युते नातदाहुः सर्वप्रित्यादिना निषिद्धो न चैवं कर्तव्या
 इतीत्येतै न विकल्पं द्याख्या यन्नास्म एषा पृकास्त्रे एण्येतन्मूलो विकल्पस्तस्मिन्नो
 पासनीयं ब्रह्मोदनीकमादधाति शालानि निमंष्टुं वै तितं त्रपवित्वा तन्निर्मयस्तुशा
 जाग्रत एषा दन्यो वक्रिस्त्रौ दनिक इति संज्ञार्थं उच्यते च तिस्रह्योद निका इति
 व्यवहारः प्रागज्जिदवादाश्रद्धयुर्ब्रह्मदेखुं दुःकात्रात्री धापं ववर्षिमीमं त्रः सोमिकैर्दृ
 णीत ब्रह्माण्डं दर्शयौर्मासिकेन १५ ध्युष्टं जातवराणस्यादो न साहचर्याद्विद्युश्चैव
 दृष्टेः किंचिदाधाने कर्तव्यमस्ति यदष्टं धिरणं स्यान्नचब्रह्मोदप्राशनायै विरणं तस्य
 हि संस्कारत्वात् प्राशनेन हि संस्कृतोद्गाता इष्टेषूपकृत्यात् सकृच्च वरणं सांगप्रधाना

र्थं च तत्वरणस्य तस्मात्तत्कृपत इति ब्रह्मवयं ननु पाठाद्वैततत्प्रागभिदूवात् एव तद्विप्रा
 गग्रदण्डपसमाधाय यथुह्यपरिस्त्रीयज्यादिसंस्कृत्याङ्गाङ्गातः प्राट्टिगुवरणं नैय
 मांश्चित्रवेधसे। अत्रिषाष्टादशिममिनु दोतीत्यथेडिप्रिदोमेनामिषुपम्कु रूत इति यावत्
 सक्तुत्तदीतेन दोमानादेशादिति मूत्रविदश्चतुर्द्वीतेनोतकेवित्प्रमिस्त्रिगेनशो
 विषेत्यादिषु मूत्रेषु चतुर्द्वीतत्रदणनिविधेयानीतरेषांपुनरुक्ता निततपरिद्वारने
 मबहुलैषां यत्तु सक्तदवत्तु दोतीत्यवदानंतत्रग्रहणपरानुष्ठानात्तुल्यया राष्ट्रन्तता
 दिसु यथासंस्थमाहुतिमिर्जहणानीति गमनादेशो सक्ततुद्रदणस्य ॥ क्ख। ब. उ. श. श. वं
 चत्वा रः श. श. वापदिमाणे अस्मनिर्वपस्येति तद्वि. ताष्टेत्पादिना अमाभाः सोदितै रक्ते-प्रा
 णं नुपुर्वमन्त्रं स्यादवदानंततेपि च अस्यायः स्विष्टकृच्छ्रद्व्यह्वरं नु ज संमिती। आस्यमात्रं न वेद्विद्वा अत्रं ग्रामच
 । उ. उ. ए. इ. त. त. का. रः स. उ. च्छे। तै। त्रि. द. पा. पु. क्क. ल. म. य. वा. पूर्व. इ. व. च्छ. उ. ए. न्च. मे. त. त. द्वि. लु. ए. श. रा. व. पा. त्र. श्रे. व. वा. ॥ ८

नहुं हंसमर्धबलीबद्धचेर्मणि लोमोपलक्षिते प्रदेशे निरुद्य मासोपलक्षिते लुत्स्वलेन
 खाऽवहंति अष्टवर्चादग्निष्वपवित्रस्याग्नेो दणानि न स्फुरैस्ते त्रिषीयके तु मंत्रवत्सर्वम
 जिः। आसुरेभ्यो बोलुपुं निर्वपामीत्येवंऽस्वद्यातद्वारकमेति लुत्स्वलादः। ओङ्कारं यदि
 स्मरन्मंत्रवत्तदा स्यात्तस्मीकिं प्रमाणे उपकल्प्य न मात्रमुलुत्स्वलुस लसूप्पीजिनानां न
 उाह्य हे प्रयोगादिर्मंत्रप्रसंगान्मत्रु आसुरेभ्यो जीवतं हुलमि कोप हरेदिति यागवो य
 नादिः। किञ्च दानमिदं न ह्यत्र ब्राह्मणे दैशेन द्रव्यत्यागाद्य ब्राह्मणे न एष एव दीयते न देवता
 पितरभ्यो दिप्रपते। सत्यपि वायागवैऽदमेधीयवदकर्म स्यात्। तदा इह हविर्निवर्त्तए
 लुकोऽस्ति। न ह मेधीयेऽनुन विद्यते। अपणवो दृनात्त हविः। तदा हानं च लुप्यते। निशायां नि
 शाग्रहणमपरा कप्रस्तावाजीवतं हुलशब्दं दनविशेषणं। सा मा नाधिकं रणपाताप

नित्यं वित्रं वेदस्य त्रयः प्रादोऽष्टासंमिताः॥ इध्मास्तु द्विसुणः कार्यस्त्रिसुणः परिधिसुणः स्मार्त्तत्रैवादेश इध्मो दाहि
 एऽपरिधिसुणः॥—

श्रवणमिति त्रियमार्थं घृतेनालुतस्तेनाद्यते नेत्कतपवनं न स्यादेकवाक्ये विधानादित्यनु
 भुत्प्रतानेत्फक्त॥ सुत्पवनं तु दन्ताभ्यां त्रिःपरिधिसुणं तं उत्तरतलद्वासनात्पवित्रं तद्विहिते
 ऽप इत्पादिनञवतिपत्र्यामन्येऽस्य त्रैक्यं संपात्र्याः आकृतिवचनचार्थं ध्रुवदेह्यप्रसादप्र
 न्नं बलुधृतं ब्रह्मिण्यामितिः समीपतस्तच्चित्तोवक्ष्यमाणः॥ अत्रा - धेयशब्दः प्रवराध्यायेद्या
 ख्यातोऽनयेससृज्य इत्यादौ दृष्टतद्विद्वत्तत्त्वात्तु पपन्नैः काजानस्यादस्मिन्वाकालावृष्ण
 तेऽग्रागमिदवाहेति वरुणकालेन द्रव्यतउद्धरणक्यद्दूरनादिपूर्वकालक्रियोमध्वगुहेवक्तु
 र्यनसर्वेषु पवित्रांतीति बलुवचनमतंत्रं लाब्धवायुलिः दक्षिणतो ब्रह्माह्वातानुगा
 नाध्वयुधस्यादिदिशि क्रम एपि ढानदाप्येडानीनिबलुचं बहवो ब्रह्मायै वैवद्विनिवः स
 पि बिभ्रत्ते परिद्विष्टा वस्य एततो देशांतरं ऽप्येत्कपस्य त्रितो पश्चात्तवतः तैः सोऽधनुं त्रि

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अः प्राप्ति तो दने न्यो धेनुं वो द दामी ति वाच्य त्वे त्प स्या ॥ चित्पे न्नौ न व श्रे त्प ॥ चित्प स्या ॥ अच य नं वे
 त्य क्र म इ ति प्र सिद्धे र्व मी नि स चित्तान्तर मि त्य नि धी य ते स्ति नि फ ल व तीः ॥ अं ऊ र व ती र्वा प य स्य
 वि व र्त्त यि वा स्या दा स्या हा का रा ते तु हो ति वि धी य ते ग य त्री नि ब्र ह्मि ए स्य ॥ अ र्बो धा नि
 रि त्रै ति ह्नु नी रा ज न्य स्य स्वा हा का रा ते तु हा का रा ता नि रि ति व र्त्त ति ॥ ज न स्य गो या इ ति
 ज ग ती नि र्वै ष्य स्य स्वा दे ति र्द व त् अं ऊ र व ती नो न्त र्वे ब्रा ह्मो द नि क चै पि
 गार्ह्य क र्म प्राप्नो ती ति नि षि धा ते ॥ नि र्मे ष्य प दे च्छ नि त्या नु वा द ए व ॥ प्रा णेऽ सं स्का रा ति श
 या पि क्त स्त्वे त्प का ल बृ क्त का ल यो र्वि क ल्पो न उ त्प ब ल ता सो मा धा ने उ ब्रा ह्मो द नि क स्यो
 सा द स्या त्सा म श ण्णा त ॥ प्र धा नो क र्ष त्र सं ग त्पु त्तं चै त ता सा म वि क्त त स्या धा ने धि का
 रा इ व ति वां ग प्र ध न का जा या वि रो धे इ षे का ल्प बा धा ॥ य त्रा धा न का लो बा धां ते त दं ग ष्

स्यात्सर्जकालस्य तत्र का कयेति । तस्मान्मर्षपरिकल्पितैकादयेति अहं कं यस्य रात्र्याऽ
 त्मपि पक्षो ब्रह्मैवेत्येवमिदं न स्यात् प्राप्तां तं तत्रावसंति श्वेच्छतु इत्यादौ अयं षष्ठ्यस्या
 रात्र्याऽतैकरात्रौ तस्यैवमप्यमदेतद्यात्रिरात्रादिसंज्ञाया मेव रात्र्योऽजग रणमिति दात्री
 उक्तं ब्रह्मैवेति कस्यानियममाह । नास्यामिदं हादित्यादि ब्राह्मणानां शकारो नास्या
 न्नमिति ब्रह्मैवेति कर्मणि धारयानं तं अन्तत वदननिषेधो यं क्रव ऐषिरुपायस्य स्मृतौ
 निषिद्धं चान्ततश्चान्त वदनैश्चौ तं स्मार्त्तध्यायश्चित्तं । ननु क्रव यं दीतद्यं अस्तु कदिति त्रिषु
 धानेष्वदोषागादप्यस्य निषेधाभौ । इदं तु नैमिति कं अत्रिंश्चाग्निना धास्यञ्जातनेपदा
 द्यजमानं पवसे तस्यः फाल्गुन्याः पौर्णमास्याः पौर्णमास्याः इति दीक्षिणीये वाहनिवाधास्य
 मानेऽङ्गुलिपवसेतोऽहं पौर्णमासी श्वेच्छीना धास्यमान इत्यननसिद्धत्वात् । तत्र अत्राधायमुक्तं
 यत्तत्तदुत्तशममावास्या । एतच्च शास्त्रोक्तं । पुरस्तात्तद्वत्तत्र च आधास्यमान इति

कर्मणि वा ।

संबंधः॥ सहस्रीनिर्दृष्टात्सवसनि संबंधेन नृवैतेति द्वितीया स्यात्तद्दमष्टनृद्यैते नृवस
कुच्यो न दृत्रस्य योस्मिन्मावास्यान्यो सदमान् नृदिति । श्वो श्रीनित्येनेमपुनरुक्त्यात् ।
श्वं श्विंसं श्वनकाले पौर्णमास्येन दृत्रं च हन्ति कोदियदिसं श्रवेतुतदोपवसे दाधानस्याधिकर
णचैन हन्ति कादीनां श्वत्वाद्गतवारिण । ब्रतं ब्रह्मचर्यविश्यामं कत्रयजमानेन सदृजगार
णशत्रिवसंतीति । तत्र जाश्वशैवासे वासयेति वासाधिकरणे वासे कीलेवाकज्जारवं कर्तु
राच्छा । शत्किं रशत्कैर्दिधाननश्रुतं करणविनक्त्या एव वनवस्याः अरणीशकलानामिधा
नं प्रतिपत्तेरनवगमात् । प्रतिपत्तौ दिशत्कान्तावै इंधनलोपः स्यात्तस्मादिंधनं शत्कार्थं
यजमानाय । यजमानस्य श्वो नृते एव प्रयच्छतीत्यदृष्टार्थं । मिहि विषयत्री । सप्रतिश्रद्धौ चं
संस्कारार्थः । प्रदानवतो नाशदोषे यद्यासुर्वपुनरयं मंत्रस्यात् । रुच्यीयवती । एतस्माद्
वमत्रातिगात् । दं नि कशठमस्मदि म्रव को नृतप्रधानानामनधिकारस्तस्य ह्यश्रुदोषस्य

दक्षिणस्मिन्प्रदेशे ४

अक्षिण ए ५ द म द म न त स ल सु पौ नि म नु श्चा द्वै व मि ति प्र ति ज्ञा हा न्य य ज्ञो न्ते ते न द्वा र्था
ति ह्यर्थे य व प्र वा स सां प रा था ज्ञा वा ता द क्षि ण भे र रा णी ॥ ४ ॥ अ ग र णी स्था तां द क्षि ण भे र व
ग मा तु ते ए व वा यो गा र्हा ए त्प स्प ऋ र णी ऋ ह र ती त्पा दौ द्वि व च नां तं पु ने रे व यो ज ना भे
द क्षि णै ति वि ले बि त वा त स्याः प्र ती तेः पूर् व म्प षा वा चं य छ ति द क्षि ण भे र द्वि क्षि ण तो जे
रि त्प र्थाः ऋ र णी प न्नी पा णौ क रु ते प न्नी चे ति च का र लो पो ग म्य ते पा णौ द स्तो वा ग्य तो य
त वा चौ ॥ इ त्स्या तां ब डु ब्री हि नि धां त्त स्य र्ध्व नि पा ता त् क र्द के र णे द ता ब डु ले मि ति त
पु रु ष स्त हि जा य त इ ति वि द्वि प न्पा स द्वा धि का रं द शी यि त्तुं ज प क्क षं उ षः स मी प मु प क्क
षं ॥ अ न सं ता न्ने पुं स का क्क द सी ति स मा सो तः ॥ ३ ॥ प श ह्मं वि द्म र्वः ॥ नि ष्प त्नी त्प ना श वं नि षे ष
त्वा त् ॥ अ यं त यो ऋ र णं ज प रि ब्रा ह्मो द नि क म न्नि स मा रा प य ति अ धि स्था प य ति न क्क

अरणीदलेतेएवंअनुगमयेतिशीघ्रमनुगमिष्याम॥ नैतदस्तिउदुह्यनस्मगादप
 त्यायलक्षणेकरोतीतिवचनाध्वनक्षणेस्त्वानिबानुगमयोदितिगम्यातनचसंस्पर्शसिमा
 रोपणंअप्रतिज्ञेदाताप्रसिद्धेअसस्यशनिमरणीसंस्क्रियेतेसमारोपणेनचाप्रिःपुवं
 तर्हिअयंतेओनिद्रितिगंत्रकैरणंसमारोपणमज्जेःयत्तत्ब्रह्मशब्दवाच्यो नोअप्रिःपि
 तरत्त्यादिमंत्रवर्षीधवगम्यते। यद्योक्तमिमासवाग्निमदातमात्मानमिति तद्याग्निमे
 कैवदंतेनमितिपादमेअनुज्योतिरमृतंविश्वानरंयोअस्वतरन्निद्रित्पाद्यन्निद्रिते तस्म
 मापयतिअरूपोरध्यस्यतीत्यर्थव्यातअत्रेयद्विद्यातनुस्त्वयेह्यारोहेत्यत्रस्य
 कामवअल्लोकिकेरूपंसमारोपणंआशाभूते। यत्तु कालनामकरूपं प्रत्यक्षं धनरा
 शीरुजगतो गार्थीअज्जेस्तदधिदैवांयस्सधूमंज्योतिरित्यादिपंचप्रज्ञेदंयदग्निप्रायेणो

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सं। नोक्तं यस्तु सत्कं भजते यस्यैह विनिस्तुष्टे ते यमेव सौ। प्रिति। स एवाञ्जनीनादधी
तव संत इत्यादि इष्टापवत्रे ध्वर्यो ववसन इत्यंत न विधिनान् संस्तुत आहवनीयादि संस्क
रशष्टै रन्निधीयते धियज्ञे। तस्यापि देवता वदनिधानं दृष्टं हो देवि ज्योम न्चिह्न इत्यादि
इंद्राञ्जीवाञ्जपराञ्जनी अग्निरपरा इन्द्रः पूर्वी प्रजापतिराहवनीय इति च ऊवरस्याग्ने
रपि देवता वदनिधानं। यो दिव्या निमखुषा ऊनुष्टं त विद्या नि विमना जिगति इद्रमि
त्रवरुणमग्निमाहु रिति आधियज्ञो यन्निर्देवता वदनिधीयते तु य प्रयं त इत्यादि किं
त्रिरंत करणानि। त्रिचुण्णायन्निर्देवता वदियज्ञे आकुत्से प्रयुज इत्यादि मंत्रे।। किंबहुनो
क्तं नञ् त्रि विष्वक् नृप यो स्वंतरन्नि रित्यादौ। अरु इवात्रो न निर्देवांश्च परिभूरसिञ्जन्नि
सवीदव ताशल्पवं सर्वं रूपां सर्वरूपा निधाय कैर्मन्त्रिः संधानि कैः प्रवेधम इत्यादि किं।

अधिः संस्क्रियतेऽत एव लौकिकमनुगमय - अथ बाधो नञ् लौकिकमेव रूपं अक्रि-
 लो किं कुरुपाधानं संस्क्रियते अन्यथा रागप्रयुक्तयोः प्रवासवजायोः समाश्रयप्रल-
 क्षं अक्रियत्वात् नमानं अनुगमय लौकिकाग्निना समं मन्या नः 'स्वदेशो तु तत् रूपं रूपं
 मन्नेराधीय लौकिके रूपेण दोषाद्याधिकरणदोः अज्ञिहोत्रादिकार्यं निवृत्तिरतः पु-
 नरवता यत्रियावरोदिते सायमग्निहोत्रादिप्रवर्त्तितञ्चने कस्य चादग्निचाञ्चिद्रूपेण। य-
 ज्ञो गन्नाकुले तिजुदुह्यन् स्मृतस्यार्थगार्हपत्याष्टलक्षणं करोति उद्धननावोद्धरणं प्राञ्च-
 दं च मयरेर्षशिष्टं अद्धानां दक्षिणतः पुनरेस्मादक्षिणाग्नेर्विद्वती यमात्रगार्हपत्ये स्या-
 दक्षिणाग्नेस्तादाष्ट्यर्षिष्वीविद्वती यमात्र इत्योदिरुविषां यावेदियजमानमात्री न वि-
 ष्यत्तितस्याः तृतीयमानं सामर्थ्यादक्षिणाग्निजक्षणस्यावधिवैन भूचितं मद्यामाधे

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= (नक्षत्र)

आदित्तन विष्णुगार्हपत्यलक्षणे स्थाने ब्रह्मोदतिकजक्षणेऽपराक्षउक्तेऽनुचञ्चवि
 शत्प्रांशक्रान्ता धेयऽयस्यऽतीत्यमात्रं अम्रविद्यं चान्नदीयसीति वचनादाशिका
 एव विद्यतीत्यमात्रं गम्यतो कोसिनो जिन्या येन सस्त्रितं वैवंतस्मादिष्टिके क्षेत्रे आधानस्य न
 विधानात्सं वसरेपि देवीऽष्टाश्च प्रणीतास्मिस्तु मध्यमवंशप्राचीनेषु संज्ञारस्तेषु विक
 प्याणि यद्यन्तु गच्छेत्तपुनरश्चन प्रणेतव्यमं नोरेषु गार्हपत्योऽप्यनुगमतः संज्ञाशादि
 पुन आधानवन्मष्टिचा प्रणेतव्य आचक्षुष्यादिष्टेरपवग्रतिवस्यनदानां तत्राधानस्य
 चञ्चुः ऐष्टिकै विधानेनेष्टीनामाधानतंत्रमंध्ये विधानो वक्ष्यति तं च आभ्याधेयि का
 तियस्य येन विधानेन घ्राणयनं तस्यानुग तस्य पुनस्तेनैव घ्राणयनस्योऽत्र रेवेदि
 कादयि वंगार्हपत्यलक्षणे स्थाने दीयसि नितिकेऽसमंगार्हपत्यलक्षणे स्थाने त्रिपुरता

= आधानविधानं चञ्चुः ऐष्टिकं ३

असंख्यं कथं तेऽप्यं गौः अंतश्चरति त्रिशद्वामा मृशसंमर्शनिः अजनेयः क्ली
नकः पुरस्तादिति गार्हपत्योत्तरदेशाग्निप्रायः छः॥ आर्हपत्यूलः रक्षयं छुद्ररेणुमिह न्य
मान्छुये स्तुद्धावायवा अथनुष्टंते वशीयंते ते सुजावलोपाः॥ अन्यद्वा गोमयं रसं
दियन्नक्षिप्रमग्निरग्निश्चाप्यते॥ दृषणीं स्थः॥ तत्रैति किंप्राग्निपरा मर्शः॥ अत्र किं नो
जीवौ॥ तयोरुदक्त्तुं॥ पूजनं निश्चल इति प्रसिद्धिः॥ मूलं मूलं तो मूलं द्यादिभ्यस्त
सेरधिकार एव पांसं रथानां देवं च त्रिजगो मूलतः प्रजननं सिद्धं॥ मूलानत्यन्योतद
युक्तं निवृत्तीयाय स्थित्या कर्मभूता या उत्तरा रणे विधीष एवाचान्मूलं प्रधानं वचुदो
दृश्वि त्रिंशद्गादीन् महादुर्विरताश्च बह्वेद्वि नवाचयति॥ क्वं तं प्रयुक्त इत्यर्थः॥ अग्नि
नरः॥ उपोषुः॥ सामगानं यजुर्वेदिकचातुसंमवहितयोः॥ सम्यक् स्थापितयोः॥ यंत्रितयोः॥

प्ररणोः।।वषस्तेक्ष्म।।अदर्शिगा।एतयोदितस्य।सामगायेतिवर्त्तनीयांप्रतीकान्नो
 मगात्राश्चाप्रजापातः।अन्निप्राणिनिनासिकयाग्निमन्निष्ठसिक्तियोनोऽन्निर्द्ददयंकमला
 कारमनोवातदुपलक्षिस्थानंआरभ्यहृदयादशब्दपे।मंत्रवसुद्युजमानश्चाजपती
 तिपूर्ववत्।तन्नायाद्युमतथाएवपियशानविविचिच्छिष्टातत्फपशब्दार्थः।उपोद्यम्यपात्र्यो
 ज्जह्यायतृष्टियिष्टा।अनामृतोपदशा।मैत्रहुरणोयजमानस्यवाधास्यमानशतिवर्त्तम
 नसामीष्टे।अविद्यमानद्वेषेद्दूरस्थैर्नानेनवाकारेणाएविद्येद्ब्रह्मद्रुजतमिति
 गम्यते।देह्यावते।उद्यताग्निरेवजपति।तथावाचयति।घर्मः।शिरशति।मयिगृह्णामीतिसे
 एकवकुधामपिअहंअग्निमितित्रीणाधिकरणकर्तृकमणिकल्पयतीगृह्णतीपश्यती
 लर्थः।एकामवेदंतचंपरमाथीतहृदयचोहृदयमित्फक्तै।योनोऽग्निः।पितरोहृतत्किं

तिवमंत्रः शुभं मनुवदति। क्रियमा एखुवा दिवात्तु मंत्राणा। मात्मयाजिपक्षेदप्रितोयं
 सूत्रं च तापि दुदय संकल्प वाचोयुक्त्या संकल्पयं तदतिद्विवचनादध्वर्युरथो वंद्य मनु
 क्तैः प्रजापतिरेव नूचाभनसोत्यादि। तत्र मयीतिः प्रात्मनि दिते हो। अत्रिपरमात्मानोऽ
 मर्त्येऽपि तदृक्त्वा मिः प्रबुधपुष्ट्या त्कल्पयामिः प्राशोपयामि एकचमनयोः समष्टिभिर्भिः। माभि
 आदध्रद्विभितिवक्षेत्रस्यैव एककट्टे च शक्तिनेदा। तदुक्तामात्मानं वा एतत्प्रजमा
 नः संस्तु सति। युक्तेन हि मनसा यज्ञस्तायते एतदा अदश्चक्षुर्मन्यंते इत्यादि च। नृद्वि
 रसांऽङ्गं गिरम्य तष्टमप्रचृतयाः अत्रैव मृदग्निविश्वामित्रादयः। इन्द्रस्याश
 ऋतोरजन्म। तथा विष्णोर्मानाष्टुतिः। अत्रुषो नंगरस्येव मा अदिति सर्वत्र श्रीहृणं उपस्थ
 छतः पश्येदद्विष्टोत्तरुजानु विन्यासः। सक्तैरवितायन सजपस्थ ततः। वारवंतीये

अबुष्टजतिर्मुच त्वर्धे

नपत्रिगीत। संतं अबुष्टजतिपद्यन्वाग्जं सुंच तीत्यप्यतिअग्नाअयं एकैकयैकांस
मिधमादध्याद्यथा संरघ्न्यायस्स लोक् सिद्धुच्चादेवदत्तयद्दत्तविष्टुर्मन्त्रेऽप्यत्ता।
स्तिस्त्रोक्षेनवौवीयंतामित्येकैकस्माएकैकामितिगम्यते। प्रामीमयीस्त्रिअक्तानां न त
स्यणामं जनेनाश्चछीषु। द्विरादधातिप्रयोगस्यान्यार्थश्चात्। गादप्येत्येस्त्रि। अतिवृत्तैः पिगा
दप्येअग्निनादधीतेतिबहुवचनादिष्टीनां चतदंगचंचक्षाधानेहौमवस्यनेनिधायत
दंतेधैर्यवेदानविधानात्तदंतदष्टपुपवर्गइत्युक्तै। तच्छृष्टप्रतिभंभोष्टस्य श्रीवां करोती
तिवदेवंवेष्टिज्जिर्नैअद्दवनीयएवसंस्त्रिक्रयतैः। प्लिभुसंवीत तश्च प्रागिष्टपुपवर्गद
भुगदस्याधनीकंमंशुनंप्रणनंचगोमयातिदास्तु। एवाग्निप्रलयनानियेष्वग्निः प्रण
यतो॥ छ। यावाजिन्नाअजिमंत्रयते। अमंत्रयतइत्यर्थोमंत्रवस्मिन्। यदक्तं दायज ६८

मानस्यासंनवाद्यधिकर एल्लंकस्यजुपतेरवतिष्ठतेऽनुर्गीगाघोषचंकल्पनालोकसि
द्धत्वात्तथाहिराज्ञः कर्म्मकप्रयतीतिकप्रनाधिकरणंकर एदति। संनारशेषः। संनार
शेषस्योपयमनीचंतत्कार्यकर एत्वा। न्नद्वयं नैदः। यथोदाहिकस्यशालान्निब
शालान्निकाद्यैविविनियोगात्। श्वलेवाल्याश्चद्वयवमिति। लोकैकपि। दवदत्तं पुत्रं करोति
नोमदत्तः पुत्रः कार्येदेवदत्तं कल्पयतीति। भवति। समानाधिकरणं। शृष्टयस्येकचि
ष्यत्वात्। करोतिरेवमादौ विनियोगमात्रेवतीति। यत्र उद्यापाशं तदेणकरां तत्र का
र्म्मकर एत्तदेन निर्देष्टव्यति। यथा दन्तगुणं वरसं करोत्यवशिष्टया मृदा दोहिन्येव
सद्यालानागृष्टकोष्ठस्य मृदं गच्छेत्। इत्स्यामृदोष्ठमनेन वीरणेन कटमिति। एवं
नोपयमनीषु संनारशेषशृष्टः। समानाधिकरणं। यत्प्रयुक्तं। ऊहादिकैशालान्निव

आग्नीध्राय प्रदा वेति शखांत राद तयुक्तं । अस्यं तु शखायांत दि म मे बाधाया चो म म
 घा तु मिच्छाम्यमान प्रणयनाया द्द्विहोणा ग्राधनेन द्वा वा यो न पद्यते मं श्रति । विबुज
 यत्फ दईः सुख सम वहि ते धारयति । द्द्विहोणा सुखं यनं गार्हपत्यवत् । तस्ती शष्टस्यो ना
 वात् । सुव ५ त्पूई ह्युः । अत्र गार्हपत्यवद्यथा यं दिहोणा ने र्ने पि पश्चत्त यो गाता यथा हि
 प्रवंचान्नि परं स्वत्यत्रोक्तं । इवै मन्नि मया रोचेति । नूरित्यस्य तु वो वाधकं । उपस्थ तत्प
 त्पस्यो ई ह्यु रिति बाधकं । शेषं तु भवत्येवाऽप्रतिषधा ता यदा पि गार्हपत्या ह्येति प
 दस्तदाष्टवा । मानं तयी विधानात् । देवर्षं नि कुंति ते खां यश्चा कृष्टस्य गार्हपत्ये ने
 व मं बो धे न द्द्विहोणा ने रित्याशयः । अर्घ्यं नति दे शश्च मं य न विधान मस्य नति दे श
 तस्यादि तिरित्यं । वामं देहो । अनुस्तेजती लकृत् सन्निधः । पूर्वोक्ताऽऽग्नीना दधी ते त्तित्र

आणो प्रकरणा दुल्लुकापनुत्यर्थो वा दाश्रयनात् विद्वान्नवरंददामिति वत्प्रतिषेधात्तावा
 त् अन्निप्रणयना दुल्लुका निःस्वप्रणयमा अस्वपूर्वरिष्टं चक्रं वा वत्तयति गमयति क्रि
 पस्वित्तनं विहाय ते द्वस्र चै उक्तं समया धूपष्टे मंत्रो हि रण्यं प्रतयति अस्वस्था पय
 अन्निप्रणयना तो हि रण्यं धृष्टिः अस्व पूर्वस्तेष्वति स कर्मकास्तस्मात् यदुमाने हेतु क
 तीरि एते च तेन व रदाने वस्थापने च समान कर्तव्योः पूर्वकाले तिसिद्धा व रदानं ब्रह्म
 जात्रध्यामी श्री भ्रमः अस्वानीया गे प्रणयनद्या एतच्चातु तरेण लक्षणं समया
 ध्वस्थानोऽस्वा ह्वनीय लक्षणं वा स विज्ञानात् अस्वा क्रमण मद्या रो हणं अर्पय विद
 ने प रि क्रमणं परि सा मीष्टे न लंघनं प्राकृ सप्यणं तत्पवन नीया खं प्रत्य इ सु र्वं तं चैत
 र्थं प्रति लभ्यान्नि प्रति ष्ट ही चा बु प स मी कं कल्प त्रमा णस्य नियम्य धारयि चाजा
 पे

अथ

उपमा एव नृकीया तत्तयै तत्कस्मिन्नित्या वत्नात्फ ज्ञेयः कस्मिन् दप्त्रमतिकम्पनो
 द्यकैतत्सु वाः स्वयद्यस्याप्येकस्मिन् यथा यं उल्लाप्योचयि मत्राणां मधुरता हवन्नेदा
 त्पुनरस्तादिति दक्षिणोत्तरयोर्निर्धृत्यर्थं प्रत्यङ्मुखं स्वस्वपञ्च। तस्मिन् तस्या योग्य
 स्वातन्त्र्य ईदृशं प्रद्वष्टितौ मा भूत्तर्दिगन्तं पुनरस्ता तरेयं व्रतमभिधेयेत्। अथोच्च अह
 एमनर्थकं तिष्ठेनेवाच्चैः कथ्यत। प्रा तस्तिष्ठन्निवन् अथ कोच्चो लक्षणं प्रत्यङ्गटि
 लङ्गिहना मूर्द्धेति वत्तानि वंश्रतः करणमत्राङ्गटिलं दृष्टांती यज्ञाय। द्विमेनोक्तं त्क
 सखमेवतः सपन्नभाटययोः प्रकाशा प्रकाशवृत्तिश्च ततो ज्ञदा। विहारे जिष्णु
 सौम्यप्रियं कमाधिकरणं चेत्तु विरुद्धोत्तको दोषः। सौम्यप्रियं सा मीष्टा युक्तं च। पण्डित
 तीयतपु विज्ञामाय तयं का रथ्य चक्रे एव पण्डितकर्म योदिति गम्यते। संस्कृत्य मा एवा

तविहारस्यात्रौ संस्तुर्वनञाट्ट चंद्र --- तिउनयार्थं सतायउमानो मीउपतिष्ठ
तेनिधनौतदात्र। सस्त्राडित्पादि। अमीनूपरि। सवति; समूहति। परिमूजति। दन्तैः समू
हन्पादन्तैः ऊर्यो द्वेहादिका एतिपरिमाजं जचसमूहतिपयुं कृणपरिस्तरणम्
साहचर्यत्तिस्मादनेछुंधस्यै तिमत्रैः स्यान्ने मंस्तो मइतिपरि। समूहमशष्टादिमं
स्तिममिपवगमानं गार्दपेत्यान्नचस्यते। परिस्त्रुणातिपूर्वमग्निमपरी वेतिपरिस्त
रणमग्निशष्टाद्वकिणाग्नावाज्यनिर्वपादिनिवृत्त्यर्थं स्यादा ज्यशष्टस्य संस्कारव
चनवा। दूरर्वविधिवर्जितिवचनपदैः। उन्नयथापि पृश्न्याः पयइत्यादिदुर्ध्वनैः। एवं
इच्छं नूतस्य प्राज्ञस्याज्या र्थानाड्यसाध्या निप्रयो जनानि। निर्वपानै कृणादि
केचिद्वर्ममात्रमिच्छंत्कापयमनादिदविहोमिदर्शनात्कवंतीतिप्रसिद्धिस्त्वना

ब्रह्ममीमंशिः प्रज्ज्याक्ताष्टतान्वाक्ताएवजातिवचनत्वादाज्यस्येति। येऽप्रज्ज्याः सम
 स्वादुत्पन्ना तु वर्त्तयंति। प्रादधातिसन्निध्यागशिष्टान्नत्पत्त्ये। पूर्वविवगत
 स्पयैते क्रयसंबंधात्। सप्ततैः प्रज्ज्यैस्तु द्वौ तीक्ष्णतरस्त्रात् प्रसृष्टिनिमित्तद्वितीय
 तत्वात्। येऽप्रज्ज्यौ त्रैलोक्याग्रयो विप्रकर्षेण परं चो न द्याहुत्पानीयं तौ द्वि
 एादिना तौ पनीयं तदुत्पन्नि विपराणयनीयाश्च वाग्नीनां द्रविणादिः स च स्य विप
 र्मराणयनं विपर्ययो द्वविणप्रदाट्टयं यस्याः सा तष्टोक्ताऽप्रध्वर्यवे इति करणा
 त्मज्ज्यं वाग्निं सार्धं क्रियापात्रे न चऽप्रश्चदानमध्वर्यवलिं गातु दुर्बलं न भवति स्म
 त्रकारस्तु न यार्थं विमपि मंत्रार्थं वाद नो कं क्वचि स्त्रचयति। द्वविः स देही त्वेव
 विधेस्तु देवतावा एतत्पूर्वैर्द्वरित्वेवा वरं चापाकः। अनपाकृतं द्रव्यं हि दीयते इति

वा बादिदीयते वाचा प्रदीयत इति मनुः प्रतिज्ञानमेतदनपात्र तस्य ह्मोत्रेण ददा तर्था
 स्यान्निवृत्तिः सत्यं तथापि यजमानो वरं ददातीति ददाति प्रयोगात् प्रत्येकैः संप्रदाने
 ज्योवाचा दत्तमपि स्वीकृतं परदस्ते गतं छयत्र निदौ पस्यात् यं छपयौ दौः संप्रदाने
 स्यः संकल्प्यात् । स प्रतिज्ञा तस्य विषयः एव ते स्याधेनुं ददातीति अखंडितस्यैव धे
 न्वा ए दीनस्य स्वीकरणं रुचिनां अर्चनं कृतमधुगत धनवत् स्यात् तस्मादपाठतमपि
 वाचा दत्तं नवति प्रत्यक्षपात्रेभ्यः ॥ ७ ॥ दाशीपोर्मुमासिकं विधानमिष्टीनामिष्टीति
 देशसूत्रं निर्वपत्यादि प्राक्ततलिं गात्तपंच दसलान्यपि प्रयाजस्त्रित्वा दिष्टुचोद
 कप्राप्त्युधामंशु च स्यात्तादिनु एविध्वा दर्शनास्वविधानप्रकृतित्वा संज्ञकाधम
 को द्वास्वरूपसिद्ध्यर्थं भिष्टीनां विद्यत इति सा दृश्या दार्शपोर्मुमासिकमेवासाध

मज्झिमतुल्युक्तमिदं मया श्रुतं कृतं तं दृष्ट्वा पौर्णमासिकं विधानमिष्टीनामिति। यद्याव
 श्यकं दृष्ट्वा शिञ्चिष्यामः सर्वकश्चिन्ति त्वं तदान्यायं कस्मैपि पश्चितिस्त्रैगताञ्च
 वक्तव्यमेतन्मया दर्शयित्वा सशब्दोऽस्वप्नकरणे चारुता। तयोर्जवं विधानं ह्ये
 वं द्रुमसीत्यादि यजमानपत्यध्व्यादि साधनं प्राशुते स्युज्यां तमिष्टौ नोतत्रिकद्वे
 त्पानामात्रे यवत्तु हि देवत्पानामन्त्रीषो मीयवत्तु ब्रह्मदेवत्पानामन्त्रीषो मीयव
 मरुतां ह्येकदद्यादत्रैश्च मारुतमात्रे यवदेवं कुरु कुरु चादवैश्च देवमन्त्रीषो मीयव
 देवं च कुरुर्जुषधीदेवत्ये एं द्रात्रवत्त्यहोष्टि वीस्त्रानदेवतानामात्रे यव दोषधा
 दीनां त्रैरिक्तस्त्रानच स्त्रानानामै द्रवहैष्टवद्यष्टा संख्या। अथ सोऽयं यदियौ
 र्मासात्रे यवहिधानं। ततश्चोन्मते ब्रह्मवरणं। यदि दर्शनादेव तदा प्रवेद्यैर्धृदिक

रणं यदेवं विधेयं विधानेऽपि दृष्टं पौर्णमासां त्रेयवतश्चादाद्यात्पयस्यां च पूर्वैर्द्व्यं स्यात्
 तस्मात्त्रायधर्मत्वाद्द्ववताश्च यथाऽग्निप्रायेण वा पौर्णमासां प्रयत्न एव निविष्यते नैवाग्नि
 प्रायेणानवैश्वदेववरुणप्रघास्यपर्वणोऽर्चयेद्यत्वीदिकरुणोपशौखं वचनं यद्वा मा
 वास्यायामिति कालवचनं नानामधेयमिति विवेकराश्च तत्रैवावसरैः नुक्त्रमिष्यमाणं
 प्रवक्ष्यामि विकाराश्चोदकाधर्मेन दद्यात्प्रयुक्तिप्रसंगेन कृणोत्तत्र नुदेयश्राद्धि
 तीयामाज्यस्थानींस्क्रवंचोपच्युतो न तरेति प्रच्युतिं संस्करोति विषयस्य स्यापदो होक्च
 नो होस्त्रिंशो हस्त्रिंशो कल्पे उदाहरिष्यति नत्र विषयः बाधः स्त्रिनेकप्रकारः यश्राग्नि
 कृष्टाग्नेयमष्टाकपालमित्यग्निद्वौ त्रहवणास्त्रिंशं शमनोद्दिदक्षिणत्वादायस्य प्र
 त्वकशिष्टेन कृतावाज्यनागाविति पल्लुः आतिष्ठानिर्वप्येण योरिव क्वचित्सुञ्चया॥

तत्र ब्रह्मदेशकालफलानिधानकैश्चैक्ये तत्र वदयति तद्देहः श्रावर्हि च। परतं त्रौ तपुः
 पुत्रं अमंगं वक्ष्यति प्रायजकचमप्रायाजकवैठनयप्रयोऽजकत्वे च दशोऽप्यति
 देवता उपलक्ष्ये ता शनैः। शनैः शनैः विविशेष एष एष पलक्ष एषादवता वाचकः। श्रद्धा
 दना वा क्यस्वस्त्यहितां तस्तवन्ता र्वा तैः तद्धि ते न सुपाचमिकारितः। शनैः रत्नरया म
 म्भुपे त्पनिशक्त्येन चेतसा तद्धिता दिजं विकारं विनय प्रकृति भूते लक्ष्यित एष
 यद्दीत द्योऽन्तात्मद्या पारत्न्योपलक्ष्य एषा शनैः सम्यगस्वरयेत्फक्तं। तत्र ऋडिना
 निश्चिन्तं तद्धितः। अन्तये विविचयेऽतीकारां ताच्छ्रयी एषं समासादुप
 लक्ष्य एषा अन्ता वैष्णवमित्रावरुणम्पाइत्यादि वैष्णवो देवा वैष्णवरामितितहि
 तो युक्तप्रायान्नचायं उ एतद्धित उ तपन्निवा क्ये कैवल्योपादाना द्याज्यानुवाक्यो

रन्निशद्योनिपातनागेवासौयविरुणोर्यमादायइतीतरश्याप्रिसंगस्याताङ्ग
पानप्रीयस्यकाकस्यचद्याकरणदुपलक्षणंउक्तंचामैत्रायणीनाचैर्येणध्वज्यादपो
बृहतीतिशिष्टस्याक्तासिद्धिरितिचकेचित्तुयशाम्नातमित्त्राब्रुवर्तयंतिष्ट्वस्त्रुक्वा
तेनविश्वेभ्योदेवेभ्योब्रूहीतिसिद्धंविश्वेभ्योदेवीनामहंदव्यज्यायतिसमाप्ताताङ्ग
परैरुयशाम्नातत्रहणब्रुवन्तिरेवाङ्गपानप्रेतुब्रूहीतिमन्यंते।ऋपोनप्रपानपृष्या
मितिस्त्रे।नाराशंसयाजिनोवात्याधसितनूनपादेवयशाम्नातमितिमिद्धंनयनु
दष्टाब्रुविधिषुंदसीतितद्विताशेसमासंभूमोविश्वदेवंवरुमिति।उंषधीन्योवेदतमि
तिदीर्घइकारविक्रिषुविशेषः।आदित्यन्मृदूपमितिवाक्यशेषादादितादा
दित्यचरुमित्यादितउंनितुद्यंताद्यप्रपश्लेकदादीनिष्टंजनोन्यमादीनोचैदग्निम्ना

दृष्ट्वादियाजमानादिकं स्यान्न हि बुभुक्षितस्ततोवाच्यत्वेमापद्यते ब्राह्मण इत्यस्मा
 स्तय्यदित्यवधंजने सति त्नादागंतव्याः ॥ अस्याधेयिकीनां विशेषमादातं च्यात्र
 न्याधेयिक्यः सद्याकालाः सर्वत्रिपाच्छिदेवता तत्रैन्नवास्तत्र्यातं तत्रैत्रेचादाधमि
 क्रोविदारः ॥ प्रकरणात्तयथासाकमेधिकस्तेन्यावयवदृष्टत्तत्रैत्रेचादाधमि
 समानविहादिकस्य साकमेधावयवस्येति विशेषणं ॥ अत्र तत्रैत्रेचादाधमिनीकवतादे
 निवृत्त्यर्थं तत्रमदाहविस्तन्मदबाधानां अतएवैष्टिककर्ममिधानिष्यं वद्यतिषितं
 परस्यरावधिवै नृस्तत्रयिष्यति ॥ अपिचाग्राधेयेनवास्तस्याधेयिक्यस्ततप्रयोजना
 क्रोयेनेष्टायाधानमैत्रं ॥ तत्रशष्टाङ्गवष्टेर्दिगादिभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययतं च्यास्तेत्रैत्रेसप्तम्य
 तोवागपुनस्तं त्रीशष्टातबहुवचनं तैत्र्यदितं त्रीणामिदो संनवाता एवंचय एवाधान

नाङ्कि२

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ल्लिङ्गस्तदृष्टिषु स्युस्तत्र मध्ये विधानां नान्येव वरीतव्याः सद्यः समानां कालोऽयं सांता
स्ताण्याक्ताः आधाङ्गानि काऽत्यर्थं ननु सद्यः कालत्रयं एतमुपवसद्य निवृत्त्यर्थं सन्निवृत्त
यामित्यपवसद्यः सा मा धाने स्तत्र निवृत्तिष्विधितिः सा मा धाने स्तत्रैव निवृत्त्यति
तस्मात्सद्यः कालत्रयं दणमिष्टिनिर्णयैतत्पौर्णमास्यामित्याद्येष्टिके कालव्यवसायार्थं
अत्रास्त्युक्तं सुक्तं मा धानाङ्गिक्य इति संवत्सरे देवीष्विति उवाचि कं उक्तं चावाशद्वैकै
संवत्सरसाद्यावति अत्रिर्विस्तृष्टः प्रजापतिरित्यादि अत्रिपदे द्वे द्वे योजिता पञ्चविं
शति तानां प्रतिसमाधत्ते शकुमः किं तु यावान् स्तत्रार्थस्तवेदं यमावाचा मेति सर्वाः
आधाने देवतान् चारं नृणां याश्च पौर्णमास्यां मावास्या यादृवा सद्यः कालयादृवीष्टि
ष्विति विपरीतं तदर्थं आल्यनवाक्यं तिसंवत्सरे वा दवीष्टिनिर्णयतीत्यर्थः आल्यनवा

इत्यनुवादाः शब्दबुधार्थं संवत्सरं देववीः श्रीतिपदेऽपि तत्र स्फुरति विस्मयितो यमवधि
 स्तुतुं तं ब्राह्मणं भाष्ट्रकारणः पवमानो दीनिहवीष्टम्यथीनिर्लिङ्गप्रकरणाभ्यां इति
 तस्मादजस्रो ये अत्र यः स्फुः संस्काराधिचातुदारीतनाथस्ततोक्तं अज्ञाधेयस्य
 यद्बुधं पवमानो दिष्टानि प्रायमित्थपक्वम्यतावेनाम्यनिष्यते रित्यादि उपपद्यते
 वतान्निधानानियासोऽप्युपादेः सुखे वताः अस्याधेये त्रिद्विरारं न एणीयेत्याधेयं वि
 शेष एमारं न एणीयापरिभाषार्थं वा आधानस्याते न पुनराधानेष्टारं न एणीयास्या
 तनुपादेः सुखे वतार्थं त्वेवो अस्याधेयं विशेष एमारं न एणीयाया निरूप्याने यमष्टा
 कपालो अत्राकचिदाहुः अस्याधेयं दीनिहवीः। षि अत्रिधेव वस्तुमिति लिङ्गप्रकृ
 रणभ्यां आधानान्ने कानीत्यपरे। सूत्रकारस्य आधानागानीति लक्ष्यता ह्येमे

वसानाऽऽग्निमादधीयातामिति ब्रह्मोदनादिष्टिपर्यंतं क्षौमेवसानद्योशधानंसूचय
 तोयतिषंगनचस्तूत्रयतऽऽधानांगानिहवीहृष्यसिप्रतानि निरुग्रदण्णादग्निदेवत्र
 देवण्यजावपि निवीपस्यनुणालापनसुर्यस्येतिवचनाताब्रह्मावृतएवसांगप्रधानाथ
 स्वातवरणस्ययथासामहिषुब्रह्मणावृतत्राद्यश्रियोस्मेमासिकंवरणसौमनिवर्त्तते
 तिएवंऽत्राफिउपवस्यसुऽऽधानिकएवऽष्टीनांसद्याकालखोऽह्वागुविदइत्या
 दिह्माग्नेयसुपसाद्यान्मद्वयंरक्षेतिमयंतं। ननुदर्शपोसमासोऽत्राग्नाधेयिकी
 ष्टिसंस्कृतेषामिषुविहितोऽत्रग्न्याधयीक्यापिनसंस्क्रितेषुस्फुरितिनाऽनवस्था
 प्रसंगात्। आरंजलीयाचेस्तत्रैवनिषिद्धाऽननग्रीवादनायष्टीनांससमीनुया
 ग्नाधायत्रिद्विविप्रितिसायस्यचनावेनेतिनचधिकरणैवैमृधादयस्तुकांम्यचान्ना

आननर्ब

तिदृष्टं तत्प्रश्नप्रणीतसुः सृज्य निर्वर्पतिद्वीषिये। अथ्याधेयविधिघ्नस्तेक्ष्मं तेचदि
 केवलोऽसंस्कारनागिनं त्यक्त्वा न्यतुसंस्क्रियतेयदिव्रह्मैदनादिकालाप्रान्नश्चादे
 यन्मिसंनवे। अथ संस्कृतसु तत्सृज्यत तद्गुणतत्वीरहाचवत्। अन्यप्रणीवचनात्
 संस्कृतोपिदिनौकिकः। अद्रस्यद्विजसंस्कोपेद्विजचंनानिधीयते। किंयुपांजोषयिचा
 नून्योयुपांरुचन। नून्याथपिचाधाय। मिष्टिनिर्धेःसमुद्भजेत। अश्वघ्नणीतसंस्कार
 इष्टयस्तेऽसमाश्रिताः। अन्यायोनपिवचनंनचशान्त्वंतत्प्रस्थितंन्याधानेनप्रिप्रण
 यनमंगमंगं प्रतिष्ठाविन्निरुद्धेतिनिर्वापमग्निदेनद्रवणाश्रज्जावेपिदृश्यति। तत्
 श्वपाञ्चोतरेननुसृन्तेनानाबीजनिर्वापदर्शनान्नानाबीजपात्रीतुसंसाद्यते। अग्निदे
 तद्दवण्णथविधानादिद्रुतस्याश्रज्जावाग्निहात्रानावान्नचप्रोक्षणीभिः प्रयुज्यते

ऋनिर्दृष्टायामसिच्योतिपरप्रयुबौधार्ब्रत्तासांएवंचाग्निष्टोवात्रुषोपवपनेचनकेन
 चिदसंसादितनक्रियातानदित्रुषापवपनेनकपालं प्रयुज्यातात्तत्रुनकर्तृष्टोत्रुषो
 पवपनेनिरुष्टाग्रदहणेनअणलोपेचमुख्येतिदक्षितितुतात्त्रनेर्मन्त्रइत्यादिअ
 हवनीयात्संभ्यं। अहवनीयशष्टोना विन्याहत्या तस्मिन्ब्रह्मौदनिकमितियथा
 अतःआहवनीयेजुहातीति। इमाऽतिदेशाताऽत्रस्य॥ किं त्रुद्वितीययापरिणाम्यते
 आवनीयंजुहातीति। इमं संस्काराण्युत्वा नृहंसीमाधानुमात्रं सन्यस्या तष्टाचौदनाताऽ
 चारणात्पाहवनीयमित्यधिक्वारादावसंश्रुवा नं यतिपूर्वमा मंत्रणायाधिदेव
 नोदितोदवैनिषसादधृतत्रतीति। त्रु होतृश्राद्वाज्यं प्रस्ठानतिदीष्ट्यति। विचित्रुयादृश
 निधायैतितदारुतात्तृताद्विचिंत्येतिअतादृशयेनया यत्तृक्कीयादिचयश्रंसिर्देह

तथोदिरण्यदि। एवं विदः सञ्चाना मंत्रये ता यथोक्तमायनिकितवा इति प्राकृतो न प्रपद्येते
 तत्सूत्रं प्राक् प्राकृणादित्फक्त्वा दवधः। सिद्धेष्टिदप्रपिस्मासविधानप्रसिद्धं। संतिष्ठतध
 त्ति। किं यावता सिद्धेष्टिरिति वचनेन संस्था लेभ्यत एष उच्यते। तेषां चित्सूत्रकाराणामेता
 यामिष्टो ब्रतविमो कइति मतं। तन्निरासाय संतिष्ठत इत्फक्त्वं। युक्तं। तदेतदीष्टीनां परस्पराना
 काङ्क्षा। न वपनी संयोजीतेत्यादि वचनमस्ति दीदृणीयादिवाद्यादिवापुशो वधे। संस्था वच
 नान्नावात्तु ब्रतविमो कं संस्था स्याते पञ्चवत् च वरुणप्रद्यासादिषु। अवश्यं। दियस्य देवताप
 रिग्रहाय मन्वाधानं तस्य वैश्वदेवीष्टोपुनः। कार्येन सोमार्थवाधानवतदीदृणीयादिद्विषा
 मावाप्त्यै वैश्वदेवस्य प्रसूयेता। अंगानि च नावातु ब्रतं उच्यमानेन जेहीते न पुन नृष्ट्य
 तेपिष्टपेषणमन्यथा भवेत्। अत्रापि बालाः संस्था वचनं दृष्ट्वा जिं प्रवादयंति अतएव वा

संतिष्ठतः ८५ ३३५५ पुनरुक्ते

लाः॥ येनेष्टि संस्थावचनमग्न्यपवत्राष्टिं विदंति न तावत्संस्थितशब्देनाग्न्युत्सर्गजिह्वेते। समा
स्यवानापितात्पर्यं त्रिन संस्थितायामितिका लविधानपस्थासंनिष्ठातिने इत्यत्र स्त्रीपुन
रुक्ते उक्ते तात्पर्यं अत्रिपि च प्रतिरात्रं संस्थाप्य सान्नाय्यन यजुं तिसान्नाय्यं संस्थाप्या
त्रेण संस्थिते पोर्णमास्येन यजंत इत्पादौ कावात्तसिं स्थावचनं त्रं तत्राणपि कर्मापव
त्रे विस्तृत्य त एवाद्दवनीयः सत्यपि संस्थावचने अंगं नृतेषु इष्टिपक्षे ओमेपु न विस्तृज्य
ते। न कात्रणं संस्थावचनमत्रि विस्सर्जनस्य ननु त्रैकप्राप्त्या शंका अश्वप्रणति इष्टीनां
क्तिन्निराग तं निषेधसि। यद्विप्राप्तं मन्ये सो न्यायतस्माकं न बाध्यते प्रयोजनमपि ते तन्नि
षेधपरं ॥ स्त्री। संस्थितायामग्न्या एव संस्थितायामग्नौ यामिति कलनित्यप्रपवमाननि
वपि स्याय द्वापवसष्टादिपावमानं ह विरजिषे तं स्यात्तदा संस्थितायामिति कालविधा

नमनर्थकं स्यात्। स्तत्र पाठः क्रमेणैव सिद्धेऽस्ति। संतिष्ठते। अत्र नये पवमाना येत्फपवसया
दिलभ्येत। तत्र सद्यः कालाऽत्यनेन वचनेनाधानिके द्विविधानसमष्ट्युपवसया
धानप्रतीतिः। तस्मात्संस्थितायामिति न पुनरुक्तं। मासा माधानसद्यः कालनायामा
त्मन् धर्ष्यं निचत्सामाधानविषयं संवस्यारहं वीषीति विशेषविधानासो माधाने पाठ
क्रमात्सद्यः अधानद्विकेऽस्याः। दात्रेया अधानमध्ये विधानादिरथा संवस्यारतथाग्रया
अपि स्यात्। तस्मादसो माधानपक्षेऽपि सद्यः कालता सिद्धाभात्र ब्रह्मवरणं। तत्र मध्ये विधा
नादुक्तं द्विदृशौ। सर्मामि कवरणं सोमे निवर्त्ततति। अन्वाधानादिसिद्धं दक्षिणा
यां विकारः। कचिदश्वेन प्रणीतमुच्छाद्यान्यमाहवनीयं प्रणयति। ते हव्रन्यायं वस्यं
तः। अत्रेयीष्टं तमाधानमिति गायंते उक्तः। परिहारस्तथापि तं पृच्छामा यद्याधानेति

ष्यन्ते ॥ किमर्थमिदं मानादीनि अथ श्रुति चेत् बुध्यते कुशमादवनीयस्येष्टिफलत्वा
 पनेष्टिनिःसिद्धता अस्मिद्धं हि साध्या योपदिश्यते आदवनीयस्य सिद्धः साधयेते ह विनि
 रतो वा सिद्ध उक्त दितेन केवलं वृथा क्लेशा फलोत्पादकौ यावता वीर ह त्यापि तिनवपे
 र्मासिकं प्रणयनमाधानेष्टिषु श्रुत्यादिनिष्पद्यतेत्याश्रयतोऽप्रादवनीयेषु वे
 तीतिवत् अथातिदेशतः प्राप्स्यस्याप्यर्थता होमादिदेशस्य मर्नेष्टितो निवेतुं नैव
 दिदोमादिसं तत्र बाधते लब्धविनियुक्तिर्विकस्य विदमि अपि चादवनीयेषु होत
 त्वाधानि केमेवेदं वाक्य उपाधायै स्यान्म्यगम्य अतिदेशिक पक्षेपिता दद्याद्विप्र
 स्यात्कं तस्मात् प्रागर्ध्ववसनदानादनुगतो अग्निराधानिक विधानेन मंत्रै एव प्रण
 येत्यथार्थेनात्र संतिष्ठत इत्युक्तं नाश्रुत्तरं न वद्व्यतिन संस्थिता यामिति हेतुः साः
 स्था लभ्यत कालपरचादस्य सद्यो ॥ तर्हि या सां संस्था वचनं नास्ति तान संस्थाप्या

इति अत्र ये च ये चकारः सोऽत्रो न सं प्रेषकाले प्रयोक्तव्यः सप्त तिमानमिति पाव
 कस्य त्रिंशन्मानमत्रा पूर्वयोर्देविषो द्वे त्रिंशन्माने इत्यादि अचिना पावकसमा
 नबर्हिद्वेति पवमानोपेक्षं पूर्वयो रजि पूर्वचं पावकस्यानपु न द्वे किंला विषये एसा
 दित्येन बर्हि विषयी सा हि त्यं वि कल्याता अत्र उल्यबात एतस्मा ज्ञायते एका द्विकु
 नवरुणप्रघासिको वदद्वि एतेति न वान्ममनंतरचात एव च संत्र मध्ये पि प्रायश्चित्त
 क्षोपति तायां न पृथग् दद्वि एतेति संस्थायां विस्तु वै च पि पि विष्ठा यचकार उक्तं
 आदित्यश्च रुकां स्पन ब्रह्मवर्चसं कामस्येति वतका म्यचाद नित्य रो दि एषा
 धानवा स्याने तदस्ति अ नित्य ख प्रसंगात् उ स्वा प्रद्यो जना वन्नि अ चं युक्तं अ
 यथैवा त् अ धानां ज्ञात्वा देति ब्रह्म ए इति प्लु का म इति वत्तति अ न्नी प्रा मो य

द्वितीयमिति पृष्ठका मापे द्वंद्वितीयचंद्रांतरश्या चक्षुष्यमिति स्यात्। अन्त्ये उद्धृति
यग्रहणा द्विद्विकामादिनष्टिमन्यतां आवृणुते। बकुव्रीदिर्यीष्टतमिति
भावसाधनेऽप्यसंक्षेपेऽविद्यमानमेव ह्ये। एव च अवदानकालेपि न मेदं रोना
वद्येत्। अतएव अत्र रंभणीयायां सक्षेपे वक्ष्यात्। तत्रापि न अपरां मायां तत्र सभा
गयजमानाग्न्यामपि परिहृत्य एव सादित्यां ननु प्रदाने प्रक्षयश्च तत्राश्चेदक्षि
णकालेपि नागपरिहृत्योत्तरकोले दक्षिणपाठक्रमबलीयस्त्वात् उक्तं विकाराच्छे
कमिष्यामीत्यथा स्मृतेमिति। प्रहृतौ स्थष्टमेव पठितं नागपरिहृत्योत्तरकोले
ह्यसंनमनुमंत्रणं ततोदानमिति युक्तं। न ह्यपि पठितं चानुयो ग्येऽत्रासनस्थत्वा
त्तुवर्ज्यं श्रुतौ दानमुक्तं अजं कल्माषमुक्तं। अत्रानेवाश्ववत्तु उपयुक्तत्वात् उपब

ईणसुपधानमिदधानिकाः॥सर्वमवस्तुत्रमयंस्यात्॥अनङ्गानितिवयोवचनेन
 पञ्चदशैतस्मान्मध्यस्यःइतएवयोवदन्ति॥सामान्यद्वेधेनुरपिवयः॥सत्वं
 त्तमानवयान्नृत्तनचनाविनिःप्रनद्धतप्रचत्तिष्ठुवयःस्तुवर्त्तमानं वयसाम
 ध्यात्तुष्टुत्तयोःसांङ्गः॥दित्यवा दंच्छुःकरमिति श्रुता॥हिंसायनीवस्तरीयदि
 त्योदीवयसो ददातीति श्रुताः॥अत्रादया दक्षिणा आधानप्रकरणे पवितास्मा
 अंमोया मिष्टो विनियुं जान आधानां गा इष्टीः स्तुचयति पूर्वयो स्त्वष्ट्रो राधानप्र
 कुरणपूवशतमानं विनज्य अत्याविनिद्युक्तं॥तया स्तेना विरुद्धत्वात्परितोषाव
 न्यामिष्योवजादयो दक्षिण स्फुरित्यन्निप्रायः॥अथा प्रसङ्गितिवदिष्टयोऽपगं इतर
 यायावा अस्त्यै त इति लिङ्गात्प्रकरणे बाधित्वात्प्रवृत्तिरपि अत्र नष्टा स्यादिति

एन

वतः सुकोदोष इति चेत् न कश्चिदिति किं तु सूत्रकारस्य आधानां गासर्वव्यतिषंग
 विधौ वा आधानसुपकारे कमुपदिष्टं ब्रह्मि रूपत्वे तच्छ्रयासमुपकारकरोति समु
 दयादंशं गिन्नावपाह्नाबलीयानिति सूत्रत्रयदाशयः रथं युक्तं गवोऽङ्गादीनां ज्ञान
 तमो वायुक्तिः अविशेषोऽन्यत्र तदणक्रियात आश्रयत्वात् प्राप्तिश्चेत्परि संख्या
 नियात्मा वापुनर्वचनात् च प्राप्तिः सोऽङ्गादीनामपि प्रसक्तेः ॥ इष्टपवार्त्तऽध्यव
 वसने ददाति अनुक्रमसूत्रेण कोऽभिप्रायः न तावदत्र च्छेप्यं न्निस्मात्पुनः कर
 णं दृष्टं इष्टं तेषां धर्मवैचर्ये न दत्ताद्य इति वक्तव्योऽत्र च्छेप्यं न्निस्मात्पुनः कर
 स न योदीनं यदि स्यात् तत्र दत्तौ मवसानाभ्यां आधानं कृत्स्नं नालुप्तिं स्यात् ततो
 क्रमणत्वात् तत्र ह्येतद्दानं उक्तं चैतदंगवैकारणं सु रथं सूत्रं सर्वयोद्धविषोऽति ते
 १५ तथा च श्रुतिः ॥ यदजमग्न्याधेयै ददातीत्यग्न्याधेयौ मज दानमिष्टिस्तु दी

गदशनिदि त्पाया मिष्टो स्त्रिंशत्तं कृतं स मिष्टजुषि विनश्य प्राशनां तौ ते स्पृष्टति कृत
 प्राशानभ्यः। सामनाय दूमा एतं विधं तं प्रयुक्तं माधानं सूचयति तत्र कैचित्
 काम्यविधः प्रयुक्तमेवान्येनैव विधयः पुरुषा एषे वैति तत् प्रयुक्तिः। कनक
 रीता यस्तु स्मृतिकाराः प्रातः संस्कारसाधनस्य नित्यं च मिक्तं तित द्विधं तत् प्रयु
 क्तं चैपिन विरोक्ष्यता अग्निष्टोमादि संस्काराः प्रातः संस्काराः सः स्थावाव तयष्टपुन
 प्रार्थना यश्चिन्तय्याः स्तिममलज न न। हिरण्यवा स संश्रमति त्रदादिनिमि
 ताः किं आधानं प्रयुज्यते। रनुत्तं तैतिका म्येष्टि वता पु रुषार्थं वात् प्रयुक्तो प्रा शा
 यो ब्रूमः। यस्य प्रद्वंतेष्टि यत्पद्यं तोऽप्यति पद्यं तं इति वात्वायु क्यं आदितान्त्रे
 रधिकारा गम्यता तथा चानुवादे यस्यादितान्त्रेः सतामिष्टं दानं दाददितोऽत्र
 जिनो ध्यायेत्यग्निर्दण मतिरिच्यता प्रकृतं चोदाधय विषयाखनो नो नो न क्रिय

तस्मात्तव के बुधार्थे मंदधी रजस्रधारणं वस्मरेदपि स्मारितं वान्यै रजस्राग्रयः सं
 वसरं सुस्काराणि चिदादिति अस्मीना धायामी नृधि ह्येष्ट स्थापयित्वै ल्यष्टिः आधानं
 स्यात्तैर्दृष्टाष्टतन्निष्पात्तं रुक्मं च संस्कृतैर्कर्म संस्काराणां न तदष्टिं चातुः अ न तद्व
 तं तद्गुलं चोन्नतः शरावं उदं न दक्षिणां नो केचित् अपयं तन्वा हाय दशेनातः सो
 ऽपि दिसं चिरान्योदीयतन्नातु नायः आज्यस्यो ऽष्टिषु देवताः पवमानस्य दवीः
 प्रियत्वं त्पानिता ल्यादवतोभ्यः आज्यं जुहुयात् यत्तोभ्यो देवताभ्योऽग्निमाधुत
 दत्पादिः क्रतुः संभाषेत आदितस्यादवनीयस्या ननु ध्यानां ऽग्निं आज्यहोमः संव
 सरं यावत् दृष्टिषां प्रतीक्षणा योक्तो न स्थापनाय यथापयो दृष्टिषोऽदिति नाषा
 योः षड्वर्गे गण्यते तथाज्यहोतापि पथो ह्वयते शाखां तरुणात् आधानं तत्र मधापापिः
 चो संवसरैः अधिहरणं सप्तमीयः ॥—१

निमित्तसप्तम्यां सर्वपदेऽनावातः काले स्य च स्त्री मन्वाधानं सद्यः कालोक्तस्यपि
 छीनां स्थापितत्वात् आदिताग्ननिर्णयमाना दोना स्यान् सन्निपादिना अन्नश्रतं समि
 त्तज्जनाग्निचैन्मसाद्यदित्यर्थः रुबी सं दृष्टिर्वा तस्याध्वं प्रधीवनस्य सुयोऽज्जिस्त
 त पूर्वमोऽपदेऽप्यपक्वचः अमंत्रणं आहुतं त्रितो न गच्छेत् नान्मपगच्छे
 दनिद्येना एमंत्रिताय च तिक्रमणं अग्निं द्यामंत्रणं स्य दोषश्च वणं तदभ्यपगम्य
 निक्रमेद्रष्टव्यं तत्रापवादाः अपराह्ना मंत्रणं ब्रजे तत्र द्रव्यं वसीदन् पूर्ववत्
 गच्छेत् एवं च आहोरात्रपराह्ना काले चैनामंत्रणं गच्छेत् स्वदत्तं तद्विराट्प्रादि
 सिद्धवान्वा रघ्या तमिति प्राकुरु विनिर्वापा त्प्रादिताग्नेव्रतानि श्रुतौ नोदितौ
 निदप्रथोऽर्चमासावारस्पमाण इति संवत्सरे गतदशमौर्चमासा रं न निमित्तास्त

एयानिर्वीपंस्तत्रयन्प्राक् दृशीपोर्लमासायंनदिवसेगमयति। यावज्जीवं दृशीपो
 मासाधिकारां काम्योवा। तदारंनेनिवीपत्नप्रतिप्रयोगा रजोऽतरथा म्याधेयेत्रिह
 विरित्पादि। अग्न्याधयस्योपरिस्त्रणमनर्थकं स्यात्। एवममतडुसंनान्ने रधिक
 रः॥ विच्छेदात्पुनराधायज्ञारंनणीयांल्लवाधिकारं प्रतिपद्यतोऽप्यपरेऽत्रविच्छिन्नाभि
 होत्रस्य दृशीपोर्लमासविच्छेदेऽज्ञारंनणीया मिच्छंति। स्वस्त्रवचनात्। तत्र दर्शिते ^{काल}
 तिपक्षौ। आदृशीदोपोर्लमासाद्वाप्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात्। तदाद्या दयादिपक्षे एवं आ
 रंनणीयांल्लवापुनरा रंनेत्। दृशीपोर्लमासयो रविच्छेदयच्छुतसन्नोऽग्निस्ततक्षण
 मेवपुनराशीयेते तदारंनणीयांनेच्छंति प्रायश्चित्तवस्य। पुनराधानं स्यात्। नचधिका
 रविच्छेद इति नारंनणीया। स्त्रकारस्य उक्तं आशये वि। षणवदत्वे वेति। अत्र येनमि

ने इति चकारः स्तौत्रः। प्राकृष्टिष्ठत्तोदादशो त्पतग्राहं कुवाजु द्वमन्मद्विप्रोतयत्
 जुहुयादित्यथीसमिष्टयजुषं च संतत्त्वमाज्याचिप कादविरुहं। त्रयोदशी सत्तज्ज
 क्षीतनष्टेर्वेस्त्रैः आहुयथा संख्येन द्वादश अर्देण नञ् रघो ब्रह्मवर्चसी चैति फल
 ऋतिः। विनैव कामनित्याहुतिर्जयाचातया कामायां अहुतौ पादिकमाहुः॥
 तेषां ब्रह्मवर्चसकामस्य त्रयोदश गृहीतं तु द्वादशमित्येव स्या। चतुर्दशी स ब्रह्म
 नयात्वेकल्यते। मक्षणेन च तद्यागावौ इत्फुल्लं सूक्तं वाक्यं शतिका लक्ष्णा पोष
 मास्यामाधाय सद्यो द्वाविषां निवीपपक्षस्येतस्य लिङ्गं सैव सरेदविषा निवीप
 चतुर्दश्यामेव स्यात्। अतीतै संवसार पौर्णमासी स्या। तदि संवसारमा सपक्षाय
 स्याति यौः आश्विन्यतस तिथिस्तदांत गण्यते। तत्र पक्षे चतुर्दश्यामेवोपक्रम आनं

नणीयाः। अपिच। यस्तु रुक्षप्रतिपदि न क्वं शदा धानं ऊयति तस्य यथापि पौष्
 मा स्यां संवत्सरोत्पत्तौ ७। अत्रिप्राप्तुवंति तस्यापि न तस्यां निर्वपेत्। किं तद्विचित्रं दृष्ट्वा
 मेवाऽतरथा सद्यः कालतापोऽस्मा स्या संवत्सरोत्पत्तौ ७। अत्रिप्राप्तुवंति तस्या
 पिन तस्यां निर्वपेत् ७। अत्रिप्राप्तुवंति तस्यापि न तस्यां निर्वपेत् ७। अत्रिप्राप्तुवंति तस्या
 तस्यां तस्यापि सति सद्यः कालतापोऽस्मा स्या संवत्सरोत्पत्तौ ७। अत्रिप्राप्तुवंति तस्या
 ७। अपि पौष्मा स्या धानेन कामं संकल्प्या यत्र यत्र प्रयोगे काम्या सिद्धः सद्यः काल
 स्त्रे न विकलचा ता एवंच निचयने मित्तिके यथा शक्ति ऊयति न ह्यप्यवश्यमप्राकाला स
 नवमात्रेण प्रधानकाल संज्ञे प्रधानो फाराधी युक्त इति सद्यस्तु वचनं एत
 स्य नित्यस्य विकल्पस्याद्यनुष्ठानं लिङ्गात् एतावत् यद्विप्राग्निर्वपेत् ७। इति त्रि

धानकालप्रवृत्तिस्यास्तएवेतद्रष्टव्यं। नोपवसथकालातिक्रमोनउपवसथबुद्ध्या
 पक्रमात्वाचनिकं वा सद्यः कालचनित्याशिकेरनिष्ठत्वाय तैदशेदितितदङ्गैः।
 भ्रमावास्यामाधाय बानहत्रप्रदर्शनार्थः फाल्गुन्याः पुरस्तादाधायैति उपवसथ
 कालस्य संभवां तात्सद्यः। पोसमासीयुक्ताः। अज्ञातां त्रेणां न्वाधानमारंजणीयायाः
 च्यवस्थितवातकैलस्यासौ माधानपोसमास्यासु त्पादेन पौसमासीवदारंजणी
 यापिसद्यः कालादंडयूपिकया सिद्धाद्रष्टव्याः। छ। स माघमाधानं॥ छा। उद्धरादे
 वनीयमिक्तक्रागार्दपत्पादादवनीयहलं तं प्रणयत्यपराङ्मैत्राधानादनंतरं य
 द्यपि सोमार्थं विदरं प्रथममादवनीयस्यारंजणीयैवाकदा चिस्थात्रयाद्यौ सि
 त्पादन्निदोत्रस्य प्रथमचमिति। तदर्थमिव प्रथमं विदरं। अर्धममादा। उद्धरादवनीय

याश्चरि

त्रिस्तादिभ्यस्तश्चादित्यत्र इच्छां कं विदुरणो तथा च दर्शयौ समान्प्रकटणो
 र्हेपत्यादादवनीयं द्वा लंतमिति गार्हपत्या दो निवचना निधमंति रपरि संस्था नाथा
 न्फक्ता निशतरथोपवस्त्रशान्तुत्तैर्भ्रमिं विहृतीत्येतावदेवावदमत्तयद्याग्निमोत्र
 धर्मकं विदुरणमभ्यर्चयेयादिति सूवाचा यौः शान्ता र्वांतराणे चान्नदं चावक्ष्येऽसि
 होत्रप्रकरणे क्तमपि दर्शयौ एभिस्मादौ मंत्रब्रतप्रणयनं युक्तमिव यथासावि
 त्रहोमैः स्तुतवन्मं माज्जनं दाषीकप्रकरणे क्तं यथा वैदवं दर्शयौ समीपयोरग्नि
 पयुक्षिणपरिस्तरणंति रपि द्वाते पदाथ धर्मि चातृष्टस्मिन्नुत्पान्य संस्कारवत्तथा
 दिप्रदोषमग्निहोत्रादा तद्यमित्यतोऽग्निहोत्राधिकारवाक्याश्रवणात्प्रकरण
 रक्षीयुक्तायत्पुनरुक्तं गार्हपत्यादादवनीयं कलंतमिति वासप्रवाचयित्वा ब

धस्तस्याः कल्पतेऽत्यनेकाष्टकेऽप्यनात्तस्माद्दृशिपौसमिन्प्रयोगदिपत्यादिषु
 अवणमाधानिकप्रणयनधमपिनुत्तयष्टिन्निदात्रिकप्रैकेऽणयनधमेपिब
 द्दणार्थतेयाच्वाएवंचप्रणयनानुवादेनकालमात्रंउपवस्वशानेनुक्तं
 तिविधीयतेऽप्रणयनविधानेऽनित्यधृतेऽपिगोतश्रीदृशिपौसमिन्प्रयोः
 प्रणयनमपूर्वविधानात्केनवार्येतऽसुतरन्निमत्यामंश्रनवतृञ्जिहोत्रेनु
 वीधीयतएवप्रणयनंरुदस्तेऽयच्चाऽग्निदौत्राश्रम्यविधानं प्रणयन
 स्यऽतद्वर्म्मपिरिसंख्यायगादपित्यादित्यदरांशुनरुक्तं। दृशिपौसमिन्प्र
 णयनंरुक्सीजवत्तु। नमद्विबेद्विद्युगतास्त्रियापिसायहोमाश्रःप्रणीतोय
 ऋदवनीयःसधार्यतद्वत्तिषाखरस्वामिपादाःसमाश्रयेऽष्ट्यतेऽधाधानैपात्याद
 गार्हः

वनीया वैकायतनौ च वत इति तिरुक्कं अतो नाश्व प्रणीतधारणं तेषामिति मन्या
मादा इतर शत्रुगतस्याधानिकं प्रणयनं स्यात् नारुक्कं त्रिधर्मकं विधानात् उद्धराद्व
नीयमिति मंत्रमुक्तादवनीयं प्रणयति वक्ष्यमाणधर्मैर्गोदापत्या तगादेष त्पायतनादि
त्यर्थः। विराडे वास्याग्नीन्विदधत इति गादपत्ये विप्रक्ताग्नीनो प्रणयनैः कर्त्तव्यामि
ति न विप्रतिवर्त्तमानापदेशः। मुरुद्ये वर्त्तमानवैक्यं निष्टं तशश्च वाग्वाग्वा
य कालो नोक्तमालानां शको कर्त्तव्ये वस्यः दुष्कृतकालातिक्रमात्। वावाचादा
त्र त्फरत्फद्य कृतिलक्षियमाण इति रुतिनयति अमृतकुंतिः। सा यमपराक
निदधाति अत्र वस्थापयति स्तयमिमा विति प्रातरुषा कालो न कर्त्तव्यः कीयात्

कुतेसायमजिहोत्रैतमेवाहवनीयंप्रातर्होमार्थंधारयेदित्यर्थीः। गृहीयान्नक्तमग्नि
 निति श्रुतेः। अथ कर्मिक्याका लने। दपिकितं त्र ता विह्वर स्यात्त्रा निप्रेता। अत्रा दोषो
 तद्धा। अथ प्रातर्होम विधिः। यदि कर्मिक्यादिपदकः। दशपिण्डो र्स्वमा स्यादिति म
 न्निकं च परतंत्रपावधीय वैश्वदेवादि वत्स्यान्न द्व तपो एमि से दशे चो तस्याय
 ए। दि स्यात्तुक्तं ताश षप दस्तु कर्मिक्य पद्देन घटो तलो किंके औ प्रातर्होमो यंके
 शोते। अथ सायं दोम प्रातर्होमो पर स्यात्तदनेन पेदौ। तदान र्कं वा गृहीयादिति वाच
 निक मग्ने स्तंत्र चं। इदानीं कर्तुं विशेषेण विशेषमादागतं श्रीरित्यादि संज्ञा मूर्तेयं त्रा
 न्नापार्थीः। सदि वक्तु व इति श्रुत्वा नृश्रवस एवेत्यर्थः। ऊ हापाद समप्रात्रि श्रुत्वा
 व इति त्रेता सदि पाद वाक्ये प्रमाणे स्वेष्टु र्त्वेष्टु विषयेष्टु सम्यक्परिज्ञातेष्टु स

तिनऋतमात्रेण तस्य वर्जनीय चात। सूर्यस्या न धिका रात्त्या मणी मंडली का बहु
 छुष्ट इषद स माप्ता धन धान्य पशु पुत्र दिग्गण दिग्ग मृच्छ। स्तेषां गतस्त्रियो गा देप त्या दिव
 यो भ्रियते यः स एव सायं हो मा धि आ धा ना द नं त र मु भ्रियते। स एव सर्व कर्मिणां सा धा र
 णो धायति। गा देप त यो नि चैऽपि द क्षि णा मि निर्मित्य धृत चो स मा रो प य त्प रा व त्री इ ति
 स र त्तो तं। ए वं व स्रु श्रु षो ब्रा ह्म णा नो प्र ति क र्म वि दू त्या ह व नी य म नु श नो क्तु र्व तो
 वृ था क्लेशः। उ स त्र पि वा द रू प वि धि वा द न योऽप क्त यो रि द्र म दे दू या ग प द्द व त
 लु वो वि जे र स्मा मि त्या दि व द्वा नि य म वि धि श्रे। त्र या य त य न नि य मा अ पि य र स्प रा प वा
 द न द्य व ति ष्ठं ते। प यो ब्रा ह्म ण व्र त मि त्या दि व त इ त र ष्यं ते षां नि त्प धृतः॥ किं ते प्रा मे व नि
 प धृत ए वे ति। त त्रा ने क च यो नि य म्य ते। पा द्दिक प्रा सि ना वा त्। त था च स मा न्ये ना द व

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 को ह्यरणे विहिते नित्य धारणमप्राप्तं गतं त्रियां विधीयते यद्वा सामान्यप्राप्तौ विशेषम-
 त्रं दिश्यते । इतरथा मनुष्यमानविपरीतप्रतिषेधे नित्यमः स्यात्तन्नि किंचि- नित्यमविषका-
 नावा दत्तं त्रिविधं देवैर्निश्चयः यथा गती श्रीः सन्नप्राध्वयं ऊरुते तदेतदाधाना दनं त-
 रं नित्यधारणं । यदा चोधानो चरकात्ने गतश्री च जायते । तदा तदद्दं रेणं मायं होमार्थं उद्धेतो-
 ज्जिनित्यध्वये तसर्वकर्मार्थं नित्याय ध्यासो मा धानसो मार्यमाहु त्वञ्ज मयः सर्वकर्म-
 थो सं त एव जवंति । नान्यदा धानं सर्वकर्मणामिन्द्रियं क्रियेतो यदपुनश्चैव लवास्तदभाः
 पुरा त्तत्कर्मधीनं चातन्ना ग्यानां राजन्य वैश्ययोः श्रीमंणी चादिगुणो दीयते । ब्राह्मणस्या-
 पियदि वा तन्मो न्मा दादिना श्रीतं विज्ञानं छिन्नं स्यात्स्या तदानित्यो ह्यारप ह्यमाश्रये
 त् । निमित्तानावावने मिति कस्याश्च नावा त्ना ग्यो दये यदिसु न त्रिमिणी चादि स्यात् ८९

दोषजातं निमित्तमिति पुनरित्यधृतं चेत्समाश्रयेत् एतदधिका रक्षारकं कर्तृद्वारकं वं
 रूपधर्मतया प्रतिकामादिरणं नित्यधृतं च विधीयते तस्मात्सुतवतां प्रतिकामादि
 शोनाधिकारे नित्ये धारयेत् यस्तु नित्यधारणपक्षोऽङ्गीकृत्य वसरेऽतस्तीनच मात्मने
 मन्यता विस्मयिष्ये सदा विवादपंडितं मन्यः ॥ आचिज्जीन बहुविउद्धरणं वेलायां नौकष
 सुहृदति समिध्याचारवादासघातको घृल्लोचप्रवृत्तचा। न तत्तुतं बहुविउद्धरणदि
 त्रमाणं ॥ ७ ॥ मददाहवनीयमदत्तप्रहुरसिवं हृधनं आहवनीये गार्दपत्ते वायत्रकृत्य तेना
 समिदनिदोतवा इत्यादिभूते। स्तस्मान्महा इत्यग्निदोत्रस्या इत्यत्राग्निदोत्रग्रहणमथ
 सांक्रमति येपिमदस्याधानस्यष्टचा तद्वा ना मास्यसंपत्तये इति प्रम्यादधातीति धनं ददा
 तीत्यर्थः। प्रदोषमग्निदोत्रा प्रादाषमित्यद्ययीचा वौचित्क्येति षतु उप्रच नी निच

तित्वा। ब्रह्म ब्रह्मै प्रदोषेऽग्नि होत्र मिति सप्तमी श्रूयतो प्रवर्त्तति दोषोऽस्मिन् काले स प्रदो
 षं काले। वशी घन रुत्राणि दृष्ट्वाग्नि होत्रं होतव्यमिति श्रुत्ये कवाक्यं वा तत्रा तं ग्रहणे
 न्यत्राग्नि प्रकरणे सायमिति गम्यते प्रातर्मध्यं दिन सायमित्यपराह्ने सोयं शब्दः साया
 क्र इति च। सायमोदनः सायमग्नीत्यादौ पूर्व रात्रि वं सार्यं शं क्रियते सायमग्नि होत्रे
 प्रदोष मेवं होतव्यं। न कत्राणि दृष्ट्वा अन्नं तस्मै वहते तद्यै इत्यर्थः। दृष्ट्वा यथा प्रातः स्रप
 र रात्रे पूर्वाह्ने च प्रातः शब्द प्रयोग दर्शनात् दृष्ट्वा त्रदणं नित्यमार्थं दृष्ट्वा यामे वप्रा
 त्तरग्नि होत्रं होतव्यमिति। दृष्ट्वा यारात्रा मुखा काल इत्यर्थः। अग्नेऽनुधत्वे त्याह। आ
 दवनी योपरि आहवनीयं परित इत्यर्थः। माहिंसमलियतीत्यर्थः। एवं गार्दप त्वं व
 क्षिणाग्निं च। परितः समाग्नेऽद्रिष्ठव्यः। रुतस त्याज्यो चाप्ययुक्तामीति सायं पयुक्तामी

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आहवनीयं गार्हपत्यं दक्षिणाग्निमिति गम्यते प्र ऋतुत्वात् पुरीतिद्या स्यात् उदतिष्मि
नतिद्रवद्रथेण। द्रथीवा तश्चानाशाहुदकं अतिप्रसिद्धः। सोयं ग्रहणं शक्यमकहुं उत्तर
हरेत्रे प्रातर्ग्रहेणास्मायमेवायं मंत्रः स्यात्। एवं तद्युग्निदात्रादन्यत्र हस्ते। पौसे म् ह्नादि
रपि उद्धरणवत् स्यात्। द्यौर्मन्त्रे त्वा। यदि वसंता यज्जातति वसंत यदुपां
न हतं वसंतं तदप्यत्रापियथा स्यादिति। अन्यत्र नुपदा र्थधर्मत्वादन्य स्य धर्मनान्यत्रेणा
कुर्यात्। परकालधर्मावतौ। यदि प्राहृषियजैति ते व तथ। द्विवसंते षिवरुणप्रघासे षपि
द्विरुप स्तरणं प्राहृषिपशु बंध स्यापि सत्तदुपस्तरणमिति तदैव विचार्य मीतत्। सायं प्रा
तः शश्विहकर्मनामधेयचैपिसं गच्छेता यता। स त्य रुताभ्यां चति प्रातः। पयुद्वतीति वदते
आहवनीयमित्यादिवा। अग्नीनुपरि स्तृणा तिननुपरि स्तृणा तीत्येतावत्पुरुक्तैः। अग्नीनामेव

ता

परिस्तरणं प्रकृतं तच्चास्यात् किमन्निग्रहणेन उच्यते । निग्रहणे सति किंचैदाशिकाः
 संदिग्धं अन्निग्रहणं किं धर्मकं परिस्तरणं परिस्तरणं तत्पुर्वमिन्निग्रहणं तैवेति कायं
 ज्ञेहोत्रवक्रकरणत्वं तत्र यन्निग्रहोत्रे सुं धनादिकायं सायं दोहपरिस्तरणे तदंगं वा
 सुगतप्रियाः स्थापनं तत्र यन्निग्रहोत्रे सुं धनादिकायं सायं दोहपरिस्तरणे तदंगं वा
 तत्परिस्तरणमात्रमेवास्मै तत्रैव प्रायणीयादिषु कितदिभुंक्षनाद्यं पिश्यात्वापि टयज्ञो
 मस्तत्रैव प्रायणीयादिषु कितदिभुंक्षनाद्यं पिश्यात्वापि टयज्ञो
 परोपनिमन्निग्रहं संमृद्धीति त्रैषां स्यात् । यस्तु योगविशेषाचारं नानुन्येवाच
 निका निमन्नात् तस्यान्निग्रही तन्निग्रहं संमृद्धीत्कपसत्कसंमात्रे मिवात्रैवाचनिकः प्रा
 नोति स्तरणार्थः । न पात्राणि प्रोक्षोक्षोतिनाज्जन्निग्रहं तन्निग्रहं तन्निग्रहं तन्निग्रहं तन्निग्रहं

ही२

न॥ गितिषाधुयो गविशेकादिषु पुनर्वचने वान्यो निप्रा योनियमो वा सति प्रयोजने जा
 पको वा पुनर्वदिः स्यात् तन्निश्चित्य विहृतिस्तदनुसारेण भुंक्षतपयुक्त एवेति स्थितिः का यो
 ॥ क्वापश्चादाहवनीयस्योदग्रानुदन्तग्रहणादन्यत्रास्तरणे प्रयोजनं वक्तव्यं दन्तैक्य
 ववैक्यादिकारिणिति सिद्धे स्तरणादुत्तरतो गादप्यस्य सस्तरणं कार्यो न नित्यं तत्तदप्य
 सादनसमिधादीनामुपकल्पानां उत्तरतो बसमुपसृजति तथाहो मित्रशरणं कर्तव्यं
 यथोत्तरत उपचारो गोददने विहाये विष्णुतिष्ठनरुह रत उक्तं सोका यदि प्रयोज
 ने नान्यत्राग्निशालासाम्नादिति प्राञ्जु रवीगादौ गृध्रमुपसीदत्तं पविशति श्र
 यत्ति त्पां दोदयत्पान्यं स्रज्जुददज्जु रवीवा मन्मथेदारुमये वात्रैव सिकेन दोदयति
 स्वयंदौष्ट्ये च शस्त्रोत्तरानूजदज्जु रवीवेति पक्षोत्तरं अपोटागादप्यत्पादने रूदीवउ

क्षीयानं गानवस्तु जितित्यव न स्था । अत्रि नैऋतपो ह्यापसा यमा गे । इडा ह्यास्पदे
 ऋधिराय तं गाराणु प रि स्थापयति । या वादव गो क्षीरं वस्सा र्धमि व शेष यि वा दुग्ध
 तत्परिमाणं मे व श्र पयित्वा । नान्य दर्थमु छ र यित्वा । ततो न्यूनस्य लु क क्तीतम
 पि द्वा वि शष्ट वा च्यतां नाप द्येत । पूर्वस्या कुता यो स्कं द ऋन्यां दुग्धे निवचनात् । पुनर
 यत्तिया उन्नयन मिष्टं पूर्वोन्नीते न्यूनो ह्यतस्य ऋह विष्टं मन्यु मां नैम एत स्मादेव नि
 गात् । य वदने ऋति भूते नष्टे दुष्टे वो ह विषि पु नरु त्पादनां कृति न लु पु न रा यतना न्
 न स्याद् । विष्टा वदुष्टे वेति मर्वग्रह णा न र्थक्यं स्या नैषी । उन्नव स्ते स्य वेहे तः अप्य मा
 णप यो न्नर्गता ऋप ऋवेहे तं । उन्नव स्ते विष्टा वदवनात्तासां बोद्धवमम । त्रि संतापे
 नो ह्य लना व स्थाया माधिक्य माशा स्य तो ऋष्टा धिक्य म न्य उन्नव स्ते ति उद दं प्रज या

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पञ्चजिन्मियाप्रमित्येकवाक्यच्चात्तयथायूयंश्रयमाणेपयसिउद्भवितै।एवमहंप्रज
यापञ्चमिन्मियासं।दृष्टेनेवमप्येनापमानेनादृष्टेनेत्पतौदद्याज्जयोरधिश्रयाणंनञवेति
इप्रमितायनसंबंधमंत्राभावात्॥छ।उदंप्रजयाचजल्लुकेनईषदग्नेकाश्वेनतापयत्
चदीपतीत्यष्टी।दरस्तोउदक्खिंदुनोदस्तौकेनाससुदंतंउहृतवंप्रतिनयतिवारयतिमि
श्रुज्यो।पुनरवदीपयतिउल्लुकेनामितापयति।पुनःशब्दादंतस्मिंतंरक्षोऽतच्छणेनाच्छणे
नोल्लुकेनत्रीनवारानुपदिस्वतींजिंकरोतिपयज्जिवेतिनपुंसकं।चेत्पाठे।बहुव्रीहि
रापयोमिधियते।उदेदिवेदिंप्रजउदनुदीचीनमुहासयति।उत्तारयति।वर्षपंथानंऊव
नूविदधत्।एवंचसंकयउहासयति।उत्तारयति।वर्षपंथानंऊवन्नुविदधत्।एवंचमं
येउहासहृत्मीनिदृष्टै।प्रत्युत्तंउत्तं।ऋगानुप्रत्युदतिगादपत्तंम्रतिगमयति।वर्ष
मलोपयति।नोपनसमूहंनंचकोरोनर्थकं॥यद्वाप्रतिशब्दानुकषणार्थश्चिकाज्ञ

रुतश्च त्रतिक्कललोपयेद्वह्निर्गणानिष्टमित्यर्थी। उदमुदमुदनात उदन्निष्टं हित त्रते। दम्भा
मुद्रातिपयसायवाग्वाज्येन वा जुहोतीति प्रत्येकं पयसैत्पादिभिः संबध्यते। वाशष्टम्भा
दम्भा वा जुहोति पयं म्भा वा जुहोतीत्येवं केन संबन्धि च नैदं सूत्रमभिहितं च गो दोह
नात् सूवीमव वक्तव्यं स्यात् क्रमात् तस्यापयसैति किमर्थं प्रकृतं मे वपयुः। प्राप्नु
स्वीमुपसीदनीयतः। तस्यापि पयसैः पूर्ववत् कृत्यं प्रकृतं तत्त्वादेवा किमर्थं दधौ। तत्र वमु
क्तं। उच्यते। अथैष्य एणदिभ्यं बंधेन तत्प्रतिषेधांर्थमिहानिधानं। पयोन द एणो वे
दनादिधर्मवित्नापि पयस्याहो तद्यं तस्याभिधानं च। यत्पयोन स्यादिति रूपाय
स्यादिति स्यात्। तस्याभ्यतिस्तुतिस्तत्र लिङं होमाय पुनरवनीयपयोन दधौ। तत्पय
॥ ७ ॥ अन्त्यानिहृत्येति वाक्यं। तस्य त्वात् अथ त्वतरविधानार्थी। जुवादा। दधित्प्रदण
पूर्वक्षितं। जुज्यविकल्पार्थं। दध्यादिभिः पयस्याः इतरस्यापयस्यैः। संनवेदध्यादयो वि

विज्ञायेरन्नायत्पयोन स्या के ननु कुयादित्येवमादि। विकल्प सरूपाग्नि दोत्र प्रशं साक्षा
का शो दे सत्पवचनादधिगंतव्यां ऋजं वा विशेषात्। माद्विषस्या शिष्टमक्षयैः पितृविष्टनेव
तोऽस्मिन्पुष्टतमाकुरपायदक्षिणा ग्रावो ज्योतिर्विनायित्यात्राक्तमेव पुत्रस्याज्या यन्नुक्तं
मीति मन्यता यवायुसंडुलौदकसिद्धौ पेयाय वक्षणेदिकसिद्धावाऽऽप्ययवार्थपरिग्रहे
ऽपि प्रसिद्धे रन्नावातेऽच्छादध्याज्ययोरधिप्रयणं प्राप्नोति पर्याजिकरणवत्। तन्निषिद्धा
यं निर्देशाद्यवतिष्ठे रन्निर्तिनिर्दिष्टातिदध्याज्ययोरिति ऋजितापनग्रदणै पर्याजिकर
णाभ्यनुज्ञानार्थं उद्भवैश्छेत्तवैक्षेत्तमंत्रणसन्निपत्त्योपकारकेणास्मितापनमंत्रस्यैक
वाक्यत्वादा राहुपकारकमयन्नितापनं नन्नविष्यति। किमन्नितापनप्रतिबोधेन उच्यते
निष्कृज्योतिरसीतियदन्नितापनं तस्यार्थं प्रतिषेधो वाचनिकः। ननु ऋग्वदीपनमदृष्टा
र्थं तत्पर्याजिकरणवत् उच्यते। पुनरवदीपयतिष्ठुनः शुद्धादन्नितापनमेव तदिदं तिद्यास्यातं।

तत्र दधाद्यो रिति नियमांशं तेन तिल तंडुल सोम मीमादी निदधादि निर्विकल्प्यते
 अत्र आदि क्त्वा तत्तुल्यं शक्तौ प्रति निक्षिपति अत्र त्रैलोक्यं प्रति निधिरिति समा
 नांशः। यदि नर्वन विद्यति तत्र के माश्च। क मपि दोषं धत्तु तंडुलादीनां शुण्णधिकार चोक्त
 अन्य बलत्वे कारणं। आ यश्चि तैपिक मपि दोषं धाद श्यात्। पशुकामो मावा स्या मिष्ट
 सर्वा नि सन्वत्सानपाकरोतीति किमु तशुण्णं तंडुलादि प्रति निधीनामिति। तथा चोप
 सं हंतां सर्वा ज्ञा वे सत्वं सत्त्वे तु दोषातिपयो दधा दीनां पशुकामादि एक एव हो मे न्मु ख्य
 द्रष्टेणु उन्नय विधि स्योक्त। मवं च तंडुलेषु सस्य यदिय वायु रूपेण भूयो दया तरेन
 तदा दध्ना वा तंडुले स्यात्। यथा गवि विद्यमाना यामपि स्युदिय चरया दध्ना ज्येन वा
 शीघ्रं सुकुं यान्न च येनैव सायं कुतं द्रष्टेण तनेव प्रातर्हतिद्यमिति सूत्रमस्ति। नापि परि
 यवाप्ते तांशमिति रात्रिग्रहणमक्रोतिकं लिंगं। एतामिति स्त्री लिंगेनोपवस्य कालस्य

परमशीत। रात्रिमिति तस्यैव विशेषानुवादो वा कप्ररुणानैकांततः प्रातरपियवा
गंस्तु च धिउं चामा। न च यवाश्च विधानं परं तथा च श्रुतिः। नितो रात्रीपयसा त्रिदोत्रे
जुद्धाति क्रमानाश्च पयो न लज्जत यथा न्यस्य देवतायि च स मन्वस्ये दीयते तादृक्। तस्मा
तयवा च त्रिदोत्रं जुद्धोतीति च ततो यवाश्च दृणमुपलक्षणां दध्यादीनां। पिडनाशदो
त्रेषु न रज्जिदोत्रं स्यात्। तच्चानिष्टं प्रयोजकानां वा तपि उ स्यात्तस्मात्तैर्ह लानि स्तुल्य
प्रमाणं विशिष्टं तद्भुतं प्रथमकल्पे सति तदुक्तं। प्रथमकल्पस्य योनिकल्पे न वं त्रै
तो। न मां पशयि कं तस्य दुः। मिति विद्यते फलमिति सोमै न यद्विद्धुं याधौ किं मन्निषवैक
यनिधि श्रयेत् सोमं तथा दृष्ट्वा। मां यंतु यवाश्च वदधि श्रयितव्यं। न तु ज्वालयां पशुर
वचनात्। वसमानेन त इत्थं पश्य प्रनिमात्रमुपस्थानकाली नत्वा तु नृन् न दितस्मि न नौ

माः संपचंतियस्मिन्नाहुतीर्लुक्कतीरितितकष्टं गार्दप्येधिस्रयेदुच्यतेऽर्थवादेशां
 नदितस्मिन्नाग्नेमांसं संपचतीतिवर्त्तमानापदेशादुपसंहारवाक्यवाच्याविधिवाक्योदक्लिण्णो
 व्रकरणान्मांसपाकप्रतिषाधा। माः संतुनपत्विस्तस्मिन्नत्रावितियद्विपनीसंवस्पर
 दीक्षादिव्याधीयततदानात्सयूपचित्किंसापदैदद्विणात्रौश्रपणेऽस्त्रानापत्याधमनि
 भातश्राक्षेप्राप्तिपूर्वत्वात्त्रातिषधानां मासं तु न पत्विस्तस्मिन्नत्रावितिन्यायवि
 दः। श्रीवराहस्तु एतस्मादवेमांसपाकनिषेधाद्द्विणात्रौपाकयज्ञानादस्माद्विषणं
 पित्रुपावतिप्राप्तमांसस्यैवनिषेधादन्यथा। कास्त्रीतिगम्यते। यजमानचिकित्सायंत्रिमां
 संश्रपयितव्यामवाग्निदोत्रार्थमांसवत्। आदवनीयवपावच्चोपिचाषष्ठप्रपण्णावात्
 वनीयएवातव्योनित्वादुच्यते। तथाच श्रुतिरुपयजांलाम। स्वयेवै सर्वः पशुयेदन्यत्र।

दृवनीया तदुक्तं या तु कुयाद स्वग्रस्य तपःप्रपणादग्निमादयति तेन स्वग्रः सवी पशु
 रिति आदवनीये एवोपयजो ह्येतं स्वग्रं चोपयपशोरित्यर्थः। निष्टं पठेदन्नेष्टं निष्टं निष्टं पति
 मनोत्तापयतीत्यर्थः स्मृक् स्मृवमिति समुदितस्य निष्टपनं समाहारनिष्टं शातु स्मृवे समि
 धं उपसंयम्य ऋक् उपसंस्मिषितां संस्तु स मिधं नृत्नैष्यामीत्फ कुचोन्नयामिति प्रातः उक्तं
 चोत्तममत्र यजमानमित्यर्थः उक्तं स्मृक्वात्र दणं स्वययं दोमं पक्षेपि मंत्रं स्यादुद्धरादवनीये
 मिति वत् नृदिष्टाए कैकेन मंत्रेणोत्तं तेन यत्प्राग्निदोत्र दवणा मुपरिष्टादवतीत्य
 यः उक्तं नृमुत्तरं पूर्वस्माद्वा सं बद्धं तं रं उन्नयतीति संबंधः। पूर्वमुत्तमं अर्पणे पि सवमि
 दयान् यस्त्वं स्या तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं क्षिप्रं दणं नृयां समिति स्मृच विशेषणं धारकं लिङ्गं। नृयश्री
 दियुक्तं क्रियाविशेषणं चेतनं। सवन्विसमानुन्नयतीति वत्तित। मुद्विङ्गं पूर्ववत् तददादवान्
 अन्निमशती स्पृशतीत्यर्थः। इदमुक्तं मदेति शेषः। यतौ धन्नी तं अन्निमशतीति पशुमेयकं

त्रियदं ब्रह्म सादयति उत्तरतागादपि तस्य संस्तीर्णत्वं । सामर्थात् तत्रैवोनीतं तत्रैव वसा-
 येत् प्राक्तनं दानं पितृणां । प्रतेरवैति श्रुतेः । दशहोत्राग्निहोत्रं चित्तिस्क्रान्तिदशहोत्रे
 त्वेव द्यति तेन प्राक्तनं सादितं अग्निहोत्रादग्निहोत्राद्यमुनीते द्रव्या उपरिष्ठावस्त्वगदंड-
 समिधमुपसयमोर्वेति रिकं वीहीति समया उपरिष्ठादित्यादीति कर्तव्यतया द्रव्यं संस्क्रि-
 यतो समया सामीयेनाग्निगादपि तदुदरतिवदति न केवलं प्रणीतमपि च पवित्रीकरणं । अ-
 न्नोऽसामीयेन दरणं मंत्रयोनिचादन्नयत्तिपवित्रमस्त्रिष्यान्मविततमंतरा ब्रह्मेति तत्तन्मो-
 निवेदयेत्यग्निहोत्रगरीयसीति श्रुतः । स्वादाग्नये वैश्वानरा समयाग्नेः ऋवयवाचनोचि-
 र्गृह्णाति वायवे चैक उद्यच्छति उच्चैर्गृह्णाति । आयुष्मयि छेति पश्चादादवनीयस्य येदमग्नि-
 स्तुतास्तेषु सादयति । एषा ते अग्ने समितः । अथादिदवनीयेऽधो न्यस्यति प्राण्यापात्रे नु
 प्राकोष्ठवायुना सिकाभ्यां निःसार्यः । अनेन उपनस्ते वायुप्रवेशयेत् । आपान्यादितच्छाद-

संविकरणं निःस्पृहं मीलयेत् स्यैदेव ता यै हो ष्टा न्नवतितां देव तां चिंतयेत् तत्र प्र
 त्यक्षं वा नः सूर्यस्य च मूर्त्यं चैवाद्यस्तुना मां निज न कर्म कुणो मदा मा ग्या तु
 साराम् सूर्यं च रूपं स्मरेत् प्रजापते रप्रत्यक्षं वा नागमादि निरेवावगता तदूरूपं ध्याये
 त् कर्म जन्मान् आप्तमजन्मान् श्रुदेवाऽत्कं शारीरकेभ्यो देवतासंख्यं वा सयं प्राणा
 पानमिमीलेने ध्याने मनः प्रसीदतीत्यदिष्टानि प्राणादिति ह्युत्पलसमिधमभिजुहोति
 श्रोनीकूलं तीवासमिधमभिजुहोति मूलाष्टं गुलेपरिमाणे त्यक्ते यद्युनसमिद निहोत्वाऽ
 त्कं कं तदिधनमभिहोतमस्य निधयं श्रेणीक मद्रपत्रा नावाहिपसतापे नक्षतां समिधं ह
 नंति वा निजुदाति न् सुवेस्वरित्यादिसिद्धं वचैभि यच्छेति दन्नेषु स्मृता उदगग्र स्मृतेषु दन्ने
 शुक्रजापते पशून् यच्छेति गादपि तं आवृत्त्या साम च्यमिति नृग्रीवान् गमात्रेण अ वज्ञा न

निः

नि ५

स्त्वन वा तत्र जापतये स्यादेति मनसोत्तरं न्यसी उत्तरं द्वितीयां न च तत्र रादिकं संबं
 न। इयं देवता यपरेत्पादि श्रुता। न्यसी उत्तरं रादिकं तिर्ययो दोतद्योतिवचनात् स्वादाका
 रमपि मनसा कुर्यादिति कुर्यात् बलिन स्यमंत्रस्य मानसत्वात् प्रजापतये स्वादेति तद्यथा
 श्रुतिः। यत्र ईषी वज्रं दोतिमनसा च तत्र मिथुनमिति शिष्टान्नयिष्ठमना नो समया सामीचे
 नाग्नेत्री न्वा रनुदंड उदङ्मुख उद्दिशति कुतो छिष्टस्त्रक—चिः सनि सज्जति अथ वा उदङ्मुखि
 त्फदं शुखी स्फुटं उद्दिशति कां दसो लिङ्गं विनक्ति यत्तयाः। अथा उदने यथा नयति तयो
 द्दिशति कां दसमुदङ्गि त्फुटं गं अथ वा शिष्टान्नयिष्ठमिति पूर्वमत्रैण सैव धृतो शिष्टा
 न्नयिष्ठमुत्तरं उद्दिशति ननु च दोमोत्र पूर्वं ततश्च न्यसी ऽशिष्टान्नयिष्ठमवशेषयेदिति सूत्रेण
 त्रयितयं स्यात्। नैष दोषान् दद्यावत्तु च्छा पूर्वने कल्पयति न्नयिष्ठं शेषयिष्यामीति त

[illegible]

लेहन्त्र

पविचान्त्रचे। हलिदराणशेषनिनयने। पितस्मानं। प्रकाश्रीतिः। त्रुलीरुपमध्रमा।
आचम्याचम्या। यद्यामध्रपर्कवतः। इतरेस्मनिनीडनिः। प्राषलेहितिः। क्रय्यतु रेवेप्रवेष्ट
यंति। लटीत्फचयते। नउहस्तेनसृष्कस्तस्यैवैमिच्छंति। गंधर्वैराजितलडितिवर्तताः।
निमिष्टायामालिच्योतिनेलेदोतिनिः। शशोहन्त्रनिदिष्टेतिनोपपद्यते। तस्मात्स्क्र
चोपनियनितिल्यातनिः। शशोऽनर्थको वादार्भेः। प्रक्षाल्यत्वात्। स्मृक्काजनमेवकुनिनीय
तो। सन्निधानात्। इतरशोदकंपुनः। पुनरादायनिनयनं स्यात्। नचिवयुक्तैः। दर्शैः। प्रक्षाल्य
दकमासिच्यवत्तिनयेदितितथा। निदिष्टायामपिचत्स्तीग्रहणेनसर्पिषीलिकामंत्र
निबृत्पथेन। लपप्रकाजनमेवावगम्यते। लेपसंसृष्टस्यैर्पिषीलिकसंप्रदेयवास
काशात्। इतरथात्स्तीग्रहणमनर्थकं स्यात्। न्निःसारयति। संबधोर्मंत्रस्यनिनयनेका

सं२

पदि

प्राप्तिशेषं तशतकर्मप्राप्तिः शङ्कतशतकर्मोतिरेमं त्रातशान्ना नैतस्मीमेव स्यात्तुल्यः। इति म
 उदीचीदिजनिष्ठनिनयेनेनवतिप्राणममृतेत्रापदद्यत्सौसेनामंत्रज्ञदायंविचनंऽप्यन्निदोत्रा
 दवर्णीप्रतप्रातनिष्ठपतीत्यथीदृतरथादस्येताविपय्योवावातेदाहसंवाप्रतथाउतयत्तुल्यो
 यंमोदीचीपदं। स्मवेणापरयोः। क्रवअदृगमन्निदोत्रदवर्णीनिष्टत्यथंइतिकर्तव्यतां दोमस्यादो
 अमेगृह्यतशतस्क्रवाहं प्रित्यस्मिन् प्रविनागेर्दृशेष्टुः समप्रविनागेदि। अर्धस्क्रवमिति स्म
 त्। तथाचाह। स्वाहेतिशेषमिति। इतरथा स्वाहेति द्वितीयमिति स्यादवमित्यनुवृत्तेः। न
 मतेऽनन्नास्क्रवाहं अदृगं दक्षिणा नौ दो मध्यशां स्वांतरादुपहतौ। अहोमोवापर्योरिति तुल्यो
 विकल्पः। अथस्वायत्तत्वा अग्निदोत्रशेषेनेष्टुष्टेन प्ररणा तादर्थ्येनेदुष्टा तायावावा
 दिवानपुनः संसृज्यदिति। अथ वस्मिन् तविकल्पः। याप्रथमाग्निदोत्रायदुष्टा त्सोदक्षिणा
 प्रथमाग्निदोत्रे गोदोदनमष्ट्रिययोवानियम्यते। उजि।

परिक्रयार्थचिन्तनप्राप्तचादिदवचनित्यमेवाग्निहोत्रेऽप्राप्तिर्नवतिद्विरण्णादिदक्षिणापरकन
कादासयद्रायावतिः अग्निहोत्राशेषस्य दक्षिणाश्रितासप्रथमाग्निहोत्रेऽलिंगयति ननु प्र
थमाग्निहोत्रया दुस्य त्सा दक्षिणेऽभयनियामवाक्यमेव स्यात्। णर्बहे च चास्त्रे बा र्थ
दोषः। यद्वा यं। प्रथमायाग्निहोत्रा यदुस्य दिति पादिकोऽनुवादः। अतएव पयो वेति नि
दर्शनं दध्यादः। राजन्यस्याग्निहोत्रैर्धामुके स्यानेत्य राजन्यस्य राजस्यैवं द्विः अजिहोत्रं प्र
त्यं होतव्यं रुचिजा। स ननु स धामुका। धर्मशीलबलिकर शुल्कप्रतिभोगदं डजीवी यो न ज
वतीत्यर्थः। पर्वी स्थितरस्य। इतरस्य बलिकर शुल्कप्रतिभोगदं डजीवी न वतीत्यर्थः। राज
न्यस्य संबं धाग्निहोत्रं यवसुहोतव्यं रुचिजा। एवं पौर्णमास्य मावां स्याच्चेद्यतोऽनक्तं च नित्यं ए
वाग्निहोत्रं ब्राह्मणाय नित्यं बल्यदितीवी राजा दद्यात्तथा मुक्तो निव दद्यात्। नित्यं होमस्य
स्थाने न के दद्यात्।

स्य विधानात् अणं राजन्यस्य विधानात् अणं राजन्यस्य विधानात् कर्त्तरि वेति षष्ठी राजन्येति
 वा मुक्केण नित्यं होतव्यं मन्त्रिहोत्रं पर्वणी तरेणान्यदा रुचिता एवं ब्राह्मणस्यैव होतव्यमिति क
 र्त्तरि षष्ठी ब्राह्मणैव यजमानेन होतव्यं मन्त्रिहोत्रं इत्यादिवा एष यज्ञा ऊन्य इत्यादिवा
 स्मरणमत्र ननु विश्वस्य कथं धामुं करजन्यस्य च द्रष्टव्यं तस्य दृष्टिर्जा विधातुं धामुं क
 द्दणं म तं त्रं राजन्यस्येति च तस्य ब्राह्मणस्यापि वस्ति रवृत्तिर्जा विधातुं तस्य पूर्वस्व
 ति द्रष्टव्यं धामुं कस्यैव ब्राह्मणस्य नित्यं तस्या चोर्लिंगं स तं च सत्यं मन्त्रिहोत्रं ब्राह्मणस्य
 स तं सत्यं तस्मात् ब्राह्मणस्यैव होतव्यमिति ब्राह्मणस्य तु एविशेषा मन्त्रेण नित्यं होतव्यमिति
 धीयते तस्या ब्राह्मणवत्तयो राजन्यो वर्त्तन्ति तस्य नित्यं होतव्यं मन्त्रिहोत्रं मन्त्राश्च
 एव अथो यरु तमिव सत्यमिव चरेत्तस्य होतव्यमिति मन्त्रे तस्य ब्राह्मणस्य तद्विधानात्
 = मधिकार एव नास्ति

बाह्य ए नो दिप्राति त्पा त्पा य र धर्मे गो जीव नूदि स द्यः प त ति ज्ञा तित इ ति व च ना त त दु क्तं। औ र
 द का न्वा णि का नू त या का स्त्वे शी ल वा नू प्रे ष्या न्वा हृ षि कां श्चै व वि प्रा नू श्च द्र व दा च रे दि
 ति अथ न्नि रा त्र पं च रा त्रा दि प द्दे हो मो वा च क थ ना य दि वा ना तु र स्य ऋ त्रि जा हो त द्या क्रो णि
 त स्य च वि ह वि दार प्र व स तश्च। अथ स मा रो य स मा रो यान्निं प्र व से त त्रा पि द श पि स
 मा स यो र्ग षं त स्या यं प्रा त र न्नि हो त्र म। नि मं थ नं न वा र्थि ता त दु क्तं। ए व मे वा द र द र
 न मे ष्य न्ने स मा रो य य त्फ पा व रो दे ति च का व के वा फ क्तं। वा मे ल द्द ए ण द्र द्र त्पे ति। ए व
 रा दी प्र व स तः प द्दे हो मे स्ति य स्यो भ य म स न वि ट् दे हो त त्त्र हो त्र स्य प णि वा हः क्रि या
 न तः प्र व स तो य स्य कु ल्वा सं स्था य स ङ्ग जे। त स्या नि हो म वे ला यां प ची ति व गृ हो स्ति वा
 प द्दे हो म स मा रा णो गृ दे वा य दि वा ध्वा नि। क रो ति मे ल्पे बौ ढो ह्यो यु ज्य ते वी र द्द त्प या। स

दृढबलीव

ये प्रातश्च धिष्ण्येष्टु प्रत्यक्षा यस्थनाग्रयः। यदि च प्रितल्लिगे न जाष्ये तस्मज्ज तग्वाः स्म
मेकाशेषात्फक्कात्पुनराधयमुक्तवान्। अषिचाण्डग्रदेषु पक्षाद्दामस्य पविच्योत्प्रतिनि
धिच्चाप्रतिनिधिश्चानित्याद्दामसाधनोपचारेण भवति ततश्च यथेतरस्य ब्राह्मणयज्ञ
कृदानेन प्रवर्तितरालाद्दामसंपत्तिः। एवं होमसाधनापचारभक्तदाननटुतेन विषयतिष्ठ
यो ब्राह्मणयैवास्यागताष्टदंष्ट्रादरेयुस्मक्षुते मेवास्याग्निदोत्रं प्रवर्तीति श्रुते॥७॥ द
शावरायात्रीरुषिचासदधनः। अथास्यन्नाधान्यचमोष्यन्वाच्यद्वृक्षत्फपयोगीयद्र
व्यंगुतस्तत्तृष्टदीवाप्रवमेतत्प्रव्रजेत्। आपादुत्पान्य दनुपयोगितत्पक्वैर्त्पथ्यः। स
ब्रह्मिबिबुदुचोनुवादः। पादिकानावश्यबदकोनचैकः संभवति प्रातरग्निदोत्राद्दृष्ट
सत्यादवती औत्राणीयेतनिगद्येति पवित्रादुक्तिः। अनादशः अज्येन जुहोति। प्रास्वा

अस्य यजमाने स्यां पक्का ब्राह्मण यदा तद्यः।

एतस्मै क ई। कंचै तत्। प्रयास्यन्निति विशेषेणा। दशयदृणाञ्च योवो बिलोयदिप्रतिव्या
 तिनतदुल्लसतीति यदं न्यं तं तान ऋष्टावरा संस्था। तदपि दश संस्था तद्यन्त्रा हि वासाः
 स्यन्ति मित्रे धनार्थियाः -- वरानि मित्रे मित्यवरा अदृणा संस्था विशेषेणार्थं तिनयको नो बि
 बा प्रयास्यन्तु। दाति। सहधन इति यदि सपरिच्छदः याति तदा दुहुया। न्नुपंच स्वाः शरीर
 मात्रेण गवा तददरा गच्छति हि गीदनी वा। जूता इति द्वितीया मेतु वादः॥ सहधनस्यैत्रया स्य तज
 विधाने। इदानीं व्यालिनस्योच्यते प्रवस्यते। नार्यया प्रकृष्टे दाशयदावसेत प्रयोजनवशात्
 इदावा नार्यया सह तदा प्रयास्यं समा रोश्या नीन प्रवसति। अरणि अदृणं नियमार्थं मित्र
 निधानेन समा रोच्यमि त रद्वयदावारणी रग्निनिः समा रोयिताः यदि गत श्रीः सवन्निस्वी निति
 सार्वप्राधारण कान्निप्राया बुद्धवचनं च नोपपद्यते। स्मादपहृते कस्मिन्निगादपेत्प्रविति। एण

= निक्षिप्त्वा निक्षिप्त्वा २

आगमो वैदः ३

निक्षिप्तेन च त्रिष्वननेऽपि प्रवक्ष्यामि न ह्येकपात्रां समाशेषं तेषां वरं ण्योऽतिवचनमास्ति
यातः प्रपन्नं यद्विद्यासंक्रियं वदाम्यहं तदादादीन् संक्रियं दातव्यं यः
प्रवक्ष्यं समाशेषयतीति वाक्यशेषः ॥ आत्मनि वा समाशेषयति वाशब्दः आगमनम् च न
यः ॥ ननु विकल्पार्थः पात्रदाहान् दिपात्राणि प्रविष्टा द्यपुनः पात्रादरं एभुक्तं । तस्मादस्य
यस्य पात्रिगतस्यैवायं विधिः पात्रिकौ द्रष्टव्यः ॥ अतः तस्य शरीरेण स देपात्राणां दाहः ॥ अतो
जीवतां धिसमाशेषात्संस्थानमीनं च ज्ञानेनोपचारं गदजवनीं क्रतुर्नैरोधः ॥ सम
यस्यार्थवशायावदनीतावदग्निहोत्रं नियोगउक्तं । तदुक्तं । यदो वै जीयते यदा त्तिमाकु
तप्याग्निहोत्रं संतिष्ठत इति जीयते वसादीयते आत्तिद्याधिदध्वाज्यादौ रथमावादाश
मावाश्च नोप्यया मग्निदात्रं दग्धा ॥ आत्मनेवाग्नयः समाशेषोऽपि तास्फरक्षिद्विवाएषत्र
त्माना यज्ज्ञायाजायत क्रतः ॥ अस्मत्तिष्ठयत त्वहं शरीरस्य यस्य नाम पातति दिति ज्ञायया

सद्धर्माच्चरितस्य। इतिवचनात्पद्यतेयस्यानित्यं जायत इति प्रवक्ष्यन् हलत उपतिष्ठते।
 वक्ष्यन्नुच्यते यस्य गृह्यदन्त्यत्रात्रिवक्ष्यतिसदयामेन प्रयासस्तस्मिन् नृदनिहोमकालो
 अगमिष्यति। इतरथादिदेवस्योवापस्वानंतेचाप्रवसति। हन्यादोतावत ह त उपस्था
 नः स्यात्। अदिर्बुद्धत्वादिनिनिगदसिद्धा नितिष्ठन्नुजपतीति प्रनियमस्यात्तिष्ठतो वोप
 विष्टस्य च विनिवृत्तिस्तत्र अदृष्टां स्ति। पूर्वणो ग्रायणं कुर्वत व सं ते यवानां शर
 त्रीहीणं शरदिव सं ते पर्वणि अत्रायणं कर्तव्यं यवैर्वसं तो। ब्रीहिभिः शरद्विषवी विशेषणः
 तृशिष्टं पर्ववाक्या र्थं विदितमवचति यद्विपुमः पर्वणात्रायणं कुर्वीतेति वाक्यं तदा
 संतयवानां शरदित्रीहीणमिति नियमार्थं स्यात्। शशिष्टं पर्वत्र दृष्टं परि संस्थाना
 र्थं पूर्वपक्षादः। अत्रापकस्येष्टानवस्याश्रीयां नैदं द्रव्यां तरं। उतपत्तिशिष्टानां श्रीस्याद

नांयुणोऽत्रपाकस्येति एकवचनं श्यात्यादिविवक्षया तवस्याश्रीयादिति श्रुतिः क्रमेण
हतीवक्ष्यति नवाशनमिति तस्य द्युक्तं ध्यं कालात्तेजति क्रमान्नवाशनैवातिपत्तौ संके
तस्य सिद्धिमानिर्वपणदुपवमथाहारम्यनउक्ष्मेचिंद्रमसीत्यादौ सतावमात्रे स्यात्
देनउसर्वेपवसथस्ययावस्यत्तं तावत्कत्रिंशतिदेशतदिति ॥ ७ ॥ अत्रेद्रान्निर्वपति
चैस्त्रदैवानघावापृष्टिवीयाशरदिसोमायश्यामाकानामन्यस्योपाश्र्यांऽन्यस्मिन्
श्रद्धिअयणोऽवसरेदवतानां द्विविशेषैः संबंधावगतोऽदृष्टवतासंबंधोऽत्र इति श्र
न्यापान्नीविधातुं अन्यशृष्टसमानजातीयापेक्षौद्रपृथः अन्यं पशुमालजते ततएव मन्य
स्योऽस्त्रप्यस्थियां पात्र्यातदसत्सु र्पद्वयं स्यात् तदृष्टं तच्च स्यात् वचनात् न वा तच्चेतएके
नेवउषफलीकरणविभोक्तसिद्धिर्नियमादृष्टाथत्वात् क्षुप्तेल्लिखलोदेः तस्माद्देदमात्राव

वशद्वेयद्याकाष्टमुपलमन्यततहत्सुपपात्रीऽन्यथायात्रीऽसाभ्येनान्यस्मेतिहास्मकी
 णुनानिपात्रीणीतिवतश्चविसुतनामन्यस्पामितिप्रवर्तुल्यमस्यान्निनिर्वीपस्यप्रत्यासन्नत
 तदसत्तएकवचनप्रपणतपात्र्यामिति। तत्तदेविशेषणमविवक्षितं एतेनोक्तैपरिधिप्रज्यादिभि
 तत्रतर्हि यूपकिमतीत्यादिकोवाक्त्तन्निविबिधास्फुटेशः। उपानस्यवानपात्रस्यचग्रहणं स
 माष्टिंत्फपालस्यऽग्नीनादधीतऽन्यत्रवातस्यऽत्रोपातं चैद्विष्यत इति च का २५२ वि
 धेयद्विषयोस्फुटेशः। इत्थञ्चोतेनापात्रपातं चोद्विष्यदेचरतः। अमाणांतरस्मिद्धविशेषण
 उपाध्यमविवक्षितं विशेषणं नवति यत्पुनरविज्ञातविशेषणचोद्विष्टं तद्विधेयवक्तृति
 एववशिष्टमवगंतव्यं। तस्मात्तूत्रीदिलिप्तांस्त्रचंनिर्ज्या न्यस्याणान्निधायनिर्वत्यतशा २०९
 माकानितिपात्र्याः। यदासंनिहृष्टयाऽन्निमश्रुनिं हृदाऽखंति ततश्चां वर्यदृष्टास्व इतिवाइ

नृपात्रियदणसामर्थ्यति। न्यायदन्यथादन्यपात्र्याः प्रयोगसंसादनाद्यथामन्यग्रदण
 ॥ छान्नाबीजानां धर्मः विधास्यामः ब्रीदिएष्यामाकां नानाबीज धर्म इदं वक्ष्यति। सामेष्टपिना
 नाबीजसुप्रतिज्ञायते। वषट्कारप्रदानानां चिककपालानां। एककपालधर्मे त्रिवत्स्यातमे
 प्याननामेष्टकपालेष्टतिदाशदया प्रतिज्ञायतवषट्कारप्रदानानाग्रदणं वृष्टवृष्टदं
 किमर्थं प्रतिज्ञासूत्रद्वयेनातिदशेनेतेनामिक्कासर्वत्रद्याख्याते तियन्नानाबीजैककपा
 लधर्माद्याख्यादतिविचि- यमित्यदोषः। दृष्टगन्तिमर्शनिनाबीजानां शक्यमनर्शक
 मिदं कर्तुं नानापात्रस्त्रिवातदृष्टगजेकोन्तिमर्शनिं नवति। एवं तर्दियूपपदन्तिमर्शनिं मान्तर
 नानाबीजग्रदणदन्यत्रयुगपदद्यावृष्टे। ततेति छल्लु। नानावदन्तिमृशे तशेषपुनर्मन्त्रिण
 द्याख्यातं प्राचयेत्येवौ युगपसंनवेयुगपदमन्त्रवने। तैः ऊहो। मकमन्नापायुमस्य

मादिषीशात्रात्यवयो एषामदोवे त्पादिबीजग्रहणानाबीजेषु दबिष्कु
 पुगपन्मुखेषु दोविः लतमाह्वयति ननु वाकानं प्रलतलक्तं । त्रिलेव हंतीत्यवघाते विनि
 योगान्मंत्रे स्थैव तर्हि दोविः लवदीति त्रितैव सूत्रा क्रयतीति सूत्रं विनियोजकं पठितं च । इष
 वाज्पायसाच - स्य नात्तरीयकत्वे नाले गिकं विनियोगिकं भवेत्सूत्रं वाक्यज्ज्ञादायमन्य
 ते यथा धार्यवैश्वंशना धीन्यष्टमसि ब्रह्मनपः अस्मा कोसीत्यादेवा ग्विसग्रंजिपः परिक्र
 तप्रवशादौ विनियोगः - यथा संख्यग्रहणे पिशाचिक बाधत्वां तरीयकचैनमि
 हिस्तस्मादविष्यन्त दोतिय धिर्गादाह्वानं नदृष्टार्थंति स्यमु स्थेषु लततौ न्नजमन्य
 शुपुनः प्रक्रिया कुतस्य पुनराधानपिष्टाप्यषण्डिनिवाएतदेवज्ञापयति प्रयोगविधिः स
 स्कार्यद्वारः । अनेच संस्कार्याणि निबानित दारक संस्कारे विधेः । एकैकं संस्कार्योक्ति

लघ्वर्ग्यं चार्शं ॥ त्रिभाषणं पुनर्द्वितीयपुरोडाशार्थं क्रोक्तत्वात् पात्रसंसादनवत् ननु चात्रापि
संस्काराणां त्रीदृश्यामाकादीनि निजिना नितेषामस्मिन्घातार्थं भ्रंजो न विष्पति तमपि प्रयो
गविधेः प्रयुक्तं तदुपचारे सते । स तं एव ज्ञातीयकैषु तन्निर्दिष्टं दन्ति एव न दोनवद्यम
ध्वयुः । प्रेषामन्वाह । त्यादिः । आवापनप्रभृति फलीकरणं तमेकै कस्य । उत्तरार्थे तु वादः ।
प्राप्तवान्निष्पन्नानां तं यवानां तु सदा रद्वै न बोधेत स्यात्तु वादः । प्राप्तवान्नरोः खेषणं द
क्षितं चातंदुलानोद्येति । अतएव प्रकृतावपि निश्चयवनातं यवानां भवति वाचनिके विदुः प्र
भृति स्यात्स्थैतु रदादृष्टार्थं निव स्यात्तु लुषप्रवेशानां तं निष्पन्नं फलीकरणानावा
तु कैवल्यनात्पयासरस्वतीति दोमाना बीजेषु यवानामवचनं इत्युक्तं । आयायेना
ना बीजाणां वातप्रतिप्रसवो नान्न स्यात् । सिद्धमोपधानात् आदानात् प्रवृत्तिरक्ष्मा

पंनद्वानिन्गनी

जिनस्येत्पारणेऽप्राज्ञेद्रायद्वादशकपालान्येकं द्यावापृथिवीययोः क्रमपर्यमुत्तरी योऽ
विप्रविशेषप्रतीतिसिद्धमाधिश्रयणदाज्ञेद्रमधिश्रित्यवैश्वदेवं च रुमाधि श्रयति ॥
दमपिक्तमाधंस्वस्त्रवत् च रुधने धि करणे ब कृश्वरुशब्दः यद्दत्तपाका धि करणमणि
च रुर्नष्टमयो न वती निर्वचनात्पवित्रां तर्दि ते पयः प्राणी यत्तदुलानोऽयं गुणं पर्वमात्रं
कृती पलाशमात्रं द्यावापृथिवीयमधिश्रित्य यो म्यं च रुमधिश्रयति पूर्ववदेतानि क्रमाया
निपलाशानिका निचिदृष्टिहानि लभू निचत्त उवृत्य पलाशं त्रिगुणमं गुष्टपर्वण इति पश्यामः
पवित्रां तर्दि तेऽप्यप्राणी यत्तदुलानोऽयं मेरुणे न प्रदक्षिणं च रु अपयति प्रततवाच्चरो च रो
विधानं तर्दि तं दिक् जीवत्तुलमिति नोक्तमिति सद्य निचारान् च खः पाक विशेषणमिति गम्
तोऽत्र न्नपादनात्ततोऽपि विरुतौ जीवत्तुलमिति नास्ति नृत्वे तु वचनात्प्रवति क्रस्मिदनी १०३

पवित्रा २

=॥ ऐकादिकं चातुर्मास्यादौ

वयद्यथन्निवारद्द तथापि विहृतौ न लभ्यते गुक्तं सिद्धमो वा मनान्ना बीजेषु पिष्टलेपनि नयनं
किं पृथग्नुत्तरमंत्रणो विनोक्तप्रसंजवादात्रैधा तद्यादिषु किमपिनोक्तं न वड पृथक् तत्रै एवे
ति मन्यते एक कपालमन्यस्यां पाच्यामले ऊर्वने निष्पृयति न चै नद्यस्यामेव न विष्णु ति स प्रथमा
तस्यादि द्वितीयस्यापि पृरं स्यात् एव तर्हि विहृत्य ष्ठीमन्यग्रदणै। यत्रैक कपालो बह्वः
सप्त स्रवातुर्मास्यादौ इतरथा बह्वैक कपालवद्वः सप्त स्रवातुर्मास्यादौ इतरथा बह्व
वैक कपाला एक स्यात् पृरं स्यात् इत न यथा दाने स्विष्टे स्रुते स्रुत स्यात् यत्तस्या युक्तं प्र
तिक्रमपि यावदानं स्यात् इति चेत् तन्नाशयस्येका शचाहुत्तरावसि चानियतत्वाच्चा
न्यापात्री न प्रयुज्यते प्रततादि वैक कपालो स पृथ्वै चै न दर्शनात् पृथग्दर्शनात् प्रयोग
स्य प्रचरणवैनायां बर्हिषि सा दयिष्वोप स्तीर्थैक कपालं स्रुतं सर्वमवद्यत्पाशयस्यान्व

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सिद्धिद्विरनिष्ठायेपांस्वेककपालेनप्रचरतिएववषट्छतेमध्योपाणिनाजुहोतत्पुं प्रतिष्ठि
तमाशयेनानिहुहोतियदिपयवित्रेतिब्राह्मणद्याख्यातंप्रसन्नायं-----मन्त्रद्विक्किं
सर्वत्रदणैनेवल्लब्धानेवमध्यातुर्द्विद्विस्त्ववद्यतीतिस्पात्रोद्विचग्रदणेकिंसत्तेमध्या
देवस्यातस्त्वमनुद्वितीयानिर्द्विष्टातस्त्वमनुद्विष्यतीतिनेवमेककपालेसञ्जदवद्यत्यवाव
यतीतिप्रतीतिउपात्रदणंकिंयावेनाराजस्रयाकाम्यानिर्द्विष्टायात्रायाणस्यनिर्भर
काम्यागोपात्रुदेवताद्विस्त्वसत्पात्रंनोनि यमायेतिएतदेवोपात्रुमात्रेन्द्रादीनीतिउ
पांस्तुप्रचरत्येतावतिचसिद्धिःएककपालेनेतिवक्तव्यंएककपालप्रचारधर्मप्रक्रमत
सौर्यात्मककपालंयस्याहुतमित्याद्यर्थंउक्तंचवषट्कारप्रदानंनचैककपालानामितित
दसत्नैवात्रायणास्पोपांस्तुखंसिद्धपाकद्यात्वात्कामयोगात्काम्यानुचतमध्यापति१०४

ता योषित् सत्यादयो नैभिन्ने मित्रिकोपि अतएव वाचनिकं चोपांशु खंदे विकानामंत्र
 प्रचाग्यतदुक्तं। सैवानुयोगानुकूल्य इति मध्यग्रदणं समादशोपलक्षणां यंत्रकुतायका
 वचने मध्ये पुरोडाषाकुतीरिति सिद्धत्वा तत्राहुती प्राचुदीची रायात यती तस्य विधेर्विध
 नार्थं विषट्कृत इति नियमांशं आसक्तो मादवकिं पयवित्तन प्रायश्चित्तं प्रकुस्विष्टरुतः
 प्रउज्याकुतीर्नु होतिषड्ग्रहणं मेकप्रवन्तिः -- स्वातिविससांशं अत्र द्याज्य तषष्ठीग्र
 हणं स्वशाखाधी तस्योचवैषणं प्ररणार्थं युंक्तं शतासुध इत्याज्य धानी एककपालाश
 यस्य स्विष्टरुते समवद्यतीति च अत्र द्याज्यमवदानधर्मप्रापणार्थं अशयेतस्मिन्नित्या
 शय। एककपालाशयनक्रियाविकारणमुच्यते। यजमान इडाग्रणे प्राश्नाति एत इत्यादि
 प्रदर्शितं इडा इति संबधे षष्ठीदक्षिणा काले वसः। अथ मज्जेदक्षिणा प्रथमो ज्ञानः प्रथमो

पात्राच्चैतु

माज्या २

उपवेशनक्रियाधारं अज्यं॥

जातः प्रथमो यथा नुज इति पंचम्या मजा ताद्युत्पत्त्यां च तत्पत्त्यां प्रियमाणं यां किं
 पेक्षः प्रथमशब्द इति किं प्रथमा नु रद्याः आहोस्विज्जाता क्रोतोलक्ष्वा स्वननिनयस्य प्र
 थमं नु इति तस्मात् पूर्वै च व्युत्पत्तिर्युक्ता मतिकनीयां समापदा प्रथमं नु इति अत्र तीर्त
 नदि सो दसा दीनां पूर्वः पूर्व प्रथमजा इत्युच्यते बुभुक्षु क द्या व्यामो क मध्वा बभुक्षु पिं गलं म
 स्तरं दद्याद्म नंचा बभ्रं पिं गल मिति विशेषण विशेष्यभावोत्र वा शब्द च शब्दभावो
 वि कल्प स सुच्च योरप्रतीतिः आसन्नरूपेण भावे वसो वस तस्त्वयै तो किमथ सिद्धं
 सूत्रं बुभुक्षु द्वौ तो न्ना भो वैश रत् पूर्व कालं विना पिशामा के न इक्षु सोमं शपा मा के न्नुं जी
 त न्नु नचाग्र द्रादिनिष्काशः मा के न व्रीह्या दीन पिं नुं जी त ऊ त नं दि शपा मा के नो ह्यत्यने
 ना स ता आ य ए ण द व ता य हं लभ्यतः सोमं स मस्त शपा मा का आये तेन प्रत्यभिजायते।

ऋषा संनद्धानिष्ठाग्रायणं न व स्यात् । स्त्रीयादिति प्र तिषेध एव वचन स्तस्यान्ना वा स नं अ
 ग्रायणं स शङ्खा त स र्वत्र द्वा ए श्वा मा ष्म न प्राप्ति तं स्याज्जीव नो र्थे अ काले श्वा मा के न
 छुनु हे नि ति वि प्रा षा त् यद्दे व श श द्दि पु नः श्वा मा कै स्त स्या प्रा रु त्वा द क्षि णा दा तेषु
 न र्ज व त्पे वा ॥ ७ ॥ उ च्चा तु म स्मि न्या र प्य मानः । वा उ म स्मि न्या नी ति संज्ञा क र्म णां वै श्व दे वा
 वी नोऽनु ना सी य प र्व ता नां प र्व ते म नि द्वा तैः शु ना सी र्थे ना रं न्म णी य स्या ताः । प र्व णौ स्म म
 सी मु षौ ष्याः । उ य व स ना र्थ मि त त् । प्र ति प दि वै श्व दे व या जे षौ स्म मा स्या मा रं न्म णी या दि
 हिः । अ त आ रं न्म पि आ रं न्म णी या को न्मि त ए व र स स त्ति तं न्मि य मोऽनु वा दौ यु क्तः ।
 स्व काले क र्त्तव्या रं न्म णी याः । प र्व प द्वा दि प्र ती द्ये त । प्रा ची न प्र व णे वै श्व दे वे न यज्जे त वै श्व
 दे वे ने ति । अ सा वा रं ण च । फा ल्यु न्यां चि त्वा व स ते वा व स त त्र द्वा णे वि शा र द्यं ते न सं गतं

राक्षानि

संप्रयोऽत यंति ते न प्राप्नुवन् चैत्रीभ्यां विनापि वसंते वैश्वदेवशाख्यमावास्यायां वा
 प्रवर्षे चैवाऽपि वासमस्तपर्वार्थं वसंतग्रहणं न विश्वदेवार्थं विश्वदेवैः सद्यः पौ-
 र्णमासीत्येकत्रयं वाधाताऽस्ति तुल्यधीनः प्रधाननियमः कात्यानो जिवते
 मसमस्तपदैः पौर्णमास्यं मष्टकाद्वैवसंतग्रहणं समतार्थं ननु प्रतिपर्वणे सद्यः
 पौर्णमासीमित्युक्तं तद्यपि न विश्वदेवार्थं किं प्रफालुन्यां वसंतैवेति सिद्धं चेत्त्रयै-
 श्वदेवी त्रित्रीग्रहणं स्यान्नर्थं किं प्राप्नोति यदि कथां तद्ग्रहणे समस्तार्थः तद्योचित्री
 पदमनर्थकं विश्वदेवायतिः त्रैलोक्यं वसंतग्रहणं समस्तार्थः श्रौताहोत्रिणौ
 मास्यं समस्तानीति तदुक्तं तावन्मात्रं दृष्ट्वास्तु समस्तपदैः विप्रतिपदं तपौर्णमासी २०६
 पिकन्यपूर्वचातनोपवसाद्यन्तर्मास्येष्टुके शश्रयजमानावापयेत्तु उपवसद्यः

तिमाच्युतमन्नयरादिषु प्रनिबेध इत्युक्तं। यत्तु मानग्रहणं पत्नी मन्मदुजानी तो कैशश
 क्रग्रहणं न स्वलोमानि। चलोमस्येषु च परप्रतिषेधे उपवसथादीनामपवादाऽनर्थ
 कस्यात्तनैवंधारयातां। प्रसूनः प्रस्तर इति न करोमन्वर्थः। यथा यस्तदेकधामंत्रेण
 मनस्यतीति इक्षु स्यादिहोनामो रक्षसीमित्यादिसिद्धानामष्टवेभंत्रेण प्राप्तिमाभाव
 सतेऽतः। तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं रक्षसीमिति रक्षतीग्रहणं च रुक्पालानिकपालानि प्रथम
 द्वितीया माज्यस्थानी स्मृचंच आज्यधानपात्रमपेक्षं हति योति अदिति - नाहि
 नेपत्रिति स्थालीशष्टप्रयोऽक्षदेवस्थालीमिति वक्तव्ये आज्यस्थालीग्रहणं अदा
 नमंत्रार्थः। तत्राज्यस्थालीप्रयोगे तदर्थं हतः आज्यधानपात्रीमिति चरुषुपिष्ट
 भागुषुषा यत्र केन घृणा सर्वत्र तत्रास्मापौ सवचनात्तानि द्रापौ सैननवति अउर

ब्रह्मवी० षाधिश्च यतिश्च धिश्च पणकोले चरु रधिश्च यणं दशयति च। कपालो पधानकाल
 एव मनुष्यं देवि रधिश्च यणं च वति मारुत मधिरुत नायं पति अहो मारुतः सप्त कपाल
 मितिकल्पितस्य स्वतवङ्गो निरुद्या चात्तस्यैव लक्षणा यमिदं सायं दो दृशदणं दो
 धर्मार्थितुक्तं प्रतोपे तस्य शास्त्रा म हत्वे त्यादि एत न मिदो स सर्वत्र भैत्रो वरुणे पय
 स्पादो समान धर्मै निधा एव वाष्ठा समा न धर्म निबोधिश्च यणो द्विवचो नियत वा त
 समानं संमार्जनं यथा उपपद्यते दानं त्रस्तथा स्वात्म्याः अदिति रसीति प्रषदा ज्ञानि
 र्भीषु पद्यते शास्त्रप्रयोगे न पृषदा ज्ञधानी शब्दस्य अदानं त्रैसादने च दधि विज्ञ
 णवेद पं धिश्च यणा दपि स्यात् प्राग निघारणा हाजिन स्या निघारणे नास्त्यत्रानि २०१
 यन्त्राद्यस्ते किमिति नोक्तं मनिघारणं वाजिन मुत्क रे सादयेत् तस्मिन् पिम द एतन्

आग्रहणं वाजिन सुक्तेरे सादयेत्सिद्धमपि महे एत प्रागग्रहणं किमनि विधिनिरासा
यतिवैतपंचहोत्रा निमश्रियंतीत्यघटवान्निर्मंशं प्रधानादनेतरं घटत एवास्मि मश्रि
नादतं तरं स्याग्रंशह्यस्या निविधित्रा निरासा यं पंचहोत्रेति प्रलतं निवत्रये त्वौपदेशि
कच्चादन्वारश्चेयुरुमानमतिब्रूहीति त्रैष्यान्निः संवा दयंतीति यथा लोपस्थानं ठ
रुत इति प्रेष्यं लो कसु पस्थापयतीति ब्रूहीति निवचति विया करणा वा तु मसि
नाष्ये प्रशमंषंडः ॥ ४ ॥ सिद्धमाप्रयाज्येभ्य आश्रावग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यं प्राह तं च संख्या
संबंधादिहनवसंख्यायमख्यातु ए विधिज्ञापकाय अप एग्रहण न्नौ पष्टत हवी
दृष्य निघारयंतीति ह्यग्रहण दनिघारस्य चानुयाजा यस्त्रिदा नि द्यायां दर्शनाकु
पन्तिसर्वसमानेन रिक्त्या यां प्राप्तिब्रूते निघार एण स्यादपात्रा निघार एण मा म सीदि

धर्कं वां पुनर्धर्कं वा सुपच्यतमंतत इति प्रकृतौ पात्रग्रहणा संश्रावता रिचा निघ्रा रणं क
 निवारयति उपाहसु संप्रति वषट्कारप्रदानां एककपालानां उपपाहसु चैसिद्धे पुनरि
 द्रवतं सा वित्रेण त्फच्यते तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं प्राक्स्थिष्ट कृतमर्था दावयमंत श्याचक्रम नि
 गानां मोमनामानि जुहोत्कर्मयत्र स्थिष्टतीति सिद्धमानुयाजैर्यः प्रच्यतौ च यंत्रित
 माश्रवोणमिदं न व संख्यायानि वारयतो मन्मतिरथाय तपुन रुक्ते वज्रवत्सोपच्यता
 मद्रश्रग्धोदनं मंत्रे वाजवती शब्दः प्राकृतं शुद्धं न नत्वपूर्वमिति दर्शयितुं संप्रच्यता
 तौ उपच्यते ऋद्धिस्तिस्रं वा जिनं च क्लृप्तातिः तं विदित्यदं लो सं बध्यात
 न हौ मोहो मेऽपि सं बंधं ध्वंति परिधि सं धितान वदो रस्य सं न वादपेनु शेष समं वे १०८
 त्रिासमशब्दः संख्या वचन इह ता प्रत्ययात्सद्याः पौर्णमासी संख्या सतमिव प

चणेनपौसीमासीप्रयोगगद्येक्षपतिस्मसंस्वामात्रं प्रयोगंदशयिचुं पौर्णमासी
 रूपसद्यैकालोत्तर्वात्प्रधानकालस्यसद्योत्सद्यैवचवत्पाधानदशनात्निवर्त्त
 तवपरयोर्युगपन्नं त्रसंखेधसंनवातुयुक्षेतात्तत्तद्वर्षप्रायश्चित्ताष्टमिदं मा
 सप्रतिषेधान्मधुप्रतिषेधे सति मधुश्चास्मातीत्यनुज्ञातमृत्तुगमनवत्तन्नुत्रवेङ्ग
 मर्द्दशनमृत्तुगमनानुज्ञानसादृचयत्तिकथं मांसनिषेधे मधुनिषेधः प्रथाचमधु
 मांसं प्रोक्तास्तीत्यादिति नैदेनासमासकरणा मांसकायं मधुनेऽपि क्षारनिषधिलव
 णस्यापि किंचिन्नृचं गंसां यद्येवगम्येत न तदा मांसनिषधिक्षातुमानंततश्चान्यन्मा
 न्ममा मांसं सास्वच्चत्पत्रमधुप्रतिषेधेन न वतीति शास्त्राष्टिः ॥ छात्रावतुमस्य नाष्ट
 द्वितीयषंडः समाप्तः ॥ छ ॥ ॥ छ ॥ ॥ छ ॥ ॥ छ ॥ ॥ छ ॥ ॥ छ ॥ ॥

आषाढी

॥वक्रवर्धनं पर्वसमाप्तं॥ ॥वरुणव्रथा साश्वतुषु मासेषु॥ अष्टाहं श्रावणी
वर्षाश्रावणफलं फाल्गुन्यादिकालविकल्पत्रयाऽनिप्रायेनेति॥ विश्वदेविकं विष्णोर्न धा २
पंचसं चराणं सं चरंतीति सं चराणी सर्वेषु पर्वेषु च ज्ञेयादीनि सं चरंतीति वि
धानमधिअयणादिसकलसं नष्टं प्रतिप्रस्थाता यथा भवति तस्या सं न्यति प्रति
प्रस्थाता एषा कुत्र दं एमलुवादे निरर्थकमत्रैवेकधा मनदना सोहं सं न चं वि
स्यष्टाष्टिघा॥ एवं दृष्टा कुदोदयत इत्यत्रापि स्क्रवपंचमाश्वरुस्था ल्यो ननु द्वं
॥ द्विग्रहणमविवक्षितं यथा हे अर्ध इति दृष्टा गृह्यमाणं प्रोक्षणादीनां तत्र प्रसंग
यक निरस्य लुपान्नं नदं परिगणनं॥ पात्राणां सं तेऽष्टी तत्रोक्षणापात्रं प्रतिप्रस्था
ता पात्रेषु दृष्टे ग्रहाणां देवलभ्य त्वं च रुस्था ल्यादीनि यथा स्था ल्यो त्वं विपन्ने पति १०५

गणनप्रदर्शेनार्थमंदधियेनुग्रहायासिद्धमानिर्वीरैर्ज्ञानकायमिति द्वितीयांक
न्यासुक्तमिति पययिंदशयनूक्तममनुवदति यथा कालमाभिद्वैष्टयगिति वा
यवारिश्च॥ एषग्रवचने किंयावेदुक्तशब्दसंज्ञानामति यत्र शब्दो नास्ति तद्विश
प्रामिधायिकस्तत्र न तावद्विशेषानुष्ठिति रिति दर्शयति ते न ज्ञायते पात्रं प्रायेण ल
खानं शास्त्रमासितं बहुल्योक्तं रुडामाप्रथात्मसंनववा विवातुक्तं तैर्द्धिवा तज्जडै र्यथा
पर्वरिघातं ता एनासितं स पर्वणल्लुघानं तथान्यत्रापि एवंचान्निप्रणयने प्रत्यु स्वत
दशास्त्रिति त्रिषु प्रक्रमे तपुन गतेष्वित्यर्थः। अप्यप्रिमिते को न्युक्ते ऊर्द्धमप्यिमिते तदशाब्द
ज्ञातस्मादनियमोपरिमिते देशान्पुनः प्रक्रमेण कवचनात्तत्रात्प्रक्रमसंबंधो
दादानप्रवृत्तिधर्मातिदेशो वाक्येन प्रकृतौ वा पद्यते विशिष्टादशविधानायाद्विद्वि

षा वितस्ति इति तृतीयमात्रेऽप्यधारेयः पूर्वार्धे नस्तत्रैतत्पृथः नियन्तावलक्षणसप्तम
 इतरथा वितृतीयमात्रगति स्यात् त्रिषु प्रक्रमसु यावानात्रादया स्वयं त्रत्यस्माकं त्र
 आणा करं स्यादशकालात् प्रक्रममात्रगत उत्तकरस्यात्र तश्चाचालं प्रिमीतोऽन्ययुक्त
 मपि मौत्रैर्नैतै इति प्राप्नुयवता उत्तकराभिधातहृत्वा स्वंपदान प्रत्यप्नुयव स्येत्प्राप्तिय
 मार्षप्राप्नुयवेग्रहं स्यात्तु स्वनिष्ठा तस्मात्प्रत्यप्नुयखाढा - कारविद्या उकरं वेद्यंगच
 ड क्तवस्यैकग्रहणं हि तीयनिवृत्त्यर्थं तत्र यद्यविदिस्तत्रोकर इति सिद्धः अपरेण क्तसं
 स्मचदरण्यं सार्वशीत्र तत्र हि सोऽप्यनियतांशं प्रोक्ष्य एणस्तिष्ठति आ सादनांश्चिपि
 च न्स्त्विति दक्षिणत शेषे निनीते प्रोक्षिण सादनांशं पुनः संस्करणं स्यात् पंच गृहीत
 न निरुक्तमाज्योत्पन्निस्तिष्ठति ततः पंच गृहीतं प्रसृज्यति श्रेतिस्तत्र विद्वत्कं विवंचनं त

स्याज्जायति निनिवर्पिपात्रं प्रसादितं तथ्याच द्वितीयमाज्यस्त्रालीप्रितियोज्ञते सइ
 दृष्टीयां किमिति न स्मरति अक्षिप्रयणादिक्रवीति संस्कारं कथं देवाङ्गुविदुद्वापकु
 ध्वंति चतुर्दशीतमाज्यावोदरेदित्यंताः आदवनीयेति प्रणयनानि आहवनीयादग्नि
 प्रणयना अक्षिऊतं द्वातीकविशेषणं कारंयुगुला अग्निम्यावितिकर्षइ सद्यं ते वरु
 णप्रघासेग्रये प्रणीयमानायानुक्कृहीत्य कइत्यनुवादादग्निशब्दस्य संसिद्धिंति द्रव्य
 लाबायुक्तं चेतदिति अपारकथं मंत्रानो ह्येतोपाशानिति वन्यत्रैव का क हो मे अण
 ज्यसुक्तं यद्वा न्य देवायुं किं ह्यन्यत्रैव पमात्रं संस्कारं अक्षयुं एवाग्नीध्राय प्रयच्छति
 वचनान्न प्रति प्रस्थाता प्रयच्छतीति दृष्टार्थं द्वा दधयेत्यवहो मे यज्ञः प्रत्यक्षादिति
 अप्रबोक्ष्य प्रति प्रस्थातेति निदधातीति अन्नवृत्तैस्तत्र त्रियोगशिष्टं चान्नमत्रो न वर्त
 ते

परिशद्वचान्नास्तिदक्षिणतः प्रादवनीयस्योप। एकवचनं न चोत्तुल्यमाणोविशेषब्रह्म
कस्यचिदादवनीयस्यदक्षिणतोहीदात्तुत्तुल्यमाणाप्रत्नतावगमात्प्रत्नं तं वादवनी
यद्वयं योऽयनप्रणीतस्तस्यदक्षिणतन्निर्देशकं चातउपयमनीनां यद्वद्वयतेति
प्रबितावाज्ञातिन्ननि। नृदा नितिप्रतिर्थातिउत्तरपरजिम्मा मादवनी यौएवमधिप्रयोगे
नवतीतिदर्शयति। यद्वादितीयोऽप्रादवनीयसंज्ञानिर्देशार्थं हिवचनं। पृथक्कर्मणि
रुतपरिन्नाषार्थं सूत्रं। अत्रापवादमाद्वद्वयुः। त्रैषानादेति। युक्तैवैतदेकैनापिसंज्ञो
वृत्तौ। होताब्रह्मावापिषार्थमिच्छति। एतिह्याभ्यामपीप्रसंगेनोपजीवतीतः ॥ अतएव परि
गृहीतं यद्वां इत्यादि। अस्मिन्समस्तिर्हिप्रसंगे सति। रुदस्त्रैचदयथा। दवदत्तनामं ॥ ११
ताः कश्चिदिमागाद्यायति यद्वा दत्तौ पितेदर्थः। प्रसंगानापजीवनि। सोऽपिनतदर्थं प्रियतना

गृहं तेषु तमिति ॥ वाचुमस्य नाशे च तीयं डेवरुणप्रघासपर्वणि ॥ उत्तरने
 गार्हपत्यस्येति देशनि यमाः ॥ यमयवपिष्ठानामिति तीयांष्टिषष्टी ॥ एको द्विनिशरावाक
 तीति ॥ ये मात्या न त्रिद्या न तु सपिंडां गोत्रिणं लिंगमविवक्षितं स्त्रियः पत्नीमिति ज्ञापकात्
 ब्रह्मल्योसंमिषयोः ॥ स्त्रेष्वयतनो मशौ न वत इति श्रुतेः परः शतान्यधिकशतानि परः श
 तादित्यर्थः ॥ विस्त्रामि कैपाद्योरववेत्त उत्तरा धेनुं वादः वारुणमेष मारुत्या मानयति
 मेष्पी मारुत्यां वारुणा मिति उच्यते निर्मेष्यः ॥ अद्योगात् गच्छात् सकृदाशं कात द्रव्यस्य स
 स्कारः ॥ अतिद्रव्यमावर्त्तयत्स जयत्र अदणं पुरस्तात् प्रसंवावति ॥ छेते द्विवचनात् पत्नीय
 जमानौ न द्योते उच्यते ॥ उच्यते स्तिष्ठन् पत्न्यनीपुनरे ॥ पुरस्तात्प्रत्यक्षे इति श्रुतेः ॥ अर्धयुः प्रवरा इ
 प्रदणीते अयोगं गच्छात् संप्रप्य अदणं ॥ अर्धयुः प्रैषा निति स्यात् ॥ मासनामानि जुहोती

त्तिप्रतिप्रस्थाच निवृत्तये समानीयेन किमवदेया र्थादित्रैप्रदेयेतिकयवित्तामिष्टुनो
 द्दिष्टतरेतरापेक्षया द्विवचनात्तेन विट्टह्यसमाप्ताः उच्यते वाजिन्सं याज्यानुवा
 क्ययोस्त्रसंबधचादोदृत्यमावसिद्धः प्रयोगांगत्वेति नवतिदक्षिणस्मिन्नतिप्र
 स्थातो न यत्रैति वाद्यो दक्षिणाग्रदणवे विद्याष्टं त्रिज्यशेषे द्वितीया द्विवचनात्तं उच्यते
 निःकाषालौकिकात्रे रनीकमिति श्रोच कायं श्रोच धर्मकमित्यर्थः श्रोचार्घारवत
 धर्मातिदेशश्च उच्यते तस्योतिषष्टितृतीया र्थात्र्यता न्यश्च उच्यते तं प्रयाजाष्टं त्र्य
 संबंधेषु पृथीततः प्रयोजैभ्यः शिष्टाजुहुयात् यद्विमंत्रवत तदायं पक्षोऽत्र यावत्तु
 क्तं तदाह र्वदतिशेषेणेति सवविदाना र्थं तृतीयाः समिधावाहरंति समिधा विजिप्रत्ये
 कसंबधः गार्हपत्यपत्नी तदशनात् दक्षिणस्मिन् प्रतिप्रस्थाता प्रतिप्रस्थाचग्रदण

मन्मनि दृष्टपञ्चिधिवल्लिबादोवास्तत्रै सद्यः। एषो नि का तत्र मध्यो सस्त्राशा रवांतरा
 तद्दतरथा तत्तयजमानं तं सद्य एव स्यात्। का। वा। उमा। स्थि। भा। शे। क। उ। धा। कां। ड।। स्त्रा।
 वरुणप्रघासानामद्वितीयोपवसमाप्तं। का। सा। कमेधाश्रुत्तुमासेषु कानि कयोमाश्रिणी
 ष्यंदिमंतैवेति पूर्वकल्पत्रयं पूर्वापौ सप्तमासीदेमंतैः सन्नियते त्फक्तं। अ। रं। न। णी। या। म्मूत्रे।
 सिद्धेष्टिपौ सप्तमासीवत्संतिष्ठत इति मान्नुत्तुनोतिः। प्रागबर्हिः प्रहरणत्सिद्धेष्टिशि
 पुनरुक्तं गृहमेधीयेनृक्षीकंवसापाकरणवैरं। परिनाष्वैकुवसपाकरणमंत्रनिष्ठत्वं तं३५
 श्रुतिदामधीयावसरेपरिनाषायदिक्त्रियते। सावानेन करणेन संबधुतानुपचोपाव
 रणं स्यात्कर्मण --- दोमंत्रवस्योवमोन्नुदिति तद्विद्यदनीकवतस्य अनीकवतं सातप
 नायाः समानंबर्हिः अतस्तेनाशनानात्संनष्टा तद्वयुक्तं हि पौ सप्तमासीदिति निरीक्षं योप

देशेऽपुनः मनद्वमनिकवती प्रयुंतेऽत्र त्रिनिः पञ्चवात्रदमोपदेशस्तु ग्राह्यतर्बदिषो न
 र्थक्योत्पद न ह्यातः सप्तः समानया द्वयोर्बहिर्नीशून्यन्नां स्तीति बहिर्नु प्रहरतीति
 किं संद्वेष्टि संतिष्ठत इति ना सिद्धं प्रहरणं नृदमेधीयाश्विवार्येताशा खोतरात ननु नृद
 मेधीया- द्यानि बहिर्दिति वदयति अत्रैव सां तपनीय बहिष सं नृद नं वमा विज्ञासि
 ण्ति दशयितीतेनेह स्रुत्व प्रच्यतिस नृद नाशं का निवृत्त्युं बहिर्नु प्रहरतीति व
 नं ज्ञापकं नापनं यश्रुत्व प्रच्यतिस नृद नाशं का निवृत्त्युं बहिर्नु प्रहरतीति व
 दोत्र इति नृदमेधीयाश्विवार नृदमेधीयाश्विवारो रेऽत्रिदोत्रं दशयति बहिर्नु
 नृद नोत्र रदमेस्रवणा तृश्रिदोत्रादा मद्यापाराङ्गि क्त्वा तूङ्ते एव सिद्धमाय मे
 वने बहिः सन्नद नोत्र रवचनम कविदाराश्रित्या उ पवसा न्नो नो नार्याश्रि विदारा

वर्दिः सन्न दनचं वर्दिः। तेषां निष्ठु नवति वस्पाकरणावत्। अष्टवर्चातश्च दमेधीया
श्रीवैत्तापराञ्चिहोत्रं दशयितिवर्दिः सन्न दनोत्तरहोमश्रवणात्। अत्रिहोत्रविह
रस्यापराङ्किक्वाष्टु तएव सिद्धेसा नियमो दनवर्दिः संनह - त्रं वचनमेकवित्त
श्रिस्त्युपवसशाभाक्वन्तो नयाष्टिपि विद्वारः वर्दिः सन्न चं वर्दिः स्तैषां निष्ठु नवति
वस्पापाकरणावत्। तद्दामधीयस्यादिमार्थाहोमो - - - रवध्यते अष्टपराङ्किपे माय
व्यातसायां क्लेशिते। तत्रमन्त्रदितीनेयमार्थाः। क्लृताः शतवक्त्रप्रपयतीति यजति चोदना
कृष्टदेवतासंबंधानिर्वपतीति तानुप्रपयति। शब्दः निर्वपिनिष्ठतिः। अष्टवर्चातश्चोदना
तिहोदधर्मप्रदुत्पष्टिपवित्रमात्रतौषधाद्देहनसंख्याजननियानात्। तदुलानौकि
निर्वपति। अज्ञानो निर्वपतीत्यादियावदुक्त्यर्थकर्मप्रदश्रिति। नियुततरां पद्धत्या स्त

लिचद्याख्यातानितस्यनैवाहुतेः प्रातरग्निहोत्रइति ननु होतएव होमिभः कौडउद्यस्तु
 रग्निमेषु प्रचरातएव तदिनियमार्थमिभ्यः प्राक्त्वां प्राक्त्वां दामाबु दाम्यः प्राग्त्वां दाम्यः प्राग्त्वां
 ते प्रा योनपुनर्येते दशितं मरुद्राक्कीडिडयप्रतिनिरुक्तं ब्राह्मणं तेन क्रुडित्येवाक्की
 डिमाप्रियाधामानिक्कीडयतिदं हविर्नितिप्रयो स्फस्त दसतः इद्रय यात्रस्येदेव
 तातद्धितेत्यातषत्क्रोडिनस्याक्रोडिनीषुपंचदशतियाज्यायाक्कीडिनः पयोधा
 इनत्तप्रयो गौतस्मात्तक्रोडिनो यजक्कीडिनो प्रियाधामानिक्कीडिनः इदमितिप्रयोग
 चर्बतिः अनेवेदैत्रमितिचतुर्द्वीतस्यास्त्रौचमाधारमाधारयतीतिः अत्रकेचित्प्रा
 कृस्विष्टः इति संबंधयंतिः स्त्रैशास्त्रौचोदाहरंतिः तदसत्तुक्तैः क्रियाविधा ११४
 नतन्मृतौ प्रादशस्यावितिः इत्येगर्भवत्याधारवत्शास्त्रांतास्त्रौचवतद्वचन

न्मासनामानिववकारस्यात्तत्रनास्ति। प्राक्कुस्विष्टज्ञतोमासनामानि जुहोति न नृत्तं।
चचारिसाकमेधेष्टीति एवं तोदितं परि संख्यायमानं नृवं नानीकृततादिषु साकमेधेत्वा।
ननीकृततादिषु प्राक्प्रवंतितस्मात्तत्रापरि संख्येति हेतुः। ऋणि इति कृतादि
षु अन्वाद्यस्माकमवशब्दवाद्यचोत्सर्वप्रधानं च तस्यावद्यप्यदेशसाकामाध
ष्ठमिर्हृत्ताणिस्रस्रतेकोकामधवा इत्येवमादिना शकारादोरवयवशब्देन व्यपदिष्ट
साकमेधावयवोन्नीरनीकवते प्राश्न्येत्यादिष्विष्टेषु ननु अंगशब्देनाच्छा। वाउमा
स्य ज्ञाप्ये पंचमं धेनुं ॥ छ ॥ प्राग्दक्षिणचारा इत्यादिनिर्देशकं न भवति। उपमूलं बर्हि
दीति बद्धवचनं ब्रह्मयजमानापदं। अयत्प्रस्तारा इतीति संबंधः। न पुनरन्यत्प्रस्त
दुपमूलमिति संबंधः। यद्यन्यत्। प्रस्तारा इत्येवमा बर्हिः संनद्यतीति संबंधः। प्रस्ताना इव

अस्तरदत्तयमूलदितं ग्रहीणं तेन्यञ्जपं रौप्यं स्त्रीयेति वाचनिकं ननवतिञ्जनतिदेशा
 कृत्वा तञ्जन्यतत्रपतितच्चाश्च। एकैकं मदादविश्रयसंस्कृतं तस्माद्वह्निणा प्रात्राणि
 प्रयुनक्ति। दक्षिणानौ निष्ठपतिपस्त्रिणा वासवा सर्वाप्येति संबद्धातिशास्त्रांतनासिलनि
 श्रयनं सिद्धं। दक्षिणतोऽग्निष्ठा न्निर्वप्यतीति किमयं गुणविधिः पाद्विकस्या न्निष्ठा न्निर्वपिष्यो
 तानियमार्थमग्निष्ठा नुवादनैस्ति चित्तयद्यत्तरः पक्षस्तदापन्या ननवतिञ्जपूर्वस्तद्वह्नि
 णा द्रतिपात्रां गुणो ननवतिपाद्विकार्यनियमाशुष्वानयोक्तस्य व्याध्द्रतिचित्तसिद्ध
 माधिश्रयणतत्सिद्धमायवानामधिश्रयणमात्रं नतृपधानं कपालवहं डोकृतपादाङ्गा
 पिपवित्रांतदितं चरुवत्तृष्वलितदत्तरोयमन्वयः। नात्राद्वायनशास्त्रीयमनोनानिष्ठा
 रयेत्वरुक्तामणकथमन्त्रमः पुराजशश्चेतच्चातृष्वचाद्वा सिद्धमात्रिवा सनातृव

अस्त्वचं ग्राहयतीत्यत रतेति। अपरिमिते वावकाशेऽपरिमिते वाक्यशशो विशेष
णविशेषाच्च निष्काधिकरणसमर्थः। त्रिषु प्रक्रमेष्ववकाशार्थमुत्सृष्टेषु पुपुष्या
परिमितितरेता वावकाशं संचरति कुम्भं। प्रतिचउरात्रेति नोच्यत कुष्टाष्टकुष्टाना
तद्वह्निणादित्यादि। एकोऽन्मुकं धमदग्धकाष्ठगोमयं वापयुदप्रतस्तीमप्रवचा
मन्त्रेण परिक्रियापदेशो तत्रस्तीमनिष्ठायेत्यादि च तस्तीमधिप्रयणत्तदस
त्तद्वह्निजातावकाः प्रादशोच्चवतिषुष्टलेपं निनयेत्यादिउत्तरतः। प्रोक्षणीतास्तु
त्सपगार्दपेत्यान्नवीयगृह्णाति ननुषुक्तमातिषुचाउमीस्येषु चउर्गृहीतानि इका
भियाजप्रचतिउपचरता गृह्णाप्रयाजानुयाजस्य सं गृह्णातीति एवं मन्यते। उपच

न्याधविबन्धा निवान्या ५

ताची न प्रयाज्छेयमर्है नानुयजतमु तत्राप बर्हिष इति तर्हि द्वयाना वोदेकं चतुर्
 क्षी तेन नटक्लाम्या दाडु नित्रयायार्थं नैव चतुर्क्षीते। षड् चतुर्क्षीते। द्वे चतुर्क्षीते। तद्वत्
 तीति वक्तव्ये त्रदणं समानपात्रं प्रक्षतो सिद्धमास्तरणं उदीरण तत्प्रच्युति मंत्रेण
 रणं तथा हि त्रक्षी त्रदणं प्रक्षरे सुज्यते विस्मोस्तु प इति लुप्यते ध्वयु प्रक्रम्युष्टि म
 त्रा सन्नवं उद्वाहानुहूयमाने य विशिष्यं यतानु प्रस्तं वा कुरोतीति निवर्त्य प्रस्त
 रे साधनानं तरमन्निवाध्याया इति श्रुत्वं तत्पे त्यादिपाठक्रमेण उदकं ननु ह्यादी
 निहूवी ऽब्धितथापरा णिवेदादीनि स्वादेति द्वे त्रा शष्टरदितो प्रथो गः कर्त्तव्यः १९६
 तिदश प्रति तत्रावन्त प्राची नावीतिना ॥ इति प्रधानानां प्राची नावीती प्रचारः ॥

मि१

श्वं तश तउ विशतिः प्रथयथा स्थानमंत्रेण विनदा स्वसदस्यः प्रतः उपविशतिः प्रथ
 यथा स्थाने मात्राणवितदा स्वसदनस्याग्रतउपविशतिः कर्त्तव्योऽत्र यत्नः उत्तरातात्र
 स्माकिमापान्नात्तरशब्दप्रतियतनीयां षट्छब्दिरनिघा राणा नक्षत्रावायदक्षिणा वद्य
 त्ति त तउ दृष्टते क्रम्यति दक्षिणा तिष्ठ न दक्षिणा मुखे दृश्यते ॥ इदधर्मपत्रार्थस्मनु
 दविशेषमावधाय दृढापात्री न च व तिमिति दृष्टति नमंशमिजपा चोत्तवातिशक्त
 कल्पयिष्ये ॥ दैवावाय जितियुक्तं चेततय दाप्रशाम्पदे वशब्दप्रयोग दक्षिणाग्निर्को वा
 वनिकं सशं सुवाकानपूरमा प्राप्तिर्वेदस्तराणि नित्यं च वतिउ दकांजलिप्रचर्त्तिः
 न्यद्वा मादित्यनुवादः ॥ स्तौतिः पुषिं डाउ हवाभावा द्भूम्या निदधाति स्मृतवाकायुतषष्ठा
 दाश्मा वं चोवाची नो संसृद्धे पानिमा र्जुनं नामोश्चारेण काल समं शत्रुपितर इत्यादि

स्तुतया फोण

वचनां ते यो ज्यं तत्र ते दरी । उदरे मित्यपरेण नगौ । विवह्रितं पिंडा निविबहुवचनं मनेन
 मध्यमपिंडं पत्नीं न कृत्यतो । वदध्यापतितां वेदिस्त्रेषु त्रुणे सुदयमानेषु वेदिमध्यदशति य
 या ॥ ७ ॥ उत्तरतो गार्हपत्ये स्ते त्पाद्य सर्ववाद्या बहुक्तं चैव कान कस्य चिद्विकारः नूत
 त्वादिषो तस्तमयतीति निर्वपिं नृक्षी सुपचारितग्रहण यथा नृक्षी सुपचारितां व
 ने ककपालानि त्मादौ । ननु यथा देवतमभिधा रयति तदा पात्र नृक्षी मभिधा रण
 सिद्धं । अग्निघ्रा रणं वक्तुं यंतद्यपि निर्वपिना वा देव संबधना वस्तथापि हो मका
 देवता संबाधान विष्णुत्तिातन मंत्रेण मान्द्रुति नृक्षी ग्रहण मात्रं च दाज्या निर्वप
 मात्रं बहु बहु दारव तत्र नृक्षी पयश्ची न द रती शरीरां त उप स्ती र्वा ११
 मध्यमपत्नीं सर्वेषां समवदान अथ दान धर्मैजा तद्य मोपादशा कलादवदाय पदसा ११

तदुक्त २

चंय गा दायपु रो हाशानेके के हो वाऽन तः ता न्य जु मानाय समाच रीति शिति नि
 र्वचना त एके के स च निव पति त द्य ज माना य समाव पंति व च नं घट ते समिधा व द मे
 तीति य के त्रैद्यो न य नः उद्य तेति स्थितिः प्र दक्षि णं त्रि रि त्प व यु च द व ट ति स्त न
 द एण त् इति र य्मा न र्थ के ति स्त प्र ष्प स्या त् उ द स्पो द स्पो ति वी प्र सा बल क च धा
 नुच्य ते वि न्त ष्ट खो या चू ता धा न्न इति त छार द्या ते त छु ह स्य को ऽ र्थः त ए के के ऋ
 पा त्य क र्त्तु क का दं त री व्र च ना त क ष्वि दि ति ऋ रू णा द धि क मू ह्या य म र्थः धा मो धा
 न्न इति त त् द्या र खानं ऋ स्म एण त् ए व सा म वो न न व ति ऋ दि त्पा ये त्या दि ये त्या दि ऋ
 प र्थ स्मि न्नि त्ते त्र ऋा दि त्ये ने ति व द्य ति त त ऋ म्पा य प्रा ङ्गी न वै त ते ने हा पि द्र ष्ट व
 ए ता व त् स री यी स्त समि ष्ट य जु ऊ ल्व ति सि सं हो ष्वि रि ति ऊ त र वे दि के ब हि र नु ब्र ह्

रणादारञ्जेति तत्साहचर्यतियजमानं त्रेणान्यदित्यस्यष्टयकं संस्थासंतिष्ठतइत्य
 स्यान्नावाखुनासीयंचिउरुषुमासेषु फाल्गुन्याचैत्र्यावसांतवसतिसद्यः प्रतिपद्विपो
 सुमासीश्रमश्रवपनांतं रसद्य उपवसयादि। चतुर्दशचतुर्दशे गते वाचतुर्दशे दान्यपक्रम
 पंचमेयागः शीष्पिवा। वैश्वदेवनद्याख्यातमाग्नेयोऽष्टाकपाजनियोगः प्राचीननि
 योगतः प्राचीनप्रवणनस्यतिकदेशोऽयं कितदिचातुर्मास्यधमास्मिंबहिः सन्नदना
 दीनां साधारणामपि स्तत्रनिर्वापत्वेन तत्र तत्र सर्वास्विष्टिषु प्रकृतविकारचैपि
 प्राचीनप्रवणमानसप्तम्येति वेदग्रहणात् प्राक्स्विष्टकृतं तनिवृत्तं --- कसुनासीय
 मानृतत्रानिदेशिका निविकल्पेष्टासद्याष्टयोनिचत्वारि। यद्यपि प्रतिपश्चसतं दाम १९
 सन्नामान्कानिद्याख्याताशं कानिदृत्पथ्यानिता निमाकश्चित्परिगणनं यद्युन

तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं पुनरुक्तं मासं बंधाद्यर्थे होन्यधिकरणेनामनुदोतीति द्वादशभिः सुक्तं
सधामासं धुर्युयद्यपि सद्यः स्फुत्तरावापोऽसौ सी संस्थानमभितथापियेन समा इति
कर्मव्यविधिमात्रचात्रस्य यथा तन्नावाव न च इध्मा बहिः सन्नदनाभावापि दपि च व
शात्ते एव मिदं पर्वयो रं त रास्यो मे न यज तर्कं तस्मिन्नेव निर्वर्णे त्पादपर्वणीति उत्तम
धस्तातुव सं तत्र हणं समस्व सवीर्यं मे तो वषी सु प्राशदि च समास्तिः सर्वाभिरिज्यते इत
रथा पर्यत्र हणं सम स्याथं स्याताय तो न सांव सरिकेऽनुनासी राणं पौः समासी समा
स्ति रमा वा स्याद्यवधानात् न च पर्वशब्दस्य विहितो ह्युवाच कस्यामे वृत्तिः पन्नश्च मु
पादानं युक्तं तस्मात्तयदिव सांतपर्वणी एष वीणि हूदये केयजे त दापर्वणीति पौः
मासार्थमपि युज्यते तथा च दृष्टान्ताचार्यः सवर्षवर्तिव सांतवषास्त्रिचया गगतद्ये वा

च दत्त तदृष्ट गज्या निघारणं प्रतिपर्वणि यो मे नियतवचनात्पृथ्यं । तं समाधीयः कु
तः ऋतं न एति वचनाद नं तरमैव स्याद्यदि पर्वणीति न स्यात् ॥ ७॥ अथ संवत्सराणि
ऋष्टेति चानुमस्यो तरप्रक्रांशेति सां वस्रि को न्ये ता नि ऋष्टादानी पंच स्यावस्रि को
णि वक्तुं प्रहतां स्थिति वैश्वा न रपर्जन्येति स्वरं तं द्वितीयं पदं बहुव्रीहिः समाश्र
रं न एणीया तं त्रेनारं न एणीयाः संबध्यते न पुनरावर्त्तति प्रतिसंवत्सरं चैतत्प्रयो
गज्जदात्प्रतिसिद्धेः प्रथमः संवत्सरः सां वस्रि कैः समानमित्यर्थं सादृश्यं तु हेमाद्रि
ति पश्चात्तद्यावर्त्तयितुमादत्त स्यातेत्याह वैनिम्नं यद्विफलं तु एषां मारं न एस्तवा
फः लुप्तयो वत्स्यंते --- त्वेच्छारं न एणीस्तदा चैत्रीति प्रसिद्धिर्द्वितीयाः ॥ सोपि फाल्गु
एषारं न एः ॥ चिच्छारं न एवाद्यो जरातां विश्वदेवा येति वचनात्तथा च --- एवं सोऽपि ७१

अस्मिद्धत्पथी। तस्यां ते न्यासी प्रतिपत्तौ स मासी तस्य तृतीयस्य संवत्सरे स्यां तौ
सायं प्रतिनित्यं नमु रघु या उक्ते तद्याये वत्तं तदति सोपव स पृष्ठु पूर्व स्यां त प्याह
तीय इत्येते न पूर्व स्यां सुनासी रे स्यां न फाल्गुनी चैत्री वा उत्तरा तं शुभना सीर्या यो
पव स धादि। एतदेव संप्रति त्रदणं ज्ञाप --- मासी शब्दः संप्रत्यवयाग स्यां तं
निवृत्तये संप्रति त्रदणं मा स सु मा अनी षेका दी निप मा कृत्या देवो सृज्जनि मि
त्यभिप्रायः॥ ऋजू स्त्री निष्ठा वल्लुष्टि सु तस्ते तेति श्रुतेः विश्वदेवं न च त्रां मा स मु त
स्तेति क्व ना द्विचि च्छा रं ज ए प दे प्र सिद्धश्च त्रुष्टिः संवत्सरः यथा यो हो ---
त स्यां ते या पूर्व त स्यां सुनासी र --- मात्रा पि प्र सिद्ध त्रदणं तया पंचमः यो त्र रा तौ

वेष्ट्वदेवाप्रचरितथायथोत्तरासाकमेक्षित्यपंचसंवसरायसाकमेक्षास्तेभ्य
 ऊर्द्धपंचसुमासेषुवैशाखांज्येष्ठोचोपक्रमादतत्रत्राहुःपंचसुमासेषुशुना
 सीरेचद्वयमनेरुद्वौपरादृष्टेतिनिरुध्यतेतथावारादयस्त्रमात्राविरुद्धमन्यतेफा
 लानुन्याप - नादमीसमस्य नास्त्रीनिष्ठाचैत्रीसमापरोक्षोयनाणंचतुर्मासा
 तरलत्रात्रिर्वरणश्चत्रौच्यतेशास्वीतरबातपंचसुमासेषुमनुनास्त्रितेयद
 वापंचवि - मासैर्द्वौसंवसराविष्टोत्तवतिइतिमेधेतदेशांशटत्रिंशतिविना
 रस्योचत्रविंशत्यामुपसंपादयतेतमभियति - तंत्रयोदशमोऽयंतादयः
 पंचस्थितिसदातमन्नियतस्तुनासीरेणननुमनस्या - - - - वतस्यानेत्यर्थः १२
 प्रागंमोमनाष्ट्यं स हूँ ॥ अंयसंख्या ॥ २२० ॥ कुमा रे लना ष्यं समाप्त ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥

॥छ॥सीवत॥६ध२प्रवर्त्तमानेदक्षिणायनेशरदस्तौकार्तिकमासे
 कृपदेऽप्रद्वेदवाराणसीवास्तव्यं॥जानीमदीधरस्तुतदेवयीकस्यपठि
 नार्थी॥॥छ॥॥छ॥उ०छाईकेनपुस्तकमिदंलक्षितं॥॥छ॥॥॥—
 लिषकपाठकयोस्तुनंनक्तु॥॥कल्याणमस्तु॥॥यादृशंपुस्तकंदृष्ट्वा
 दृशोनिषितंमया॥यदिशुद्धमशुद्धंवा मम दोषो नदीयते॥॥॥—॥॥—॥॥—

